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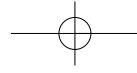
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for the year 2007

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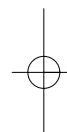
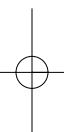
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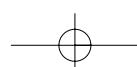


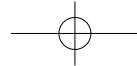
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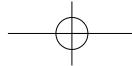
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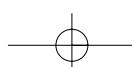
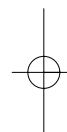
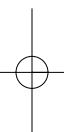


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THE TRINOVANTIAN STATERS OF DUBNOVELLAUNOS

RAINER KRETZ

Introduction

IN contrast to other North Thames rulers, notably Cunobelinus and Tasciovanos, the gold coinage of the Trinovantian king Dubnovellaunos has to date received scant attention. Until recently, this may at least in part have been due to an insufficient number of coins being available to facilitate a detailed study. At the time that Derek Allen published 'Cunobelin's gold',¹ just forty-one staters of Dubnovellaunos had been recorded, compared to the 159 of Cunobelinus forming the basis of Allen's investigation. Since then, however, the growth of metal-detecting has seen a steady rise in the number of recorded Dubnovellaunos staters, and this study thus comprises a total of 113 coins.

There may, however, be another factor at play in the lack of scholarly interest in Dubnovellaunos. To the casual observer all of his staters tend to look more or less identical, thereby seemingly offering little scope for original research. To this must be added the fact that due to their inherently simple design, many of the obverses are extremely difficult to identify and die-link, which makes any attempt at a detailed study a laborious and time consuming task. Coupled with Dubnovellaunos's uncertain position within the North Thames hierarchy, and faced with the additional prospect of a Cantian dimension, this quite possibly persuaded most would-be researchers to concentrate on easier and ostensibly more rewarding subjects.

This long overdue investigation has several aims. It will attempt to identify typologically and stylistically distinct phases within the development of Dubnovellaunos's Trinovantian (or Essex) stater series and place these into approximate chronological order. This will be supported by a detailed study of the surviving legends, together with a close look at their orthographic development over the life of this series, a feature which to date has rarely received the scholarly attention it undoubtedly deserves. Furthermore, the study will re-examine the numismatic evidence for the suspected, though still controversial, Cantian dimension to Dubnovellaunos's rule, as well as discussing his position amongst the other protagonists on the North Thames stage in the last quarter of the first century BC.

Earlier work

It was Sir John Evans who originally equated the British ruler Dubnovellaunos with Dumnobellaunus, a suppliant king whose name is mentioned in the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* and preserved in an inscription from Ancyra, Galatia (modern Turkey).² Ever since then there has been a general acceptance that the two names as well as their respective owners are most probably synonymous.

Acknowledgements: I would like to take this opportunity to express my heartfelt thanks to Dr Philip de Jersey, without whose continuous support and encouragement this study could not have been completed. I am especially grateful to him for kindly offering a second opinion on some of the more difficult obverse die determinations, which proved invaluable in the satisfactory completion of the die study. Naturally, any mistakes that remain are entirely of my own making. My thanks are also due to the Oxford Celtic Coin Index, to Cleveland (Ohio) and Colchester Museums, to auction houses Tkalec AG (Switzerland), Classical Numismatic Group (USA) and Davissons Ltd (USA), and finally to Chris Rudd and Mike Cuddeford for providing the images used in this publication.

¹ Allen 1975.

² Evans 1864, 199–200.

Evans was also the first to realize that of the two stater types then known, one was found exclusively in Kent and the other predominantly in Essex. Of the two, he considered the Kentish stater to be the earlier, dating from the middle of Tasciovanos's reign, whereas he placed its Essex equivalent just prior to Cunobelinus.³ Evans felt that Dubnovellaunos might originally have been 'a Kentish prince . . . , who, from some cause or other, either was driven out of Kent into Essex, or else annexed a portion of the country north of the Thames to his dominions in Kent'.⁴ Ever since then, scholars have been unable to agree on that vital question: were both series struck under one and the same ruler, or were there two rulers named Dubnovellaunos?

Allen concluded that Dubnovellaunos's main kingdom lay in Kent and that at some stage he had conquered the Trinovantian territories north of the Thames estuary.⁵ He felt that the Essex stater betrayed the hand of a Kentish craftsman and that the lettering on the staters suggested that they began later than the Kentish series. As the Cantian stater (V169) shows close parallels with the early staters of Tasciovanos (V1680/1682) on which the bucranium occupies the same position, he considered both Tasciovanos and Tincomarus to be close contemporaries of Dubnovellaunos, placing all three in the last quarter of the first century BC and the early years of the first century AD. Mack, closely following Allen, suggested that there was a single Dubnovellaunos, who returned to his native Kent after losing his kingdom to the expanding Catuvellauni.⁶

Rodwell expressed the view that the Essex series owed nothing to the Kentish series and concluded that there is 'no reason to see 'Dubnovellaunos' as one person; indeed the evidence is substantially to the contrary. Once freed from the untenable Essex-Kent link, it is not difficult to see Dubnovellaunos as the Trinovantian successor to Addedomarus, who ousted Tasciovanus (sic) from Camulodunum'.⁷ Nash also considered the one king scenario less likely,⁸ while Van Arsdell (see below) rejected it altogether.⁹ Hobbs, on the other hand, favoured the idea that both series were issued by the same person.¹⁰

Van Arsdell argued that the Cantian Dubnovellaunos was probably a different ruler to the contemporary Trinovantian king of the same name, suggesting that the two coinages are completely different in style and that the Cantian one was issued for a longer period.¹¹ Whilst accepting the possibility that Dubnovellaunos succeeded Tasciovanos, he thought it more likely that Dubnovellaunos's reign fell between that of Addedomarus and Tasciovanos. He was also the first person to split Dubnovellaunos's Essex stater issues into two basic types: V1650 consists of two variants and a plated version, whilst V1655 contains a further three variants. Unfortunately his identifications are for the most part imprecise, with the plate coins occasionally contradicting the notes, especially with regard to the legends. As part of this process he also created the myth of the **DVBNOVILLA** legend, which on occasion still finds its way into catalogue entries but in reality does not exist. Whilst credit is undoubtedly due for attempting to tackle an evidently tricky and complicated subject, the resulting classification is of limited use in trying to identify an unusual variant or in untangling the complexities of Dubnovellaunos's Essex stater series.¹²

It is clear then from this brief summary of previous work that there is much confusion and precious little agreement amongst scholars concerning virtually all aspects of Dubnovellaunos's reign. Furthermore, all of Dubnovellaunos's numerous issues, including his Essex staters, have until now escaped closer scrutiny. Apart from the author's own cursory investigation into the relationship between his Trinovantian and Cantian issues,

³ Evans 1864, 201.

⁴ Evans 1864, 201.

⁵ Allen 1944, 23, 31.

⁶ Mack 1975, 97, 105, 108.

⁷ Rodwell 1976, 263.

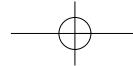
⁸ Nash 1987, 132.

⁹ Van Arsdell 1989, 20, 356.

¹⁰ Hobbs 1996, 20, 22.

¹¹ Van Arsdell 1989, 20.

¹² Van Arsdell 1989, 357–9.



which resulted in the identification of an 'Early' and 'Late' stater type (see below),¹³ no serious attempt has been made to investigate what is clearly a much more complex and quite possibly longer lived series than previously thought.

This paper identifies six distinct classes of Dubnovellaunos's Trinovantian stater, together with a total of twenty-three individual variants, a classification based overwhelmingly on a combination of stylistic and orthographic factors. Of necessity, much of this arrangement is speculative and as such represents a personal view of the likely chronological development of Dubnovellaunos's Essex stater during the period of its production. Whilst the discovery of new die varieties will undoubtedly necessitate adjustments to the order here proposed, I am hopeful that the division into six basic types will continue to form the framework for the classification of this series for some time to come.

Background

Having become intrigued by the contrasting views described above, I carried out a brief examination of the available numismatic evidence.¹⁴ Following a comparison of the typological, stylistic and iconographical features of the two series as well as their respective metallurgy, metallurgy and legend development, I concluded that the Trinovantian and Cantian issues shared too many close parallels for the similarities to be coincidental, leading to the conclusion that there was only one Dubnovellaunos. Having now had the opportunity to study the Essex issues in much greater detail, I have become aware of some shortcomings in my previous line of reasoning, which I will address in due course.

Of the coins that can be attributed to Dubnovellaunos with any degree of certainty, around eleven types were struck in Essex and perhaps fourteen in Kent. In Essex, we have just one type each of stater and quarter stater, three silver units and six bronzes, whereas in Kent there are two staters, two quarter staters, six silver units and four bronzes (Table 1). Kent therefore has twice the number of both gold and silver issues and whilst some doubt remains over the ultimate origin of a small number of types, it would appear that Kent led the way in the number and variety of coin types produced.

TABLE 1. Coins attributable to Dubnovellaunos.
(Types not listed by Van Arsdell are represented by their Oxford CCI numbers)

Type	Denomination	Number of coins	Comments
ESSEX			
Directly attributable			
V1650/1655	stater	100	Various versions and abbreviations, including garbled forms, of DVBNOVELLAUNOS
V1660	quarter stater	38	No legend but stylistically very close to V1650/1655
V1663	silver unit	14	Rev. legend [DVBNOV]ALLAVNOS
V1665	bronze unit	45	No legend, but similarity to V1663 and palm leaf below horse indicate issue of Dubnovellaunos
V1667	bronze unit	11	Obv. legend DVBNOVIIIL , rev. legend DVB
V1669	bronze unit	53	Rev. legend uncertain but perhaps DVBNO above horse
Probable			
V164	silver unit	14	No legend, but depiction of horse in some respects similar to V1667, suggesting issue of Dubnovellaunos; majority of findspots in Essex and Suffolk

¹³ Kretz 1998b.

¹⁴ Kretz 1998b.

Type	Denomination	Number of coins	Comments
CCI 88.0148 ¹⁵	silver unit	1	Legend DV[.]. Unique coin, which may be either an Essex or a Kent issue. Iconography suggests Cantian mint but findspot is in Herts. Early Cunobelin silver (V1947) has a similar obverse
V167	bronze unit	16	No legend, but shares pentagram with V164 and has a palm leaf above boar on obv.; findspots mostly Essex and Suffolk, but four from Kent
CCI 01.0217 ¹⁶	bronze unit	23	Horse stylistically close to other Dubnovellaunos issues
CCI 94.1182 ¹⁷	bronze unit	3	Rev. legend DVBN, may be either a North Thames or a Kentish issue. Obv. shared with a SAM bronze but V1667 also depicts an animal of similar style. Two findspots in the North Thames region and one in Kent

KENT

Directly attributable

V169	stater	37	Rev. legend DV ¹⁸ NOVALLAVNOS
V176	stater	3	Rev. legend DV ¹⁸ NOVELL[. . .]
V170	quarter stater	36	No legend but horse almost identical to V169
V165	silver unit	17	Obv. legend DV ¹⁸ BNO
V171	silver unit	23	Rev. legend DV ¹⁸ BNO
V178	silver unit	17	Rev. legend DV ¹⁸ BNO
CCI 03.0693 ¹⁸	silver unit	6	Rev. legend DV ¹⁸ B, cross-hatched box identifies it as Cantian issue
CCI 92.0698 ¹⁹	silver unit	2	Obv. legend . . . NOVALLA[. . ., style of horse's head and legend around circumference suggest Cantian issue
CCI 89.0026 ²⁰	silver unit	2	Rev. legend DV ¹⁸ BNO. Both records from Kent
V166	bronze unit	49	Rev. legend DVBN
V180	bronze unit	28	Obv. legend DV ¹⁸ BNOV
V181	bronze unit	19	Rev. legend DV ¹⁸ BNO
CCI 94.0381 ²¹	bronze unit	7	Rev. legend DV ¹⁸ NOVALLAVNOS, similar reverse including full legend to V169 indicating Cantian origin

Probable

V163	quarter stater	22	No legend but stylistically close to V170; perhaps second quarter stater associated with V169?
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Interestingly, this trend is reversed when looking at the total numbers of coins recorded for each region up to the end of 2004. Here we have 318 units for Essex against 268 for Kent,²² with the greatest discrepancy in numbers occurring amongst the gold issues, where the Essex staters outnumber the Cantian ones by almost three to one. The difference is further amplified by an estimated twenty-five of the thirty-seven recorded Kent staters originating from a single undeclared hoard found around the mid 1990s.²³ However, the balance is somewhat restored by the greater number of Cantian quarters staters (fifty-eight) recorded when compared to the Essex quarters (thirty-eight). Mindful of the inevitable uncertainties in a number of the attributions and the potentially different levels of metal-detecting activity in the

¹⁵ Type known as Dubnovellaunos 'Serpent Pegasus'. Published by Symons 1990a, 50 no. 61.

¹⁶ Type known as Dubnovellaunos 'Centre Parting'. Published by Wellington 1999.

¹⁷ Type known as Dubnovellaunos 'Lion Horseman'. Unpublished.

¹⁸ Type known as Dubnovellaunos 'Rochester Pegasus'. Published by Symons 1990b, 268 no. 4.

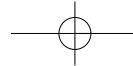
¹⁹ Type known as Dubnovellaunos 'Bull and Bird'. Published in Coin Register, *BNJ* 62 (1992), no. 90.

²⁰ Type known as Dubnovellaunos 'Plant Sitter'. Published in Coin Register, *BNJ* 65 (1995), no. 18.

²¹ Type known as Dubnovellaunos 'Boar Horseman'. Published in Coin Register, *BNJ* 64 (1994), no. 33.

²² P. de Jersey, pers. comm.

²³ P. de Jersey, pers. comm.



two regions, perhaps the most sensible conclusion at present is that the overall size of Dubnovellaunos's North Thames output appears to have been broadly similar to the Cantian output.

There has been some speculation that the elusive **DIRAS** stater (V162), known from only three examples, may be connected to Dubnovellaunos. Evans tentatively read the incomplete inscription as **DIBORIG**.²⁴ He saw an analogy with the gold issues of Dubnovellaunos and Vosenos, whilst accepting that its home was more likely in the North Thames area than in Kent. Allen catalogued the coin as a North Thames issue and suggested an alternative reading of the legend as **?DIRAS**.²⁵ By contrast, Van Arsdell had no hesitation in assigning this type to the Cantian issues of Dubnovellaunos.²⁶ Having modified Evans's reading of **DIBORIG** to **DVBORIG**, he speculates that this may represent an abbreviation of **DVBNOVELLAVNVS RIGONIS**. More recently Hobbs retained Allen's reading of **DIRAS** and once again considered this type to be an Essex issue stylistically related to Dubnovellaunos.²⁷ I too believed this stater to be a North Thames issue,²⁸ and was doubtful of any relationship to the issues of Dubnovellaunos, from which it appeared typologically and stylistically distinct.

Until now, the recorded provenances have been of little assistance in solving this mystery. One of the staters was found near Colchester (Essex) and of the three fairly recently discovered matching quarter staters (CCI 96.1358, 96.2276 and 97.0783), one was found near Stevenage (Herts.) and one near Ashford (Kent), thus leaving the question of the ultimate origin of this type unresolved. It is much the same story with the **DIRAS** stater's composition of 41% gold, 13% silver and 46% copper.²⁹ Although close to Cantian issues such as the Early Weald stater (V144) and Van Arsdell's Ornamented Type (V142), a similar composition is also shared by a number of North Thames staters of Addedomarus (*cf.* BMC 2466, 2472 and 2391–2404).

Fortunately, several new discoveries have recently come to light, which would seem to point increasingly towards a Kentish origin. The Brasted hoard, found near Westerham (Kent) between 2000 and 2005, contained one **DIRAS** stater (CCI 06.0849) and two matching quarter staters (CCI 06.0856–7), thus giving a total of four provenances for Kent against two from the North Thames region.³⁰

Regrettably, the newly-discovered **DIRAS** stater shows only a tiny fraction more of the inscription than the British Museum specimen (BMC 2449), thus leaving the question of the legend unresolved. On examining all three known **DIRAS** staters, John Sills has offered an alternative reading of **DVB RIG**,³¹ which I believe may well be nearer the mark. There can be little doubt that the first letter is a **D**, the second could conceivably be a rather narrow **V**, while the third, looking to all intents and purposes like an **R**, closely resembles the **B** on some dies of Dubnovellaunos's Cantian first coinage stater (V169).³² There then appears to be a gap before the next word, the first letter of which may well be an **R**, the second an **I** and the third a **C** or a **G**.

Whilst entirely hypothetical, a reading of **DVB RIG** or **DVB RIC** has a close parallel in the Dobunnic coinage, where staters inscribed with the names of **ANTED** (V1066/1069) and possibly **EISV** (V1105) are followed by the epithet **RIG** or **RIC**. Should a reading of **DVB RIG/RIC** eventually be confirmed, it would raise the question as to whether this represents Dubnovellaunos himself or perhaps a slightly earlier ruler named Dubnorig or Dubnoric.³³ I believe the similar names are probably too much of a coincidence for there to have been two

²⁴ Evans 1864, 355–6.

²⁵ Allen 1960, 218.

²⁶ Van Arsdell 1989, 99–100.

²⁷ Hobbs 1996, 20.

²⁸ Kretz 1998b, 1.

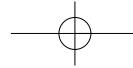
²⁹ Cowell 1992, 216 no. 591.

³⁰ A parcel of coins from this hoard, including the newly-discovered **DIRAS** stater, was auctioned by Morton and Eden on 11 June 2008.

³¹ J. Sills, pers. comm.

³² See for example CCI 00.1638 and 02.0135.

³³ The Gaulish version of this name in the form of Dubnorix, Dubnoreix or Dubnorex is well attested (*RIG* 30, 142, 143).



separate individuals but the possibility cannot be ruled out. At the present rate of discovery, i.e. three staters over a period of two hundred years, it could be a while yet before we know for sure, but it is just possible – as Van Arsdell suggested – that we are looking at the first Cantian stater issue of Dubnovellaunos.³⁴

The coins

Dubnovellaunos's Trinovantian staters feature relatively immobile designs for both obverse and reverse. Whilst the obverse remains essentially the same – except for a brief directional change to the wreaths – the reverse experiences a greater degree of change with minor design elements added or removed. There are some standard design features, which are a component of every reverse die so far recorded. These include the wreath below the horse, the large pellet under the horse's head, the ringed pellet directly above the horse and the two ringed pellets in the exergue below the wreath. These invariables are not referred to in the text unless they help to differentiate one type from another or have been modified in some way.

A. Early type

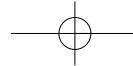
This can be divided into three variants, all of which feature a similar Celticized horse which differentiates them stylistically from the remainder of the series.

A1	<i>Obv.</i>	linear design with central back to back crescents flanked by two ringed pellets, the wreaths with outward pointing leaves ending in ringed pellets. A distinctive groove runs parallel on either side of the design.
	<i>Rev.</i>	Celticized horse l., ringed pellet in front, on horse's shoulder and under end of tail, three pellets under head, legend DVBOVALAVNOS or similar.
A2	<i>Obv.</i>	as A1
	<i>Rev.</i>	as A1 but no ringed pellet on horse's shoulder, two pellets under head, legend probably similar ending in . . .]NOS.
A3	<i>Obv.</i>	as A1
	<i>Rev.</i>	Celticized horse with prominent elongated muzzle l., ringed pellet on horse's shoulder, two pellets under head, legend unclear.



Fig. 1. Class A types. All coins are illustrated at approximately twice actual size.

³⁴ Van Arsdell 1989, 99–100.



THE TRINOVANTIAN STATERS OF DUBNOVELLAUNOS

7



Fig. 2. Die-links for Classes A and B.

B. Transitional type

This type is characterized by the leaves of the wreaths on the obverse pointing inwards – the only type to feature this arrangement. The distinctive obverse is coupled with both an Early and a Letter **A** type reverse.

B1 *Obv.* as A1 but leaves of wreaths point inwards rather than outwards.
Rev. as A2, but three pellets under head, small letter S below top of tail, legend DVBNNOVALA(V?)NOS.

B2 *Obv.* as B1
Rev. Spidery horse with griffin-like head, single pellet under head, ring in front, legend unclear.



Fig. 3. Class B types.

C. Letter A type

This is defined by the first letter **A** in the legend DVBNNOVALLAVNOS and the stylistic changes to the reverse. Here the horse has become rather spidery when compared to the Early type and the treatment of the head now gives it a griffin-like appearance. Orthographic errors are common and on some dies the critical letter **A** is missing altogether. However even without the defining **A**, the type can be easily identified by the unmistakeable style of the horse. Apart from the differing spellings and types of script, this class appears to be largely homogenous.

C1 *Obv.* as A1, with some dies rather carelessly engraved.
Rev. As B2, but ring in front of horse missing, ringed pellet under end of tail, legend DVBNNOVALLAVNOS or corrupted versions thereof.

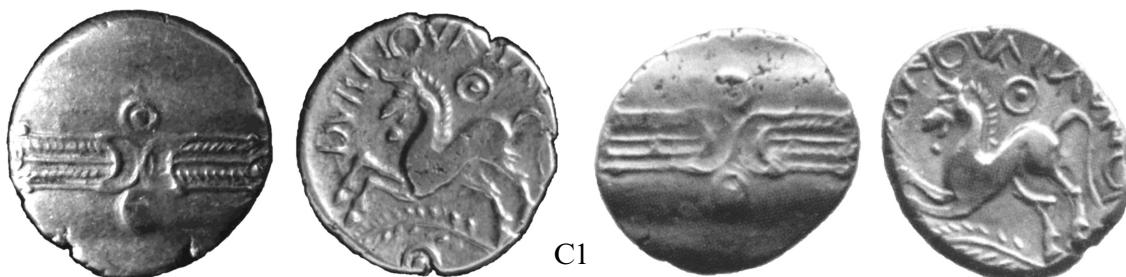


Fig. 4. Class C type.

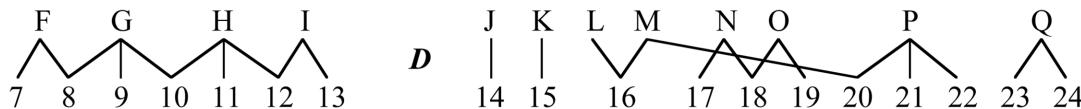
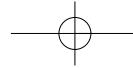


Fig. 5. Die-links for Classes C and D.

D. Letter II type

This type is identifiable by the letters **II** in the legends **DVBNOVIILLA**, **DVBNOVIILLAV**, **DVBNOVIILLAVN** and **DVBNOVIILLAVNV**. The reverse now features a more elegant, Romanized horse with the associated ornamentation determining the number of variants. Orthographic errors are rare.

D1 *Obv.* as A1, stylistically similar to Class C obverses.

Rev. naturalistic horse, small pellet in front of forelegs, legend unclear with only **DVB**[...] visible.

This variant is difficult to place and its attribution to Class D remains uncertain until an example with a fuller legend becomes available.

D2 Ringed pellet between two pellets above horse.

D2-1 *Obv.* as A1, but wreaths poorly engraved.

Rev. ringed pellet between two pellets above horse, pellet triad under end of tail, pellet under stalk of wreath, legend unclear with only [...]LLAV visible.

Reverse is off-struck with only part of the design visible. However, attribution to Class D is confirmed by arrangement above horse being similar to D2-2.

D2-2 *Obv.* as A1

Rev. ringed pellet between two pellets above horse, pellet below horse and two pellets or possibly pellet triad under end of tail, legend **DVBNOVIILLAV** or with recut die **DVBNOVIILLAVN** with ligate ending.

D3 Legend **DVBNOVIILLA**

D3-1 *Obv.* as A1

Rev. naturalistic horse with pellet below, pellet triad after legend **DVBNOVIILLA** and ringed pellet under end of tail.

D3-2 *Obv.* as A1

Rev. naturalistic horse, pellet after legend **DVBNOVIILLA** and another pellet under end of horse's tail.

D3-3 *Obv.* as A1

Rev. slender and elegant naturalistic horse, pellet triad after legend **DVBNOVIILLA**, pellet under horse, under end of tail and in between the two ringed pellets below wreath.

D3-4 *Obv.* as A1 but all known examples feature a die-break across the centre.

Rev. naturalistic horse, pellet under end of tail but unclear if pellet after legend **DVBNOVIILLA**.

If future discoveries were to show a pellet after the legend, this variant would become synonymous with D3-2.

D3-5 *Obv.* same as D3-4

Rev. naturalistic horse, pellet below and perhaps also under wreath stalk, letter **A** under end of tail, legend most probably **DVBNOVIILLA**.

D4 Legend **DVBNOVIILLAVN**

D4-1 *Obv.* same as D3-4

Rev. naturalistic horse, pellet below and under end of tail, legend **DVBNOVIILLAVN**.

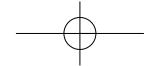
D4-2 *Obv.* as A1

Rev. naturalistic horse with at least one pellet under end of tail. Legend unclear, seemingly ending in [...]N but with traces of one or two more letters (**VS?**).

D5 Legend **DVBNOVIILLAVNV**

Obv. as A1

Rev. naturalistic horse, ringed pellet in front of forelegs, pellet under end of tail, latinized legend **DVBNOVIILLAVNV** with traces of a ligate **V** between letters **A** and **N**.



THE TRINOVANTIAN STATERS OF DUBNOVELLAUNOS



D1



D2-1



D2-2



D3-1



D3-2



D3-3



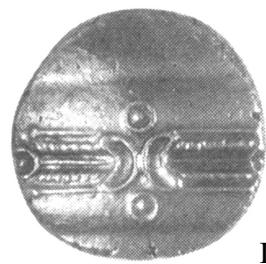
D3-4



D3-5



D4-1



D4-2



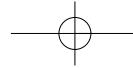


Fig. 6. Class D types.

E. Letter E type

This is characterized by the letter E in the legend **DVBNOVELLAVI**, **DVBNOVELLA** or **DVBNOVE**. The reverse features the same Romanized horse as the Letter II type with the associated ornamentation determining the number of variants. Orthographic errors are rare.

- E1 *Obv.* as A1
Rev. naturalistic horse, legend **DVBNOVELLAVI**.
- E2 *Obv.* as A1 but wreath segments shorter.
Rev. naturalistic horse, ringed pellet in front, pellet after legend **DVBNOVELLA** and under horse's tail.
- E3 Star under tail type
 - E3-1 *Obv.* as A1
Rev. naturalistic horse, ringed pellet in front and star under end of tail, legend **DVBNOVELLA**.
 - E3-2 *Obv.* as A1 but four added pellets in the shape of a cross, two within the crescents, the others between crescents and ringed pellets.
Rev. naturalistic horse, ringed pellet above set within a pellet triangle, star under end of tail, legend **DVBNOVELLA**.

The single known specimen is struck from a debased coppery alloy, suggesting a date towards the end of the series.
- E4 *Obv.* as A1
Rev. naturalistic horse, ringed pellet in front, abbreviated legend **DVBNOVE**.

F. Late type

An extremely rare light-weight issue struck from debased alloy, with uncertain and most probably confused legend.

- F1 *Obv.* as A1
Rev. naturalistic horse with shortened tail, legend probably **DVBNOV...** with garbled ending.

Die study

As I have already indicated above, the die study presents considerable problems, almost entirely due to the inherent simplicity of the obverse design. This, in combination with worn or damaged dies and sometimes less than adequate photography makes it a difficult and laborious task. Whilst every care has been taken over die determinations, there will undoubtedly be errors in the attribution of some of the more problematic obverses which can only be rectified as and when more examples struck from those dies become available for comparative study.

Given the present level of information, any serious attempt at ascertaining precisely how many die-cutters may have been involved in the production of the Essex series and which die-cutter engraved what die, would be an extremely difficult – if not impossible – undertaking

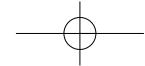


Fig. 7. Class E types.

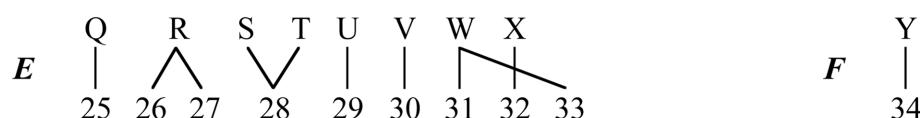


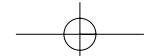
Fig. 8. Die-links for Classes E and F.



Fig. 9. Class F type.

and as such falls outside the scope of this study. However, having studied the series in considerable detail, I believe some broad-brush observations can be made. Due to the close similarities between many of the obverse dies and the associated problems of interpretation, the following comments tend to focus on the more variable reverses.

Beginning with the short-lived class A, it would seem a reasonable guess that all reverse and most probably also obverse dies, with the exception of var. A3 (dies D4), originate from the same hand. The treatment of the horse on the reverse of A3 is unique and although it shares



features with subsequent classes, it has no obvious parallels elsewhere. The two recorded class B reverse dies are representative of classes A and C respectively.

Despite some apparent variation in the form of the lettering, class C is largely homogenous. The treatment of the horse is stylistically distinct from the previous class, suggesting that the dies must be the work of a different engraver. I believe the majority, if not all of the dies, are the work of a single die-cutter.

Class D features the change-over to a more naturalistic horse and gives every impression of originating from a different hand. Although there are some subtle stylistic differences in the rendition of the horse and associated legends, it is conceivable that all of the dies belonging to this class were engraved by just one or two craftsmen. An oddity here is obverse die P, of which a total of ten examples have been recorded. Curiously, all surviving examples feature a significant die break across the centre of the obverse and as yet no coin struck from the die in its original, undamaged state, has been recorded. This may suggest that the die was damaged early on in its life and that despite the obvious damage and the disfigured coins produced, it continued in use to the very end. If correct, this confirms dies as high value items, which were neither instantly nor easily replaceable. It may also indicate that whatever triggered the decision to coin in the first instance, once the process was under way, it continued at a steady pace and occasionally without too much regard for the quality of the output.

Judging by the close stylistic similarities, especially in the rendition of the horse, between classes D and E, I suspect that the die-cutter(s) who engraved class D may also have been responsible for several of the class E dies.

The die chains indicate a fairly simple production process. Class A was quite possibly struck from just a single pair of dies at any one time, while class B consists of a single obverse die paired with one class A and one class C reverse die (Fig. 2).

Class C exhibits a greater degree of die-linking, indicating that more than one pair of dies was in use at any one time. This suggests that production was now of a more continuous nature and that this class may have been struck within a relatively short space of time and in response to a particular need (Fig. 5). Although most of the die-links for class D are fairly simple, there is once again evidence of more than one pair of dies having been in use at the same time (Fig. 5).

Class E also features simple die-links suggesting that half of it was struck from single pairs of dies, pointing towards a return to a more sporadic production (Fig. 8). At present class F is only recorded from a single pair of dies.

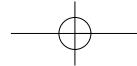
The evolution of the design

The obverse of the Essex stater represents a new development in British Iron Age stater design. Likely prototypes include the later varieties of Whaddon Chase stater (especially V1487 and V1493), featuring a cruciform wreath design, but the most likely candidate is Addedomaros's first coinage stater (V1605). The die-cutter simply eliminated one of the wreaths, added two strategically placed ringed pellets and was rewarded with an extremely simple, yet highly effective new design, which remained virtually unchanged throughout the entire production period of this stater.³⁵

The reverse also remained essentially the same, although its detailed design underwent a considerable degree of stylistic change between the early and later issues. This is not only evident in the changing depiction of the horse and its associated ornaments, but also in the orthographic changes to the legend. This process of evolution can be divided into a number of distinctive phases, which in turn form the basis for my classification of this series into six types.

The question as to which coin type might have served as the prototype for the reverse has not been addressed until now. In fact, there exists one British stater whose reverse closely

³⁵ The design was later adopted and modified by Cunobelinus's mint, and forms the basis of his celebrated series of corn-ear staters.



resembles that of Dubnovellaunos's earliest Essex staters (Groups A and B) and, perhaps significantly, this is a Cantian issue. The Early Weald stater (V144, BMC 2466) features a horse which is stylistically so similar to some of the animals on Dubnovellaunos's Early and Transitional types, that it might almost have been executed by the same hand. Remarkably, both Cantian and Trinovantian issues also include die varieties with and without the ringed pellet on the horse's shoulder.

The similarities do not end there, however. The Early Weald stater, on some examples at least, features 'banding' across the obverse, a characteristic for the most part closely associated with the Cantian gold coinage. Whilst the 'banding' phenomenon also occurs on two potential, though extremely rare, North Thames issues (V162 and V1509), it is otherwise only recorded from Dubnovellaunos's Essex stater series, where it forms a standard feature of virtually every recorded obverse die. Seeing an Early Weald and an Early type Essex stater side by side, it is hard to escape the notion that they must be directly related, with the latter quite possibly a direct descendant of the former (Fig. 10). If correct, this would in turn strongly suggest a Cantian dimension to Dubnovellaunos's Trinovantian issues and lend further support to my hypothesis that there was only one Dubnovellaunos.



Cantian Early Weald (V144) (x2)

Trinovantian Early type (V1650 var.) (x2)

Fig. 10. Stylistic similarities between the Cantian Early Weald stater and the Early/Transitional type Essex stater.

Late in the production of the Early type (class A), the mint experimented with a modified reverse design (type A3), featuring a stretched version of the horse more reminiscent of the later types, with a strangely elongated muzzle and once again a ringed pellet on its shoulder. Just two coins of this type (CCI 68.0347 and 02.0476) are known, indicating that this design change was short-lived. Dubnovellaunos's Early type must have been a comparatively small and short-lived issue as only a handful of examples have survived. Legends are rarely visible and only one garbled form of the name is recorded. There are just six examples in all, struck from four obverse and four reverse dies with an average weight of 5.51 g.

The Early type was quickly succeeded by the Transitional type (class B). This has an almost identical obverse except for the leaves of the wreaths, which are now pointing inwards – the only type to feature this arrangement. This modified obverse is coupled with both an Early type reverse (B1) and the new Letter **A** type reverse (B2) and marks the transition from Early type (class A) to Letter **A** type (class C). The four recorded examples are struck from one obverse and two reverse dies and have an average weight of 5.46 g.

The Letter **A** type (class C) obverse shows the wreaths restored to their original outward pointing position where they stay for the remainder of the series. Apart from differing spellings and types of script, this series is largely homogenous with the majority of dies having no special distinguishing marks. They all feature a coarser, longer-limbed and generally less attractive horse. The often beak-like depiction of the horse's muzzle, which is a special feature of this type, tends to give the horse's head a griffin-like appearance. This may have been intentional but might equally well represent the die-cutters' individual artistic preferences. Thirty-one examples struck from four obverse and seven reverse dies, with an average weight of 5.42 g, are recorded.

The next in line is the Letter II type (class D), so called because as part of the orthographic evolution of the legend the letter **A** has now been transformed into II. The quality of the engraving tends to be of a higher standard than the previous type and the reverse now features a more elegant Romanized horse. Whereas the previous type was notable for its highly immobile design, the Letter II type was produced in a bewildering number of variants, the result of a range of different legends and associated pellet combinations. With forty examples struck from seven obverse and eleven reverse dies and an average weight of 5.41 g, this forms the most sizeable group within the series.

The Letter II type gives way to the Letter E type (class E), which marks the final stage in the evolution of the legend. All the legends are now truncated and a particular feature of this series is that two of its constituent types have a star under the end of the horse's tail, thus making them instantly recognizable. One of these (E3–2) features additional pellets added to the central crescents of the obverse, the only modification of this kind in the entire series. The E type comprises twenty-two examples struck from nine obverse and nine reverse dies, and has an average weight of 5.35 g.

The Late type (class F) is at present represented by just one example (F1). As the only legible part of the legend is **DVBNOV** and the rest appears to be garbled, it does not fit in with any of the other categories but appears to form a lightweight, debased straggler at the very end of the series.

The evolution of the legend

Only a handful of Early type (class A) staters are known and the only substantially complete legend recorded is the badly corrupted **DVBOVALA**[. . .], with both **N** and second **L** missing. The evidence from the other remaining fractions of legend suggests that at this early stage in the production it was common practice to engrave the full name ending in **-OS**.

The even rarer Transitional type (class B) once again provides us with just one substantially complete legend in the form of **[D]VBNOVALA**[. . .], this time containing the formerly missing **N** in retrograde but still missing the second **L**.

The Letter **A** type (class C) is the third and last type to habitually feature the name in its entirety. The spelling of the legend has now progressed to the more familiar **DVBNOVALLAVNOS** or blundered versions thereof. Orthographic errors in the form of transposed and missing letters are a frequent occurrence and the type of lettering employed may vary considerably.

It is clear from the first three types that garbled legends were relatively common at this stage in production, suggesting that the art of writing was very much in its infancy with neither die-cutter, mint master nor commissioning authority – presumably Dubnovellaunos himself? – possessing the necessary degree of literacy to accurately convert the familiar Celtic phonetics into the Latin script. However, the degree of orthographic incompetence demonstrated here appears to be unique among British Celtic issues and although misspelled inscriptions occasionally occur amongst Addedomaros's and Tasciovanos's early issues, they are rare by comparison. The early orthographic treatment of the **DVBNOVALLAVNOS** legend offers us a fascinating insight into the difficulties faced by native Britons when transliterating their hitherto purely oral language into an unfamiliar Latin alphabet. Table 2 suggests a hypothetical course which the orthographic evolution of the legend might have taken.

There is no evidence to indicate that the engravers of Dubnovellaunos's Cantian stater (V169) experienced similar problems, which leads me to question whether Allen's view that, based on the lettering, the Cantian stater preceded the Essex one is in fact correct.³⁶ If anything, the legends of the Early type Essex stater in particular would appear to exhibit more archaic features than the corresponding Cantian stater and both the typological and orthographic evidence would seem to suggest that it was struck prior to the commencement of the Cantian series.

³⁶ Allen 1944, 31.

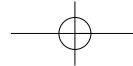


TABLE 2. Suggested order of reverse legends.

Probable legends based on die reconstructions and, in cases where there can be little doubt about the final formation, a small element of conjecture. (V) indicates that its presence in the legend is uncertain.

A. Early Type	1	DVBOVALA(V)NOS
	2	DVB.V...S
	3	...NOS
	4	—
B. Transitional Type	5	DVBNOVALA(V)NOS
	6	DVB. . .
C. A type	7	DBVNOVLLANOS
	8	DVBNOVL. . . with first V blundered
	9	DVBNOVALLAVNOS
	10	DVBNOVALLAVNOS
	11	...OVLLANOS
	12	DVBNOVALLA(V)NOS
	13	...NOS?
D. II type	14	DVB. . .
	15	...LLAV. . .
	16	DVBNOVIILLAV[N] – N added when die was recut
	17	DVBNOVIILLA
	18	DVBNOVIILLA
	19	DVBNOVIILLA
	20	DVBNOVIILLA
	21	...LLA
	22	DVBNOVIILLAVN
	23N with traces of VS? behind
	24	DVBNOVIILLAVNVS
E. E type	25	DVBNOVELLAVN
	26	DVBNOVELLA
	27	DVBNOVELLA
	28	DVBNOVELLA
	29	...VELLA
	30	DVBNOVELLA
	31	—
	32	...VELLA
	33	DVBNOVE (abbreviated legend)
F. Late type	34	DVBNOV. . . with ligate but garbled ending

The Letter II type (class D) is characterized by a shift from the median A of the previous type to II, representing E. Orthographic errors have now ceased, suggesting that the engravers had developed an improved grasp of the Latin alphabet, or that guidelines for the correct spelling of the ruler's name had been issued. With one exception, the legends recorded within the Letter II type are all abbreviated, ranging from DVBNOVIILLAVN to DVBNOVIILLAV and DVBNOVIILLA, the last being the most common form. Late in this series another significant shift takes place when the termination briefly changes from the Celtic –OS of the previous three types to the Latinized –VS. This is important evidence for a gradual adoption of Roman practices, brought about by increased contact with the Roman world, which also left its mark in the rapidly changing iconography of the bronze and silver coinage. The promotion of a supposedly superior culture together with a rapidly increasing trade in luxury goods via conquered Gaul was designed to persuade the British nobility of the benefits of Roman civilization, a process instrumental in preparing the ground for the inevitable conquest to follow. One by-product of this steadily creeping Romanization was that personal names – on coin legends at least – which would previously always have terminated in the Celtic –OS were now beginning to adopt the Latinized –VS. The reason for this was most probably that the British elite

was becoming increasingly familiar with Roman coins and their inscriptions and decided to follow the Roman lead in much the same way that the rest of the world now copies American ways.

The obverse die associated with the Latinized termination is thought to die-link with an early Letter E type. If correct, this would indicate that the **VS** ending belongs to the very end of the Letter II type and, as far as we can tell, most probably forms a unique and short-lived experiment. Before we are tempted to view the **DVBNOVIIILLAVNVS** legend as potential evidence for the large scale Latinization of British personal names at or around this point in time, we should remember that the evidence is based on just a single reverse die out of a present total of thirty-four used to strike this series.

The Letter E type (class E) marks the final orthographic development within the series, by which the characteristic II of the previous type now evolves into a more modern E. All legends are abbreviated, ranging from an early **DVBNOVELLAVN** to **DVBNOVELLA** and finally the heavily truncated **DVBNOVE**. The final Late type (class F) features a garbled legend and hence does not feature in this discussion.

Although Dubnovellaunos's Cantian staters (V169/176) also show the transition from the earlier **DVBNOVALLAVNOS** to the final **[DVB]NOVELL[AVNOS]**, there is no evidence here of Latinized legends nor for the use of II instead of E. The extreme rarity of V176 would seem to suggest that although the Cantian issues ran more or less parallel with much of the Essex series, they came to a fairly abrupt end shortly after the change-over from A to E and possibly about two-thirds of the way through the production of the Essex stater. The short-lived nature of the Cantian first coinage stater is also implied by its highly immobile reverse design, which remained static throughout its lifetime.

Interestingly, a similar evolution in the written form of the legend to that discussed here can be found on the coins of Tasciovanos, where the letter X changes to S, the A changes to O and eventually the I to II. Thus **TAXCIAVAN** becomes **TASCIAVAN** and **TASCIOVAN**,³⁷ before eventually changing to **TASCIIOVAN**³⁸ sometime around the middle of Cunobelinus's reign.³⁹ It is yet another illustration of how orthographic practices – presumably arising from phonetic shifts in the spoken language – were evolving over a broadly similar timescale.

Metallurgy

Cowell⁴⁰ and Northover⁴¹ both analysed a sample of Dubnovellaunos's Essex staters with very similar results (Table 3). They found that the coins varied little in fineness, lying mostly between 39 and 42% gold, with the majority showing a copper/silver ratio of around 2:1.

Cowell also examined Dubnovellaunos's two Cantian stater coinages (V169 and V176) and found that they were produced to two different standards of fineness. The two baser coins belonging to V169 contained 39–40% gold, while the two coins of V176 plus one coin of V169 showed an improved fineness of 45–48%. Cowell presumed that the finer coins were also the earlier ones, which would put Van Arsdell's classification of V169 being followed by V176 into question. An earlier date for V176 is also supported by the consistently higher weight of 5.55 – 5.62 g for the three genuine examples when compared to an average weight of 5.43 g for V169. On the other hand, the typological evidence would seem to point towards V176 being the later issue and if our reading of **DVBNOVE**... is correct, it also possesses a later type of legend.

It must also be remembered that an increase in fineness does not necessarily indicate an earlier date, as both Tasciovanos's **RICON** stater⁴² and the Cantian Weald stater illustrate. The Early Weald stater (V144) shows a fineness of 41% gold, whereas the one gram lighter and

³⁷ Kretz 1998a, 4.

³⁸ This indicates that II was never entirely displaced by E but continued in occasional use.

³⁹ de Jersey 2001, 13, 32.

⁴⁰ Cowell 1992, 216.

⁴¹ Northover 1992, 287.

⁴² Cowell 1992, 225–6.

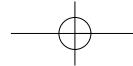


TABLE 3. Analyses of Dubnovellaunos's Essex and Kent staters.

The letters C and N in brackets after the registration number refer to Cowell (1992) and Northover (1992) respectively. Any alternative or missing weights shown in brackets were obtained from CCI records or the British Museum catalogue.

var.	CCI	V	BMC	registration		Au	Ag	Cu	wt.
Kent									
	69.0429	169	2493	E.H.p.43 n46	(C)	39.4	16.5	43.9	5.28 (5.10)
	69.0432	169	2495	1919,2-13,428	(C)	44.8	17.2	37.6	4.94 (5.30)
	69.0430	169	2492	E.H.p.43 n45	(C)	39.8	21.3	38.1	5.28
	69.0434	176	2497	1935,11-17,120	(C)	48.2	23.8	27.8	5.60
	69.0433	176	2498	119,2-13,70	(C)	45.8	26.0	27.8	— (5.55)
Essex									
A1	66.0130	1650	—	AAU55	(N)	38.70	22.54	38.45	5.51 (5.54)
A1	68.0345	1650	2430	1919,2-13,427	(C)	40.1	20.9	38.8	5.57
C1	66.0129	1650	—	AAU57	(N)	42.72	23.25	33.90	5.27
C1	68.0332	1650	2427	1935,11-17,116	(C)	40.1	31.3	28.5	5.36
C1	68.0329	1650	2434	1919,2-13,429	(C)	39.2	22.9	37.0	5.58
D1	66.0128	1650	—	AAU56	(N)	39.29	20.00	39.91	5.44
D2-2	68.0342	1650	2439	1919,2-13,431	(C)	38.8	16.3	43.2	5.24
D3-2	67.0154	1650	—	C505	(N)	40.38	15.35	44.07	— (5.51)
D3-2	68.0341	1650	2426	1919,2-13,432	(C)	39.5	17.7	42.7	5.45
E3-1	73.0321	1650	—	C506	(N)	40.42	12.93	46.43	— (5.30)

presumably later V150 contains between 49% and 52%.⁴³ V176 thus remains something of a conundrum and all we can say at this stage is that the jury is still out on the question of where exactly it fits into Dubnovellaunos's Cantian issues.

Cowell concluded that apart from three aberrant Addedomaros coins, the issues of Addedomaros, Dubnovellaunos and Diras are not distinguished by either fineness or alloy.⁴⁴ He went on to say that 'it is significant that the base issues of the Cantian Dubnovellaunos are identical in fineness and alloy to Dubnovellaunos under the Trinovantes'. His statement supports my theory of one king ruling two kingdoms and suggests that the long held view that Addedomaros was (at least in Essex) succeeded by Dubnovellaunos is correct and that the latter may have withdrawn some of the former's issues from circulation before re-coining them in his own name.

There are too few analyses of Essex staters to build up a clear picture of the changes to the metal composition during the production period. However, if we look at the analyses in typological order something of a trend seems to emerge. Whilst the silver content fluctuates widely between 31% and 20% during the early part of the production (classes A – C), it appears to fall from 20% to 13% in the latter part (classes D – E), the loss of silver compensated for by an increase in the copper. Whether this is indeed a genuine trend or simply a chance occurrence, only further analyses can determine.

The visual evidence suggests that a small number of coins were struck from a debased alloy towards the end of the series although none have been analysed so far. If correct, this may be indicative of Dubnovellaunos – for whatever reason – running out of gold bullion sometime towards the end of his reign.

Metrology

The average weight of the 90 Essex staters for which we have the necessary data is 5.40 g, which compares well with that of the main Cantian series (V169) at 5.43 g. Table 4 shows the weight of every type and variant I have identified but as the majority of these are recorded in

⁴³ Hobbs 1996, 148.

⁴⁴ Cowell 1992, 225.

relatively small numbers, their widely fluctuating individual weights tend to obscure any potential underlying trend. However, when the weights of the six main classes are singled out and put into chronological order, the results would seem to point towards a steady, albeit very slight, decline in weight over the lifetime of this coinage.

TABLE 4. Average weights of Dubnovellaunos's Essex staters.

<i>var.</i>	<i>no. of coins</i>	<i>wt</i>
A1	3	5.50
A2	1	5.52
A3	1	5.51
B1	2	5.40
B2	2	5.52
C1	28	5.42
D1	2	5.42
D2-1	1	5.40
D2-2	6	5.40
D3-1	1	5.30
D3-2	12	5.38
D3-3	2	5.45
D3-4	6	5.46
D3-5	1	5.38
D4-1	3	5.44
D4-2	2	5.40
D5	2	5.45
E1	1	5.44
E2	1	5.35
E3-1	10	5.34
E3-2	1	5.33
E4	2	5.42
F1	1	4.53
<i>class</i>	<i>no. of coins</i>	<i>wt</i>
A	5	5.51
B	4	5.46
C	28	5.42
D	38	5.41
E	15	5.35
F	1	4.53
All coins	90	5.40

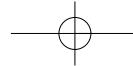
Contexts

As one might expect, any contextual information providing worthwhile information towards the establishment of a relative chronology for the series is largely absent. According to CCI records a single stater (CCI 67.0153) was found in excavation, but on closer investigation this proved not to be the case.⁴⁵ The situation with regard to the multitude of single metal-detector finds is equally unsatisfactory. In the unlikely event that any contextual information was ever recorded, it must now be considered lost.

The situation in respect of hoards is only marginally better (Table 5). It is well known that hoards containing gold staters of Cunobelinus are comparatively rare,⁴⁶ and those containing Trinovantian staters of Dubnovellaunos would appear to follow the same pattern, with only three small deposits having been discovered so far. The Marks Tey II hoard found in 1843 contained one Dubnovellaunos stater together with many first and second coinage staters of Addedomaros (V1605 and V1620). Although Addedomaros's third coinage staters (V1635) are strangely absent from the assemblage, the hoard is significant in establishing a tentative successional link between Addedomaros and Dubnovellaunos. More than a century and a half

⁴⁵ W. Rodwell, pers. comm.

⁴⁶ de Jersey and Newman 1995.



passed before the next discovery, the Heybridge hoard of five Dubnovellaunos staters. This was found in two parcels, three staters which came to light in 1999, and two more in 2002. A report on this hoard is now in preparation and due to be published shortly.⁴⁷

A third hoard consisting of at least five Dubnovellaunos staters and eighteen Cunobelinus 'biga' staters (V1910) was found over several years (1999–2001) in Great Waltham near Chelmsford, Essex, and is now in Chelmsford Museum. An amateur excavation at the site revealed late Iron Age and Roman occupation.⁴⁸ As the coins of Dubnovellaunos and Cunobelinus had not been found together previously, this discovery adds further support to the widely held view that Cunobelinus directly succeeded Dubnovellaunos at Camulodunum.

There are some other sites which also have produced multiple finds of Dubnovellaunos staters, most notably Cambridge and a site near Chelmsford, Essex, which may conceivably also constitute hoards.

TABLE 5. Details of staters found in hoards.

site	CCl no.	var.	comments
Marks Tey, Essex	61.0215	D3–2	also included many Addedomarus staters (V1605 and V1620)
Heybridge, Essex	05.1014	C1	contained no other coins
	05.1015	D3–4	
	05.1016	C1	
	06.0644	C1	
	06.0645	B1	
Great Waltham, Essex	02.0929	B2	also included 18 'biga' type staters of Cunobelinus
	02.0930	E4	
	02.0931	D2–2	
	02.0932	D4–1	
	02.0933	D2–1	
Possible hoards			
Cambridge	83.0246	D2–2	found with two others (one plated) and an uninscribed quarter stater of Addedomarus. Shown to BM
near Chelmsford, Essex	06.0116	D3–4	no further details
	06.0117	D3–3	
	06.0118	E3–1	
	06.0119	E3–1	
	06.0120	D4–1	

Distribution

The distribution map for Dubnovellaunos's North Thames stater issues, based on some fifty-two provenances, is heavily centred on Essex and supports the widely held belief that he ruled over the Trinovantes (Fig. 11).

The principal concentrations of findspots are in the Colchester and Chelmsford regions. Whilst it is generally assumed that Dubnovellaunos was based at Camulodunum, none of his coins make any reference to either his capital or mint. Perhaps contrary to expectations, there are almost twice as many provenances from the wider Chelmsford area (twenty-four) than the Colchester region (thirteen), but the former figure is distorted by the presence of at least two hoards. Although a base and mint at Camulodunum continue to remain the most likely scenario, the supporting evidence for this is still missing. There are a handful of findspots for Essex staters from the Icenian and Catuvellaunian borderlands but these are on an insignificant scale.

Whether Camulodunum already had the same importance during Dubnovellaunos's reign that it later possessed under his likely successor Cunobelinus also remains unclear, and might

⁴⁷ P. Sealey, pers. comm.

⁴⁸ de Jersey and Wickenden 2004.

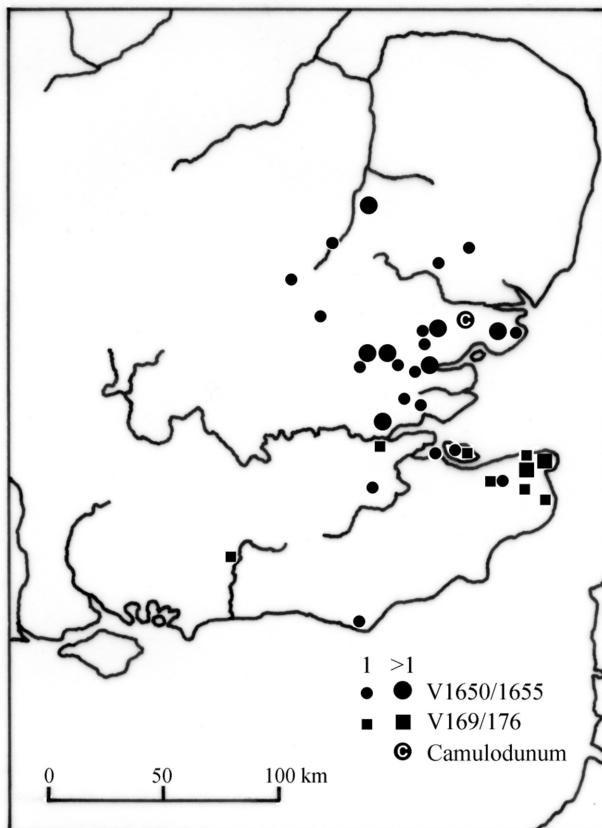
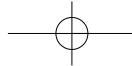


Fig. 11. Distribution of Dubnovellaunos's Essex and Kent staters.

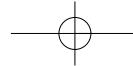
ultimately only be revealed by an excavation of Cunobelinus's base at Gosbecks, Colchester. Interestingly, the earliest reference to its existence comes from an early stater and quarter stater of Tasciovanos (V1684 and V1694) which carry the legend **CAMVL** in monogram form and can be dated to around 20 – 10 BC, a date which I would suggest is likely to overlap with Dubnovellaunos's period of rule. Exactly why this reference to Camulodunum – assuming that is what it is – appears on two rare coins of Tasciovanos, yet is entirely absent from the issues of Dubnovellaunos, remains one of the great mysteries of the North Thames series.⁴⁹

In contrast, the provenances of Dubnovellaunos's Cantian staters (V169/176) are almost exclusively located in the easternmost portion of Kent, with only the occasional stray find outside this area. Four Essex staters have been found in Kent whereas no Cantian stater has been found in Essex, an indication that the gold issues at least circulated almost exclusively in their own respective tribal areas.

Discussion

The distribution of Dubnovellaunos's Essex staters confirms him as ruler of the Trinovantes, although the exact location of his capital and mint remain uncertain. He is likely to have been succeeded by Cunobelinus, an event that is thought to have occurred some time before Augustus's death in 14 AD. The *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, recording the achievements of Augustus, were written by the emperor in the years prior to his death and mention the names of a number of kings who sent supplications to him, including one Dumnobellaunus. We know from the numismatic evidence that both Dumno- and Dubno- forms of the name occurred in Britain. There is also evidence that Roman historians may on occasions have

⁴⁹ Kretz 2006b, 202.



substituted B for V, as a later document (Cassius Dio, *Roman History* LX, 19) lists another supplicant by the name of Berikos who is commonly assumed to be the Atrebatic chieftain Verica. As discussed above, Evans had no hesitation in equating Augustus's Dumnobellaunus with the British ruler Dubnovellaunos and ever since then the two individuals have generally been considered synonymous.⁵⁰ Unfortunately Augustus's account gives no hint as to the chronology of the events he describes and whilst a date for Cunobelinus's accession of between 7 and 10 AD has gained a broad consensus amongst scholars, the actual date of this event may conceivably be a good deal earlier.

Crummy has speculated that Camulodunum may have been a Catuvellaunian settlement from the very start, c.25 BC, and that both Addedomaros and Dubnovellaunos may have been of Catuvellaunian origin.⁵¹ However, it is hard to see how a relatively small Catuvellaunian settlement could have survived surrounded by a huge tract of presumably hostile Trinovantian territory. Such a scenario is in my view only conceivable if we accept that the Trinovantes and their territories had already been annexed and subsumed into the Catuvellaunian kingdom at this early stage.

There is today a general consensus amongst numismatists that Addedomaros produced the first inscribed coinage north of the Thames, and that by implication at least the earlier part of his coinage must predate that of Tasciovanos.⁵² Although a number of scholars have been reluctant to associate him with a particular tribe, several have viewed him as a ruler of the Trinovantes.⁵³ More recently de Jersey has shown that the existing findspot evidence for Addedomaros's coins is largely inconclusive, with slightly more of the inscribed types being found in Catuvellaunian than in Trinovantian territory.⁵⁴ If his and Crummy's hunch that Addedomaros might have been a member of the Catuvellaunian elite is correct, he may in addition to his Catuvellaunian kingdom also have held part or all of the Trinovantian tribal lands, before Dubnovellaunos laid claim to them by marriage, inheritance or some other means. Such a scenario would suggest that following Caesar's withdrawal from Britain, Cassivellaunos (or his successor) quickly resumed his policy of aggression towards his eastern neighbours, which in turn led to the demise of the Trinovantian king Mandubracius and was to be followed by the gradual incorporation of the Trinovantian territories into the rapidly expanding Catuvellaunian kingdom.

As Crummy has suggested, it is entirely possible that Dubnovellaunos was also a member of the Catuvellaunian dynasty.⁵⁵ Indeed for all we know, both he and Tasciovanos may have been brothers and sons of Addedomaros.⁵⁶ Although pure speculation, it is thus conceivable that on the death of Addedomaros, Dubnovellaunos inherited the eastern portion of the enlarged kingdom, Essex, with Tasciovanos retaining the Catuvellaunian heartlands. The numismatic evidence appears to suggest that Dubnovellaunos ruled over both Essex and Kent at broadly the same time and that his rule ran more or less in parallel with that of Tasciovanos. However, a Catuvellaunian origin would still require an explanation as to how Dubnovellaunos came to develop such an early presence in Kent and why the design of his earliest Essex staters appears to have been based on an uninscribed Cantian prototype. With so few facts to go on and so many potential scenarios to construct, it will be a while yet before we finally get near the truth.

As I have previously pointed out, except for the CAMVL legend on one of Tasciovanos's rare early stater and quarter stater types (V1684 and V1694), there is no evidence that he ever gained control of Camulodunum.⁵⁷ Indeed his gold and silver issues are rarely found in Trinovantian territory and just a single quarter stater is recorded from Colchester itself. The

⁵⁰ Evans 1864, 200.

⁵¹ Crummy 1997, 15, 20–1.

⁵² de Jersey 1996, 33.

⁵³ See for example Allen 1944, 15–17; Mack 1953, 96–7; Nash 1987, 132.

⁵⁴ de Jersey 2005a.

⁵⁵ Crummy 1997, 21.

⁵⁶ Regrettably, and in direct contrast to contemporary Atrebatic rulers, neither makes any reference on his coinage to his descent.

⁵⁷ Kretz 2006b, 199.

CAMVL reference occurs early on in Tasciovanos's coinage, and assuming that he succeeded Addedomaros as ruler of the Catuvellauni, it is possible that at this point in time he was destined to inherit the Trinovantian domains. Perhaps the **CAMVL** issues were struck to celebrate his accession before some major political upheaval occurred, changed these plans and resulted in their hasty withdrawal? Such a scenario would at least go some way towards explaining the extreme rarity of these types. Had Tasciovanos managed to gain lasting control of Camulodunum, surely he would have celebrated his success by striking a sizeable quantity of **CAMVL** gold? Whatever the case may be, his ambition to capture the Trinovantian capital seemingly remained unfulfilled for much of the remainder of his reign until his son and heir Cunobelinus was finally installed as ruler of the Trinovantes.

There are a number of features shared by both Dubnovellaunos's Essex and Kent issues, which I have already dealt with elsewhere and will therefore not repeat here. Readers who wish to explore these similarities in greater detail are referred to my earlier article on the subject.⁵⁸ Whilst none of those pointers, nor indeed the evidence presented here, is capable of proving a direct connection between Dubnovellaunos's Essex and Kent issues on their own, I believe in combination they point overwhelmingly towards one Dubnovellaunos ruling two separate but affiliated kingdoms.

The dating of Dubnovellaunos's issues has long been the subject of considerable controversy. Mack dated his Kent issues to *c.*15 – 1 BC and the Essex ones to AD 1 – 10.⁵⁹ Van Arsdell placed Dubnovellaunos-in-Kent around 30 – 10 BC and Dubnovellaunos-in-Essex *c.*30 – 25 BC.⁶⁰ More recently, Hobbs dated the Essex issues to the late first century BC with the broadly contemporary Kent issues extending into the early part of the first century AD.⁶¹

In a previous article I expressed the belief that Dubnovellaunos, having originally ruled the northern part of Kent, then annexed either all or part of the Trinovantian territories and established himself at Camulodunum whilst continuing to rule his Cantian domains.⁶² This view was based on only a comparatively cursory examination of his Essex staters and, I now believe, probably mistaken. Based on the present in-depth study of the stylistic development and the evolution of the legend of the Essex stater, I have come to the conclusion that the two series of staters most probably developed broadly in parallel and that both display archaic features within their iconography and orthography which would suggest a starting date similar to that of Tasciovanos's earliest stater issue (V1682) or perhaps a little later.

Unless there are a good number of uninscribed Dubnovellaunos types still waiting to be identified, it becomes clear that he issued comparatively few types and, judging by their present day survival rate, in relatively small numbers. In terms of the number of different types issued, Dubnovellaunos's combined output is less than half that of his direct neighbour and likely contemporary Tasciovanos. There is an obvious temptation to conclude that his reign must therefore have been no more than half of the twenty or thirty years normally allotted to Tasciovanos, but does this necessarily follow? The answer is that we simply do not know, as our knowledge of the multitude of factors influencing Iron Age coin production is so inadequate, that this cannot be considered a safe assumption.⁶³ Judging purely by the number of types, the complexity of the legends and number of dies, the development of Dubnovellaunos's Essex stater resembles that of Tasciovanos's first coinage stater, to which I have tentatively allocated a production period of around ten years. However, given the antiquated nature of Dubnovellaunos's earliest Essex staters, the protracted evolution of the legend and the likelihood of him being succeeded by Cunobelinus in the early years of the first century AD, the real time span may well have been twice that.

As I have demonstrated, the reverse of Dubnovellaunos's earliest Essex staters (types A1, A2 and B1) is stylistically extremely close to the Cantian Early Weald stater (V144), thus sug-

⁵⁸ Kretz 1998b, 3–4.

⁵⁹ Mack 1975, 97, 105.

⁶⁰ Van Arsdell 1989, 99–106, 357–61.

⁶¹ Hobbs 1996, 12.

⁶² Kretz 1998b, 5.

⁶³ de Jersey 2005b, 3.

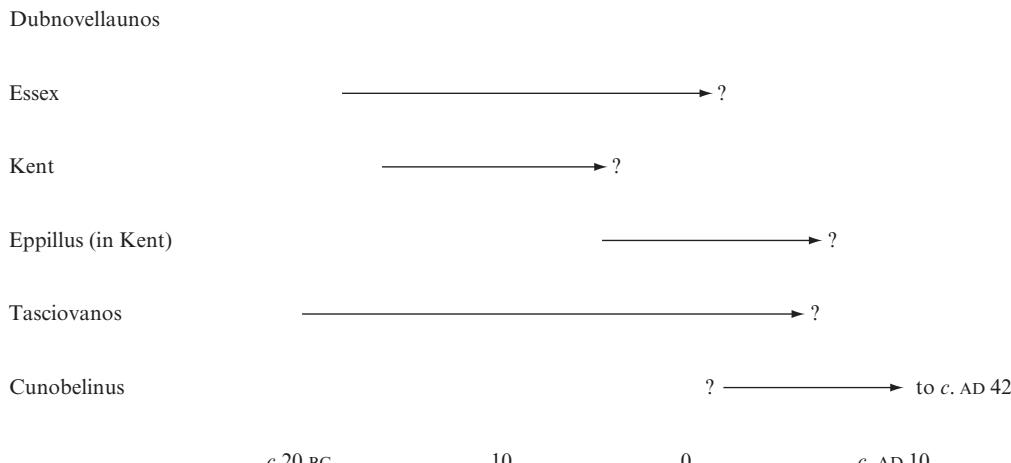
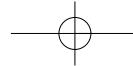


Fig. 12. Proposed phasing of Dubnovellaunos issues relative to the coinages of his contemporaries.

gesting some kind of connection between the two coinages. It is tempting to see this similarity as evidence of Dubnovellaunos originating in Kent and taking part of his artistic heritage with him before acceding to the Trinovantian throne. On the other hand, it may simply reflect the personal choice of a king with Cantian ambitions or connections when confronted with a range of potential designs by his moneyer. In the event the copied Cantian design had but a short lifespan – only four dies are recorded – before it was replaced by the Letter A type, in my view an artistically inferior and altogether less attractive design.

The idea that Cunobelinus's reign at Camulodunum might have overlapped with the last years of Tasciovanos's rule is not entirely new. It was first touched upon by Evans⁶⁴ and more recently alluded to by de Jersey.⁶⁵ Backdating the accession of Cunobelinus has also received support from Haselgrove, who considered a date before AD 6 plausible.⁶⁶ I too have for some time suspected that this overlap may have been greater than previously anticipated, with Cunobelinus taking control of the Trinovantes and establishing himself in Camulodunum while Tasciovanos was still at the height of his power in Verulamium.⁶⁷ A more substantial overlap is also suggested by Cunobelinus's earliest issues, which feature an antiquated iconography including serpents and bucrania strongly at odds with his later issues, and thus 'recall earlier Iron age coinages of the North Thames region'.⁶⁸ In many ways these highly distinctive designs hark all the way back to some of Tasciovanos's earlier issues rather than those of his final years. If correct, this would move the presently favoured date of AD 7 – 8⁶⁹ back by around five years to shortly after the birth of Christ, whilst in the process also shortening Dubnovellaunos's own reign and thus going some way towards explaining the comparatively small size of his coinage.

The recent discovery of the East Leicestershire hoards, containing three previously unknown quarter staters of Cunobelinus carrying the legend CVNO/DVBN has only served to confuse an already problematic situation still further. Apparently combining the names of Dubnovellaunos and Cunobelinus on one coin for the first time, it has raised the question whether the two rulers were in fact contemporaries.⁷⁰ However, the coin in question is stylistically closest to the 'classic' series and on currently accepted stylistic chronology would belong to the very end of Cunobelinus's reign.⁷¹ This in turn raises the question why

⁶⁴ Evans 1864, 287.

⁶⁵ de Jersey 2001, 29.

⁶⁶ Haselgrove 1993, 44.

⁶⁷ Kretz 2008, 56.

⁶⁸ de Jersey 2001, 27.

⁶⁹ de Jersey 2005b, 2.

⁷⁰ Williams and Hobbs 2003, 55–6.

⁷¹ de Jersey 2005b, 4.

Cunobelinus would make reference to his predecessor on the Trinovantian throne several decades after his own accession, when the rule of Dubnovellaunos had become but a distant memory. I do not believe that he did, and have suggested that the **CVNO/DVBN** quarter, whilst closely related to the 'classic' series, represents a new development and may have been intended as either a special issue or the prototype for a new series.⁷² Whilst the **DVBN** reference at this late stage in Cunobelinus's long reign is puzzling to say the least, there are alternative explanations for its occurrence, e.g. a possible reference to his son Togodumnus,⁷³ or even a previously unknown son.⁷⁴

But what about Kent? Whether Dubnovellaunos came to rule this kingdom by inheritance, marriage, conquest or any other means remains unclear. However, I think it likely that at some stage – perhaps midway through the production period of his Essex stater – Dubnovellaunos lost control over his Cantian domains to the Atrebatic king Eppillus, who subsequently controlled parts of Kent for a number of years and in the process issued a fairly substantial quantity of coinage.⁷⁵ This would go some way towards explaining the rarity of Dubnovellaunos's second Cantian stater issue (V176), the production of which may well have been curtailed by such an event. It seems likely that Eppillus was still in charge of his Kentish dominions at the time Cunobelinus took control of the Trinovantes, before being forced out some years later. Such a scenario receives support from the distribution of Cunobelinus's earliest issues, which are notably absent from Kent.⁷⁶ Fig. 12 illustrates how the two Dubnovellaunos coinages might have chronologically interlinked with the issues of Tasciovanos, Epillus and Cunobelinus.

As is unavoidable when discussing personalities and events lost in the dense fog of British prehistory, much of the above is of necessity conjecture. Whether the assumptions made and hypotheses here presented are getting us any nearer the truth of what actually took place in these fascinating but poorly understood last few decades of the late Iron Age, only time and the emergence of new evidence will tell.

APPENDIX 1. Corpus.

Safe for the brief directional change to the wreaths mentioned in the notes, the obverse remains essentially the same throughout the series and is therefore omitted from the type descriptions. All of the reverses contain a number of standard design components, which feature on every coin so far recorded. These include the wreath below the horse, the large pellet under the horse's head, the ringed pellet directly above the horse and the two ringed pellets in the exergue below the wreath. These invariables are not referred to in the classification unless they help to differentiate one type from another or have been modified in any way.

Although this information is arranged in hypothetical chronological order, it would be a mistake to assume that Dubnovellaunos's Essex stater developed in such an organized and simplistic fashion. In reality, the sequence of production would have been considerably more complex, with areas of overlap between some of the classes and different types or variants being issued concurrently or perhaps even recurrently.

class	var.	dies	CCI	weight	legend/comments
A		Early type – obv. has leaves of wreaths pointing outwards, rev. design based on Cantian Early Weald stater (V144), legends most probably garbled forms of DVBNOVALLAVNOS , ending in -OS.			
	A1	◎ on horse's shoulder, under end of tail and in front of forelegs, ··· under head			
	A1	94.1252	5.40		DVBOVALA [...]
	B2	66.0130	5.54		DVB [...]V[...]S, remainder unclear
	B2	68.0345	5.56		DVB [...]
	A2	no ◎ on horse's shoulder, ··· under head			
	C3	68.0346	5.52		...]NOS

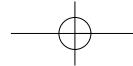
⁷² Kretz 2006a, 3.

⁷³ Kretz 2006a, 2–4.

⁷⁴ de Jersey 2006a, 4.

⁷⁵ de Jersey 2006b, 3.

⁷⁶ de Jersey 2001, 30, fig. 15.



THE TRINOVANTIAN STATERS OF DUBNOVELLAUNOS

25

A3 ◎ on horse's shoulder, elongated muzzle, · · under head

D4	02.0476	5.51	legend unclear
D4	68.0347	—	legend unclear

Average weight: 5.51 g

B **Transitional type** – the only type where leaves of wreath on obverse point inwards rather than outwards. Reverses of both Early and Letter A type, legends probably garbled forms of **DVBNOVALLAVNOS**, ending in –OS.

B1 rev. features Early type horse, ◎ on horse's shoulder now missing, · · · under head, small letter S below top of tail.

E5	94.0884	5.28	..]VBNOVALA[...
E5	06.0645	5.51	mostly missing, but ending in ...OS

B2 rev. features Letter A type horse, O in front and · under head

E6	68.0336	5.44	DVB[...
E6	02.0929	5.59	—

Average weight: 5.46 g

C **Letter A type** – legend **DVBNOVALLAVNOS** or corrupted versions thereof, horse's head resembles that of a griffin, ◎ under end of tail, orthographic errors are common. Apart from the differing spelling arrangements and types of script, this series is largely homogenous with the majority of dies possessing no special distinguishing marks.

C1	F7	06.0644	5.49	legend unclear
	F7	61.0216	5.53	—
	F7	94.0981	5.40	DBVNOVLL[...], badly garbled
	F7	68.0334	5.52	...]LLANO[..., with V missing
	F7	66.0129	5.28	...]LLAN[..., with V missing
	F7	05.1014	5.39	—
	F7	61.0218	5.56	D[...]NO[...]
	F8	06.0584	5.51	DVBNOVL[...], first V blundered
	F8	66.0126	5.48	—
	F8	68.0329	5.57	DV[...], V blundered
	F8	89.0050	5.42	—
	G8	66.0127	5.54	DV[...], V blundered
	G8	68.0330	5.51	DVBNOV[...], first V blundered
	G8	94.1052	5.20	—
	G9	68.0333	5.52	DVB[...]
	G9	68.0331	5.53	DVBNOVALLA[...]
	G9	68.0332	5.35	...]ALLAVNOS
	G9	02.0990	5.49	DVB[...]
	G9	72.0099	5.38	DV[...]
	G10	03.1074	5.56	...]VBNOVALLAV[...]
	G10	03.1386	—	...]BNOVALLAVNOS
	G10	98.0119	5.45	DVBNOVALLA[...]
	H10	05.1016	5.44	...]BNOVALLAVNO[...]
	H11	61.0214	4.54	...]OVLLANO[..., A and V missing, · in front of horse's head
	H12	68.0338	5.45	legend missing, O in front of horse?
	H12	73.0317	5.31	—
	I12	94.0802	5.42	...]VBNOVALL[...]
	I12	68.0335	5.52	—
	I12	04.0588	—	legend unclear
	I12	06.0600	—	—
	I13	94.0737	5.40	...]NOS?

Average weight: 5.42 g

D Letter II type – abbreviated legend DVBNOVIILLA, DVBNOVIILLAV, DVBNOVIILLAVN or DVBNOVIILLAVNVS – featuring double I instead of E, there are no orthographic errors

D1 classification uncertain, small · in front of forelegs, legend incomplete

J14	66.0128	5.45	DVB[...]
J14	94.0832	5.39	—

D2 ·◎· above horse, legend DVBNOVIILLAV or occasionally DVBNOVIILLAVN

D2-1 ·· under end of tail

K15	02.0933	5.40	...JLLAV
-----	---------	------	----------

D2-2 · under horse and ·· or perhaps ·· under end of tail

L16	83.0246	5.46	...J[OVIILLAV
L16	68.0343	5.35	...JNOVIILLAV
L16	68.0342	5.23	...JILLAV
L16	68.0337	5.47	...JVIILLAV
L16?	02.1028	5.37	...JVBNOVIILLAVN, last three letters ligate – recut die
M16	02.0931	5.52	...JNOVIILL[...]

D3 legend DVBNOVIILLA

D3-1 ·· after legend, · below horse and ◎ under end of tail

N17	05.0809	5.30	...J[OVIILLA
-----	---------	------	--------------

D3-2 · at end of legend and · under end of horse's tail

N18	93.0898	5.42	DVBNOVIILLA ·
N18	61.0217	5.61	...JILLA ·
N18	61.0215	5.25	...JNOVIILLA ·
N18	90.0802	5.39	...J[OVIILLA ·
O18	01.0548	5.45	...J[OVIILLA ·
O18	73.0319	5.48	...JVIILLA ·
O18	05.1017	5.48	D[...J[NOVIILLA ·
O18	68.0341	5.45	...JNOVIILLA ·
O18	97.1864	5.50	...J[OVIILLA ·
O18	67.0154	5.51	...JNOVIILLA ·
O18	05.1010	5.44	...JILLIA ·
O18	96.1097	4.60	...JNOVIILLA ·

D3-3 ·· after legend, · below horse, · under end of tail and ◎·◎ below wreath

O19	97.1718	5.49	—
O19	68.0340	5.41	...JVIILLA
O19	06.0117	—	—
O19	04.2295	—	—

D3-4 · under end of tail, perhaps · after legend?

M20	81.0063	5.46	...JNOVIILL
P20	05.1015	5.35	...JNOVIILLA
P20	06.0116	5.50	...J[OVIILLA
P20	95.1050	5.50	...J[OVIILLA
P20	97.1376	5.52	...JVIILLA
P20	02.0042	5.43	—

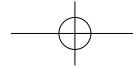
D3-5 · below horse and letter A under end of tail

P21	95.0083	5.38	...JLLA
-----	---------	------	---------

D4 legend DVBNOVIILLAVN

D4-1 · under horse and · under end of tail, legend DVBNOVIILLAVN

P22	68.0344	5.52	...JAVN
P22	02.0932	5.43	—
P22	01.1558	5.36	...J[OVIILLAVN
P22	06.0120	-	DVB[...J[OVIILL[...]



THE TRINOVANTIAN STATERS OF DUBNOVELLAUNOS

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D4-2 • under end of tail, legend unclear, seemingly ending in . . . N, with traces of one or two more letters (VS?) to follow

Q23	94.1253	5.38	. . .]N with traces of VS? behind
Q23?	94.0228	5.42	—

D5 legend DVBNOVIIILLAVNVS

◎ in front of horse's forelegs, • under end of horse's tail, Latinized legend DVBNOVIIILLAVNVS with traces of a ligate V between letters A and N

Q24	61.0213	5.50	. . .]OVIILLAVNVS
Q24	96.2647	5.40	. . .]VILL[. . .

Average weight: 5.41 g

E Letter E type – abbreviated legends ranging from DVBNOVELLA, DVBNOVELLA or DVBNOVE, orthographic errors are extremely rare.

E1 legend DVBNOVELLA

Q25	73.0320	5.44	DV[. . .]VELLA
-----	---------	------	-----------------

E2 ◎ in front of horse, • under end of horse's tail, legend DVBNOVELLA •

R26	06.0474	—	. . .]NOVELLA •
R26	67.0153	5.35	DVBNOVELLA

E3 ★ under end of tail, legend DVBNOVELLA

E3-1 ◎ in front of horse, legend DVBNOVELLA, rev. die no. 27 has tiny • under horse.

R27	95.0671	5.30	. . .]OVELLA
R27	89.0226	—	. . .]OVELLA
R27	96.3130	5.35	. . .]NOVELLA
- 27	06.0119	—	. . .]VBNOVELLA
- 27	73.0322	5.18	. . .]OVELLA
S28	01.0962	—	DVBNOVELL[. . .
S28	73.0321	5.30	. . .]BNOVELLA
S28	01.0935	—	. . .]OVELLA
T28	68.0339	5.46	. . .]BNOVELL[. . .
T28	97.1688	5.49	. . .]BNOVELLA
T28	06.0118	—	DVBNOVE[. . .
U29	01.1986	5.33	. . .]VELLA
U29	73.0318	5.25	—
V30	97.1013	5.47	. . .]BNOVELLA, error on horse's tail
- 30	98.2051	—	. . .]OVELLA, see above
W31	01.0777	5.22	—

E3-2 Obverse has four additional • in shape of a cross, reverse has ◎ surrounded by • above horse, debased coppery alloy, legend DVBNOVELLA

X32	01.1985	5.33	. . .]VELLA
-----	---------	------	--------------

E4 ◎ in front of horse, abbreviated legend DVBNOVE

W33	02.0930	5.44	. . .]BNOVE
W33	97.1095	5.40	. . .]BNOVE

Average weight: 5.35 g

F Late type – debased alloy, light weight

F1 legend DVBNOV. . . with seemingly ligate but garbled ending

Y34	00.1069	4.53	. . .]NOV[. . .
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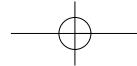
APPENDIX 2. Findspots and sources of information.

The gazetteer contains details of all examples of Dubnovellaunos staters recorded in the Celtic Coin Index (CCI) at the Institute of Archaeology, Oxford, up to the end of 2005, together with several examples which have come to the author's attention during 2007. In addition to the usual bibliographic notes, the final column contains references to a number of auction catalogues, dealer's lists and museum collections with the abbreviations explained below:

BDW	Buckland, Dix and Wood auction catalogues
BMC	R. Hobbs, <i>British Iron Age Coins in the British Museum</i> , 1996
CNG	Classical Numismatic Group auction catalogues
Cummings	John Cummings sales lists
LHS	LHS Numismatik (Zurich), formerly Leu Numismatik
NCirc	Spink Numismatic Circular
Rudd	Chris Rudd sales lists
SCBI	<i>Sylloge of the Coins of the British Isles</i>
SCMB	Seaby Coin and Medal Bulletin
Vosper	Mike Vosper sales lists

References to earlier gazetteers are abbreviated as *Origins* (Allen 1960) and Suppl. III (Haselgrave 1989).

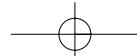
CCI	wt	provenance	comments
00.0309	3.90	Kent	bronze core
00.1069	4.53	—	CNG Triton I, 3.12.1997, lot 2213; Rudd list 52, no. 69; base gold
01.0548	5.45	Kelvedon, Essex	Rudd list 60, no. 69
01.0777	5.22	—	Rudd list 68, no. 68
01.0935	—	Essex	—
01.0962	—	Essex	—
01.1558	5.36	nr Maldon, Essex	Rudd list 65, no. 112
01.1985	5.33	—	CNG 57, 4.4.2001, lot 1711, base gold
01.1986	5.33	—	CNG 57, 4.4.2001, lot 1712
02.0042	5.43	Orsett, Essex	—
02.0476	5.51	Cambridgeshire	Rudd list 64, no. 69
02.0990	5.49	Abbess Roding, Essex	Rudd list 67, no. 66
02.0929	5.59	Great Waltham, Essex	Chelmsford Museum, <i>BNJ</i> 74 (2004), pl. 12.1
02.0930	5.44	Great Waltham, Essex	Chelmsford Museum, <i>BNJ</i> 74 (2004), pl. 12.2
02.0931	5.52	Great Waltham, Essex	Chelmsford Museum, <i>BNJ</i> 74 (2004), pl. 12.3
02.0932	5.43	Great Waltham, Essex	Chelmsford Museum, <i>BNJ</i> 74 (2004), pl. 12.4
02.0933	5.40	Great Waltham, Essex	Chelmsford Museum, <i>BNJ</i> 74 (2004), pl. 12.5
02.0990	5.49	Abbess Roding, Essex	Rudd list 67, no. 66
02.1028	5.37	Orsett, Essex	Rudd list 78, no. 61, with provenance 'Kent'
03.1074	5.56	Little Laver, Essex	—
03.1386	—	Essex	<i>The Searcher</i> , Oct. 2002, 32
04.0588	—	Great Finborough, Suffolk	—
04.2295	—	east of Colchester, Essex	—
05.0809	5.30	Ightham, Kent	—
05.1010	5.44	—	Scheers, <i>Péronne</i> , pl. XXIV, no. 395
05.1014	5.39	Heybridge/Maldon, Essex	hoard coin no. 1, Colchester Museum
05.1015	5.35	Heybridge/Maldon, Essex	hoard coin no. 2, Colchester Museum
05.1016	5.44	Heybridge/Maldon, Essex	hoard coin no. 3, Colchester Museum
05.1017	5.48	—	Tkalec Zurich auction 9.5.2005, lot 4
06.0116	5.50	nr Chelmsford, Essex	—
06.0117	—	nr Chelmsford, Essex	Rudd list 94, no. 44
06.0118	—	nr Chelmsford, Essex	—
06.0119	—	nr Chelmsford, Essex	—
06.0120	—	nr Chelmsford, Essex	—
06.0474	—	Alpheton, Suffolk	Suppl. III, 34; <i>Britannia</i> 18, 331; CBA Group 6 <i>Bulletin</i> 31 (1986), 53; Moyse's Hall Museum, Bury St Edmunds
06.0584	5.51	Maldon, Essex	Heybridge hoard? CNG 66, 19.5.2004, lot 28
06.0600	—	—	Bruun Rasmussen auction 764, 11.12.2006, lot 5389
06.0644	5.49	Heybridge/Maldon, Essex	hoard coin no. 4, Colchester Museum
06.0645	5.51	Heybridge/Maldon, Essex	hoard coin no. 5, Colchester Museum
61.0213	5.50	—	Glendining (Lockett coll.), 6.6.1955, lot 37, casts in BM
61.0214	4.54	—	Ashmolean
61.0215	5.25	Marks Tey, Essex	hoard coin, Colchester and Essex Museum; casts in BM
61.0216	5.53	—	Fitzwilliam Museum, <i>SCBI</i> 1, no. 135



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61.0217	5.61	—	Fitzwilliam Museum, <i>SCBI</i> 1, no. 134
61.0218	5.56	—	Fitzwilliam Museum, <i>SCBI</i> 1, no. 136
66.0126	5.48	—	Hunterian Museum
66.0127	5.54	—	Hunterian Museum
66.0128	5.45	—	Ashmolean
66.0129	5.28	Canterbury, Kent	Ashmolean
66.0130	5.54	Colchester, Essex	Ashmolean, acc. to Evans fd at Dorchester, Oxon.
67.0153	5.35	Wickford, Essex	CCI incorrectly states excavated at Beauchamps – in reality found in builder's spoil heap; Southend Museum
67.0154	5.51	—	Nat. Mus. of Wales, ex Mack; <i>SCBI</i> 20, pl. IV, 122
68.0329	5.57	—	BMC 2434
68.0330	5.51	—	BMC 2429
68.0331	5.53	—	BMC 2428
68.0332	5.35	—	BMC 2427
68.0333	5.52	—	BMC 2425
68.0334	5.52	—	BMC 2433
68.0335	5.52	—	BMC 2432
68.0336	5.44	—	Glendining, 4.7.1939 (Drabble coll.), lot 33; casts in BM, Evans IV.6
68.0337	5.47	—	BMC 2438
68.0338	5.45	—	BMC 2431
68.0339	5.46	Walton on the Naze, Essex	BMC 2440, Evans IV.7
68.0340	5.41	Marks Tey, Essex?	BMC 2435, provenance recorded as Toy Hall, Essex
68.0341	5.45	—	BMC 2426, Evans IV.8
68.0342	5.23	Colchester, Essex	BMC 2439, Evans IV.9
68.0343	5.35	Colchester, Essex	BMC 2437
68.0344	5.35	—	BMC 2436
68.0345	5.56	—	BMC 2430
68.0346	5.52	—	Rudd list 31, no. 63, ex Baldwin 14, 13.10.1997, lot 130; casts in BM
68.0347	—	—	casts in BM
68.0348	3.85	Birling, E. Sussex	plated, hoard coin, BMC 2441
72.0098	2.95	—	bronze core, Colchester and Essex Museum
72.0099	5.38	—	Colchester and Essex Museum
73.0317	5.31	—	ex Mossop, ex <i>SCMB</i> Oct. 1968, G1595
73.0318	5.25	—	ex Mossop, Elsen 49, 19.4.1997, lot 89
73.0319	5.48	—	Fitzwilliam, <i>SCBI</i> 1, no. 133
73.0320	5.44	—	ex Norweb coll., <i>SCBI</i> 16, no. 27
73.0321	5.30	Rayleigh, Essex	Cleveland Museum of Art (Ohio)
			Nat. Mus. of Wales, ex Glendining (Lockett coll.) 6.6.1955, lot 38
73.0322	5.18	—	Budapest Mus. (?), Dessewffy (1910), pl. XXXIX, 952
79.0023	5.50	—	probably a modern fake
81.0063	5.46	Soham, Cambs.	Sotheby's (Stack coll.) 22.4.1999, lot 71
83.0246	5.46	Cambridge, Cambs.	shown to BM, found with two others (one plated)
84.0029	—	—	plated coin
89.0050	5.42	Little Wakering, Essex	<i>BNJ</i> 57 (1987), pl. 1.25 with provenance of Barking, Essex
89.0226	—	New Chetney Island, Kent	<i>Kent Arch. Rev.</i> 54 (1978), 97
90.0802	5.39	Woodham Mortimer, Essex	shown to BM
93.0094	—	—	bronze core, Rudd list 8, no. 59; <i>NCirc</i> June 1992, no. 3544
93.0898	5.42	Soham, Cambs.	Glendining's (Mossop coll.), 6.11.1991, lot 283
94.0228	5.42	—	<i>NCirc</i> Apr. 1994, no. 2096; Apr. 1996, no. 1407
94.0737	5.40	Weeley Heath, Essex	Rudd lists 10, no. 45 and 12, no. 40
94.0802	5.42	nr Chelmsford, Essex	—
94.0832	5.39	—	Sotheby's (Strauss coll.) 26.5.1994, lot 37
94.0884	5.28	Weeley Heath, Essex	Vecchi auction 2, 12.9.1996, lot 1091; Rudd list 53, no. 83
94.0981	5.40	Kent	<i>The Searcher</i> , June 1994, 28
94.1052	5.20	—	BDW, 1.6.1994, lot 712 and 21.9.1994, lot 11
94.1252	5.40	Colchester area	BDW, 21.9.1994, lot 9
94.1253	5.38	Colchester area	BDW, 21.9.1994, lot 10
95.0083	5.38	Isle of Sheppey, Kent	—
95.0671	5.30	—	Vosper list 83, no. 26
95.1050	5.50	—	Vosper list 84, no. 30
96.1097	4.60	—	Vosper list 88, no. 97
96.2647	5.40	—	Vosper list 91, no. 36



96.2688	3.16	Ashwell, Herts.	bronze core, Rudd list 23, no. 70
96.3130	5.35	—	Vecchi auction 2, 12.9.1996, lot 1092
97.1013	5.47	—	Noble Numismatics 52, 13.11.1996, lot 1073; Rudd list 27, no. 91
97.1095	5.40	Essex/Suffolk	Cummings list February 1998, H7
97.1376	5.52	—	Rudd list 28, no. 156
97.1688	5.49	—	Bank Leu 59, 17.5.1994, lot 5 (listed as 4) and LHS 95, 25.10.2005, lot 412
97.1718	5.49	—	Baldwin's 14, 13.10.1997, lot 129; Rudd list 33, no. 57
97.1864	5.50	Braughing, Herts.	—
98.0119	5.45	—	—
98.2051	—	Coggeshall, Essex	rev. only, illustrated on flyer in <i>The Searcher</i> , Oct. 1998

uncertain records

—	—	Colchester, Essex	<i>Origins</i> , 216, as perhaps in Colchester Museum? Check revealed this not to be the case
—	—	Colchester, Essex	<i>Origins</i> , 216, Evans 1864, 203, plated coin originally in Pollexfen coll., perhaps 72.0098?
—	—	—	plated coin, formerly belonging to Countess of Caledon: Evans 1890, 527
—	—	Marks Tey, Essex	<i>Origins</i> , 216, Evans 1864, 203 and 1890, 527, a second coin in Colchester Museum? Check revealed this not to be the case. Perhaps identical with 68.0340?
—	—	Essex	<i>Origins</i> , 216, Evans 1864, 203, <i>JBA</i> XVII, 69; no image shown, but described as almost identical to BMC 2440
—	—	—	<i>Origins</i> , 216, Evans 1864, 203, originally in Huxtable coll., legend LLAN ...
—	—	—	<i>Origins</i> , 216, noted by Evans in his own copy
—	—	Dorchester, Oxon	<i>Origins</i> , 216, same as 66.0130 above, fd in Colchester
—	—	Thackway, Oxon.	<i>Origins</i> , 216, a mistake for Tackley, Oxon.?
—	—	Cambridge, Cambs.	Suppl. III, 34, quite possibly 83.0246 but no star below tail
—	—	Cambridge, Cambs.	Suppl. III, 34, fd together with previous entry
—	—	Cambridge, Cambs.	Suppl. III, 34, plated coin, possibly same as 84.0029 but no star below tail
—	—	Barking, Essex	Suppl. III, 34, <i>BNJ</i> 57 (1987), pl. 1.25, same as 89.0050 fd at Little Wakering, Essex
—	—	Billericay, Essex	Suppl. III, 34, same as 67.0153 fd. at Wickford, Essex

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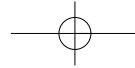
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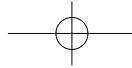
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PHILOLOGY MATTERS TO EARLY ANGLO-SAXON MONEY MATTERS

FRAN COLMAN

IN the introduction to the essay collection *Medieval Money Matters*, the editor quotes Philip Grierson as follows: 'Historians have much to learn from numismatists, but there is a barrier of non-recognition and non-comprehension which must be broken down before each group can make use of the work of the other in the manner most helpful to both'. This volume does, as claimed, 'illustrate the collapse of Grierson's barriers',¹ as does also, for instance, previous work by at least one of the contributors to this volume.² The reciprocal benefit of trade also between philologists and numismatists, as well as historians, has won increasing recognition with respect to interpretations of names on Anglo-Saxon coins, a situation to which the works of Smart dating back to 1968 have made a notable contribution.³

For example, Smart's recent application of numismatic skills in interpreting early Anglo-Saxon coin epigraphy, allows the conclusion that three forms formerly regarded as representing three different moneyers' names are most plausibly interpreted as forms of a single name.⁴ The deletion of two 'obscure' names from the canon of Old English personal names is of significance (not to say relief) to philologists; and the reduction in the number of moneyers is of importance to numismatists seeking patterns of minting and moneyers in the period in question. I have detailed the value to philologists of the arrangement of personal-name data supplied by Smart in the first *Index* to the *SCBI* series elsewhere.⁵ Collaboration between a numismatist and a runologist resulted in the clarification of the form <EE> on coins of the East Anglian King Beonna as a moneyer's name.⁶ Collaboration with Archibald also prompted Colman's philological exploration of an intractable moneyer's name.⁷ And collaboration produced the 1991 volume edited by Bammesberger, in which philologists and numismatists trade ideas. These illustrations provide sufficient evidence of the enthusiasm with which students of different fields, related by a concern with affairs of Anglo-Saxon England, now greet each others' contributions to research. It is, however, possible to mis-place enthusiasm.

In the volume edited by Bammesberger, Blackburn says that '[i]n the ninth-century Mercian and West Saxon coinages, Paul Bibire has drawn attention to a standardisation in the spelling of the obverse inscriptions as contrasted with the considerable dialectal variation exhibited by the moneyers' names on the reverse'.⁸ Since the paper from which Bibire is cited here had not then appeared in print, numismatists had a few years to accept this claim, and to draw conclusions about possible centralisation of die-cutting of obverses, with regional production of reverses. And even after its appearance, its 'findings' have apparently continued to elicit uncritical support, and to form the basis for the erection of potentially important numismatic theories. I quote now in full from Blackburn:

Acknowledgements: In the course of writing this paper I have gratefully accepted many of the improving suggestions about its content and style offered by Professor John Anderson, Miss Marion Archibald, Jackie Goodman, Professor Anthony Goodman, Dr Veronica Smart, and Professor E.G. Stanley. Useful glossaries and indices to philological / linguistic terminology used in this paper are available in Hogg (ed.) 1992 and Lass 1994.

¹ Wood 2004, vii, citing Grierson 1951.

² Nightingale 1982.

³ Smart 1968; see also van der Meer 1965.

⁴ Smart 2001.

⁵ Colman 1983; *SCBI* 28 (*Cumulative Index*).

⁶ Page 1985; also noted as a moneyer in *SCBI* 28 (*Cumulative Index*), 34. Previously '[t]here [had] seem[ed] three possibilities: that EEE is a moneyer's name; that EEE is the name of the mint; or that EEE is a meaningless conjunction of letters': Pagan 1968.

⁷ Colman 1997.

⁸ Blackburn 1991, 159–60.

That certain aspects of the coin designs were laid down is evident from the coin inscriptions. We find that the form of the king's name is more standardized than that of the moneyer and sometimes it is in a different dialect, as Bibire has shown. For example, the coins of Berhtwulf of Mercia (840–52), which were struck at London, invariably spell the kings' name **BERHTVVLF** or **–VLF**, with Anglian smoothing of the first element, which is indicative of a Mercian or Northumbrian dialect, whereas none of the eleven moneyers' names on the reverses shows any sign of Anglian smoothing; and where the form is diagnostic it is always in what appears to be a Kentish dialect. This implies that the die-cutter was given a model which included the obverse inscription defined by the Mercian court, but for the moneyer's name he drew on his own native Kentish or London dialect. Little is known about the dialect used in London during the Anglo-Saxon period – indeed the coins may be the only evidence to survive.⁹

Bibire's paper appears in the collection edited by Blackburn and Dumville which appeared in 1998: a collection which in principle evinces appreciation of the value of interdisciplinary collaboration, containing not only works by eminent numismatists, historians, and specialists in other fields, but also the one by Bibire. Because Bibire's paper ostensibly deals with philological matters, it might have been expected to constitute a welcome acknowledgement of the value to philologists of the concerns of the types of issues treated elsewhere in the volume, and to offer a concomitant indication of the potential signification of philological interpretation of moneyers' names to numismatic and historical theories. It is this paper, however, and the influence on numismatists of the proposal as phrased by Blackburn above, that signals caution against uncritical acceptance by students in one field, of claims made by one in another. This proposal, and philological objections to it, are the concerns of what follows.

The relevant claim is that '[i]n general there is more consistency in the forms of the kings' or archbishops' names than the moneyers' names, and it seems probable that some degree of central standardization of the obverse inscription took place as part of the instruction defining the coin design'.¹⁰ Bibire's statement is certainly guarded; but the proposition has invited firmer conclusions, as by Blackburn.¹¹ Marion Archibald has pointed out that 'consistency' in forms of king's names would be a natural consequence of the fact that the die-cutter(s) cut the king's name more frequently than that of any individual moneyer, and 'so would soon have developed an almost automatic facility in doing so and as a result obverses would naturally display greater consistency whether or not a specific formula had been laid down from headquarters'.¹² However, Bibire's 1998 claim itself suffers, both (1) on empirical grounds and (2) on grounds of philological interpretation of dialectal forms of Old English personal names.

With respect to (1), Bibire acknowledges that the kings' names he cites 'are drawn mainly from the *British Museum Catalogue*'.¹³ But available in volumes of *SCBI* and elsewhere are examples of variant forms of kings' names. As an example of the purported consistency in forms of king's names, Bibire states that the name of King Berhtwulf (of Mercia) is 'spelled universally **BERHTVLF** or **BERHTVVLF**' (as accepted and cited by Blackburn, quoted above).¹⁴ Yet in a paper in the same volume is cited the undeniably Kentish form <**BIARHTVLF**>.¹⁵ It may be of interest that the name of the moneyer, Brid, identified on this coin, also occurs on coins with the obverse spellings <**BERHTVLF**> and <**BERHTVVLF**>.¹⁶ A moneyer of the same name, presumably representing the same man, also minted for the contemporaneous King Æthelwulf of Wessex; Booth discusses the potential significance of this as evidence for the political situation pertaining between Mercia and Wessex, as well as for mint attribution of the coins in question.¹⁷ <**BIARHTVLF**> is not a unique instance of regional dialectal variation in the forms of kings' names. Also Kentish are forms of the name of King Ecgbeorht of

⁹ Blackburn 2003, 201–2.

¹⁰ Bibire 1998, 166; and see also p. 156: 'there is a marked discrepancy between the treatment of king-names and moneyer names on individual coins'.

¹¹ Bibire 1998, 166; Blackburn 1991 and 2003, quoted above.

¹² M. Archibald, personal communication 27 April 2005.

¹³ Bibire 1998, 158; *BMC*.

¹⁴ Bibire 1998, 159; Blackburn 2003, 202.

¹⁵ Booth 1998, 87 no. 4, unacknowledged by Bibire, and not noted in Blackburn 2003, 201–2, quoted above.

¹⁶ Booth 1998, 86 no. 1, 87 no. 2, 91 no. 33, 94 no. 50, and 101.

¹⁷ Booth 1998, 68–72.

Wessex (early ninth-century, but not included in Bibire's discussion) with second element spelled <BEARHT>.¹⁸ One could multiply relevant examples of data contradicting Bibire's claim: and I return below to instances of variant forms of kings' names cited by Bibire himself.

The form <BURGRED> (for Burgred of Mercia), however, does seem to occur 'invariably', as Bibire suggests: but one's response is 'so what?'. That this invariability indicates 'that centralised standardisation has probably taken place' is too strong a claim. There is a touch of desperation in the suggestion that 'possible variants could be e.g. <BURH-> or less probably <RÆD>, beside more random forms'.¹⁹ Protothemic-final <H> for <G> would not be expected in ninth-century Old English.²⁰ Replacement of final <g> by <h> (in words such as *burg* 'fortified town') is usually associated with a late Old English phonological change: devoicing of the final velar fricative.²¹ And despite the etymological connection of the deuterotheme with OE *ræd* 'counsel, advice', the long 'ash' vowel in the name-element is, as Bibire says, less probable. The forms with <E> would be typical of non-West-Saxon (i.e. Anglian, including Mercian) *red*, and certainly typical as representing a reduced non-back vowel in the second element of compound (dithematic) names in any regional dialect.²² I must note that the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (manuscript 'A', the Parker Chronicle, 832–900) has two instances of the Mercian king's name as <Burgræd>, against only one of <Burgræd> and one of inflected <Burgræde> (and manuscript 'E', the Laud Chronicle, 1122–54, has one <Burgræd>).²³ But the data in the Toronto Corpus show that, in manuscript records of whatever period, the personal-name second element *ræd* appears with overwhelming frequency as <red>.

What is meant by Bibire's 'more random forms'? One might cite the forms <BURRED> and <BVRED> for the moneyer named **Burgræd**, on coins of Edward the Confessor (1042–66), from the London and Southwark mints.²⁴ In such forms, absence of <G> is evidence of loss of the protothemic-final consonant, which 'may anticipate the early Middle English evidence' (cf. New English *borough*, *Edinburgh*) or which may be evidence of the common phenomenon of consonant loss within compound names.²⁵ Neither account of the forms of the later moneyers' name would necessarily lead one to expect such forms for the name of the ninth-century Mercian king. The Toronto Corpus shows no such forms in manuscript data, for the name of this king or for any other individual. Again with respect to 'more random forms', one might also think of the 'parasite' vowel evidenced in forms of the common word *burg*, such as <burug>, <byrig>, in late Northumbrian.²⁶ But this is not typical of forms of the proper name-element in early texts.²⁷ And the <y> in <byrg>, <byrig> represents a mutated vowel in forms of the dative singular and nominative and accusative plural,²⁸ as in, for example, <of Sancte Eadmundes byrig> 'from Saint Edmund's town', found in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, manuscript 'E': an inflected form not to be expected for the prototheme of the personal name. In short, the name **Burgræd** is dialectally boring: it is an unlikely source of evidence for regional dialectal spelling variation. The form <BURGRED> is not a dog that didn't bark. To compare the consistency of forms of this king's name at the period in question with variation in forms of other names amounts to nothing.

¹⁸ e.g., *SCBI 2 (Hunterian Museum)*, nos 529, 530, 531, all from different dies; compare 'normal' West-Saxon <ECGBEORHT>, nos 534–535, from different dies.

¹⁹ Bibire 1998, 160.

²⁰ But see Campbell 1959, §446; Hogg 1992, §7.63 for sporadic early examples in eighth-century Mercian glosses, whose 'reliability' as evidence of phonology is variable.

²¹ Campbell 1959, §446; Hogg 1992, §§7.60, 7.61; an earlier example is provided by *SCBI 9 (Ashmolean Museum)*, no. 294 and *SCBI 2 (Hunterian Museum)*, no. 593: <BEAHRED> = **Beagred**, moneyer for Edward the Elder 899–925; but this would not warrant an expectation of a variant form <BURH> for Burgred's name.

²² Campbell 1959, §§128, 372.

²³ These and all subsequent references to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* are taken from the Toronto Corpus.

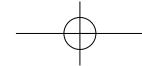
²⁴ Colman 1992, 288 and 315.

²⁵ Colman 1992, 201.

²⁶ And elsewhere: Campbell 1959, §§361, 365.

²⁷ See, e.g., the names with **Burg-** in Sweet 1885, 553.

²⁸ Campbell 1959, §§624, 627.



Moreover, there are, obviously, fewer kings' names than moneyers' names in the data at issue; and it happens that the kings' names consist of elements less susceptible to (regional) dialectal variation than many of the moneyers' names (especially those containing reflexes of historical diphthongs: see further below). But Bibire himself cites, for instance, the variants <ÆDELVVULF> and <EDELVVULF> for King Æthelwulf of Wessex, and <ÆDELRED> and <EDELRED> for Æthelred I of Wessex. The <Æ> ~ <E> alternation in the prototheme associated with OE *ædel* 'noble' plausibly represents regional dialectal variants, as cited, but without comment, by Bibire.²⁹ Indeed this alternation has incited considerable debate amongst Old English dialectologists.³⁰ But the forms of the deuterotheme (cognate with *wulf* 'wolf') offer no overt opportunity for a display of such distinctions. So, what regional dialectal variation is to be detected in forms of kings' names, Bibire seems to dismiss as inconsequential; and where there is invariance (as in <BVRGRED>, above), he invents putative variational possibilities in order to argue that they do not occur.

So, this brings us to point (2) above: philological interpretation. On Bibire's concepts of philological method, on his assumptions about continuity of a single 'London dialect' from Old to Middle English,³¹ and on his misguided assumptions that mint-identity allows correlation of coin-spellings with Old English regional dialects, I have dilated in two relatively recent papers, with detailed philological and numismatic references;³² this is not the place to re-iterate extensive arguments. A major point, however, is that, in interpreting forms of Old English personal names as evidence for philology, in particular for regional dialectal variation, a crucial factor is the attempt at plausible etymologies for the name-elements: with what common words are the elements cognate? The importance of attention to this is illustrated by Bibire's failure to provide etymological support for his claim for forms of the moneyer's name **Hebeca**, that 'Kentish or Vespasian Psalter [recte Mercian] *e* for *æ*' appears 'possibly in NEBECA (for HEBECA)', later less tentatively expressed as 'probably in HEBECA'.³³ As I have discussed elsewhere, with more detailed etymological references than given below, the relevant stems are 'IB' and 'EB' (the latter possibly an umlauted, or mutated, variant of 'AB').³⁴ The initial <H> represents an unetymological prosthetic [h], as evidenced also in, for instance, forms of names with a prototheme related to OE *hud* 'loud', but spelled <Hlud>.³⁵ The <E> in <HEBECA> is neither 'possibly' nor 'probably' a reflection of a Kentish or Mercian vocalic variant. It is most unlikely to be. The suggestion that the form is evidence of regional dialect variation in the spelling of moneyers' names does not stand up to etymological scrutiny, and thus cannot appropriately be cited as evidence of Bibire's hypothesis about a degree of standardisation of kings' names as opposed to moneyers' names.

Whatever ambivalence is to be accorded the etymology of the stem of **Hebeca**, there is no doubt as to the etymological source of the (diphthongal) vowel of the prototheme of the name of King Ceolwulf of Mercia, cognate with Old English *ceol* 'keel'. Proto-Germanic [eu], as in this word, 'descended' into Old English as a long diphthong ([e:o]), 'normally' spelled <eo>.³⁶ For the present purpose, this is to be distinguished from Proto-Germanic [iu], which 'normally' appears in early Old English as <io>, representing a long diphthong [i:u].³⁷ In Kentish Old English, however, the first segment of the [e:o] diphthong was raised to [i], according to prevailing interpretations of Kentish <io> spellings for Proto-Germanic [eu], as in, e.g., <ciol> 'keel', cf. non-Kentish <ceol> (above), <priost> 'priest', cf. non-Kentish <preost>, <ðiow> 'servant', cf. non-Kentish <ðeow>, etc.³⁸ Thus, the form

²⁹ Bibire 1998, 161–2.

³⁰ See, e.g., De Camp 1958; Toon 1983; Colman 1988, §4, 2004a, §2.

³¹ Cf. Blackburn 2003, 202, quoted above.

³² Colman 2004a, 2004b.

³³ Bibire 1998, 161, 163 and 164.

³⁴ Colman 2004b, §6.

³⁵ Schönfeld 1911, xxiii; see further, e.g., Schönfeld 1911, 132; Förstemann 1900, 435, 941, 942; Forssner 1916, 169; Kaufmann 1968, 212.

³⁶ Campbell 1959, §§120, 297; Hogg 1992, §5.41; see also Walde 1927–32, 556.

³⁷ Or [i:o]; Hogg 1992, §5.41

³⁸ Campbell 1959, §297; Hogg 1992, §5.160.

<CIOLVVULF> on obverses of coins of King Ceolwulf is, by all reliable accounts, indicative of a Kentish diphthong in the prototheme. And yet Bibire, citing this form alongside the also attested <CEOLVVULF>, claims, with no supporting citation of references, that the former preserves ‘the high first element of OE *īo*, which does not need to be Kentish’.³⁹ Perhaps an overzealous desire to prove lack of regional variation in forms of kings’ names has in this instance prompted the proposal of a clearly false etymology. The error is repeated, again with no supporting references, in ‘Kentish raising and unrounding of diphthongs is not visible in CIOLVVLF (which has original *īo*)’.⁴⁰ And yet, the self-contradictory observation that ‘instances with Kentish raising and unrounding of the diphthongs are well attested: CEALNO-Ð etc., CIALNO-Ð, CIALNO-Ð [sic]’ implies acceptance of the canonical etymology of the protothemic element as having a vowel etymologically descended from Proto-Germanic [eu], whose first segment shows raising in Kentish (cited above), in <IA>, and whose second, in <EA> and <IA>, in the same dialect, shows the unrounding reflected by the <A> spelling.⁴¹ The lack of reference to etymological-philological works in support of the claims about forms of the name-element, as well as the self-contradiction expressed in the quotations cited above, might give pause to those from other disciplines wishing to avail themselves of the potential information to be gleaned from forms of personal names on Anglo-Saxon coins. But in the same volume, Blackburn and Keynes accept and cite Bibire, in remarking that ‘the *Ciol-* form is not distinctive in terms of dialect’, thus also tacitly acquiescing in acceptance of the proposal that kings’ names on ninth-century Anglo-Saxon coins did not show the sorts of regional dialectal variation as shown by forms of the moneyers’ names.⁴² And thus may be constructed misguidedly a numismatic theory about centralisation of production of obverse dies, as opposed to regional production of reverses.

This is not to say that such a theory in itself, based on other grounds, might not be tenable. But its support (let alone proof) is not to be founded upon philological arguments (and by implication etymological claims) which themselves do not survive examination.

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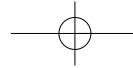
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³⁹ Bibire 1998, 161.

⁴⁰ Bibire 1998, 165.

⁴¹ Bibire 1998, 163; Campbell 1959, §280.

⁴² Blackburn and Keynes 1998, 143 n.2.



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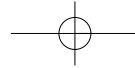
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THE LUNETTES COINAGE OF ALFRED THE GREAT

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Introduction

THE Lunettes coinage of Alfred (871–99) is generally viewed as a relatively straightforward, and final, adjunct to the substantial, and difficult to interpret, Lunettes coinage of the mid-ninth century kingdoms of Mercia and Wessex. Although produced at one of the most critical times in English history by one of its most remarkable rulers, it has received limited coverage in four key studies: Pagan in his seminal work on the coinage of Burgred (*c.*852–73/4);¹ Dolley and Blunt in their major review of Alfred's coinage and hoards,² Blackburn in his work on the London mint in the 880s³ and his associated work with Keynes on the relationship between Lunettes coins and subsequent issues.⁴ None of these sought solely to assess this coinage in its own right. As a consequence Alfred's Lunettes coinage, otherwise referred to as his first or Phase I coinage, is regarded as short-lived issue of little relevance to the reign as a whole.

With a large number of new finds in recent years, the evidence relating to this coinage has grown substantially. The number of moneyers now known exceeds that for any English coinage type up to that date and is not surpassed for any subsequent phase of Alfred's issues. This, along with a wide variety of stylistic variation, suggests this was a highly significant time in the development of the English coinage. Because of these issues we believe it merits closer analysis and reappraisal.

Our recent study of the coinage of Æthelred I (865–71) noted that the Lunettes coinage, originally confined to the kingdom of Mercia, was adopted by the kingdom of Wessex some time around 866.⁵ This important monetary decision created a single design for all coins south of the Humber and marked the beginnings of the uniform English coinage. We identified, from analysis of obverse dies, that Æthelred I's Lunettes could be placed into two groups. The majority, the Wessex Regular Lunettes group (a category we designated Æthelred I Group 2: *Pl. 1, 1–4*) all have a distinctively Wessex obverse interpretation. This was without doubt a coinage struck using dies prepared at, or strongly influenced by, Canterbury.

A second group, the Wessex Irregular Lunettes group (a category we designated Æthelred I Group 3: *Pl. 1, 5–7*) forms a smaller portion of the surviving coins. A diverse group influenced by Mercian Lunettes styles, it seems to have been produced at London, at other mints under Mercian control, or at locations in Wessex using dies prepared at London or possibly elsewhere. Previously these coins had been proposed as posthumous or unofficial issues.⁶ Our conclusion, based essentially on the number of coins now known, was that these were issues almost certainly produced officially during the reign of Æthelred I and are the products of

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¹ Pagan 1966.

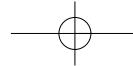
² Dolley and Blunt 1961 (chronology of coins) and Blunt and Dolley 1959 (hoards).

³ Blackburn 1998.

⁴ Blackburn and Keynes 1998.

⁵ Lyons and MacKay 2007.

⁶ Pagan 1966, 15–18.



coinage operations and processes under pressure at a time of considerable military, economic and political upheaval caused by the Danish incursions.

We believe that we can demonstrate that under Alfred the Lunettes coinage of Wessex, shaped by the dramatic military and political situation in southern England in the early-mid 870s, developed further the patterns and trends we have already noted in the coinage of Æthelred I.

Scope of paper and approach to the study

This paper deals solely with the Lunettes coins struck in the name of Alfred. No Lunettes coins are known for Archbishop Æthelred of Canterbury, unlike his predecessor Archbishop Ceolnoth, who, amongst other types, struck Lunettes-style coins. The key issues that we investigate are to:

determine how the Wessex Lunettes coinage and the monetary relationship with Mercia begun by Æthelred I evolved under his brother and successor Alfred;

define a classification, using the same obverse-based assessment as applied to the coinage of Æthelred I, for the Alfredian Lunettes pennies; and to investigate in parallel whether there is any linkage between the obverse classifications and the use of various Lunettes reverse types and to seek to provide an explanation of the purpose of the various reverse types;

investigate the development of the Wessex coinage under Alfred in the 870s, examining how the production of the coinage evolved in terms of moneymen, mints, weight, metallic content and flan size;

explore when the Wessex Lunettes coinage ceased to be both minted and in circulation.

As with our work on Æthelred I we have constructed a corpus of surviving coins, which has been considered in light of the coinage of Æthelred I as well as Burgred. The Corpus has been subjected to a stylistic analysis focused on the obverse but also taking into account reverse characteristics of Lunettes A-D.⁷ From this analysis the coinage is classified into a hierarchy of groups, variants and styles.

Historical context of the coinage

The Lunettes coinage of Alfred was struck during a period of extreme and continuing crises for the kingdom of Wessex. The historical narrative of campaigns, truces and tributes is the backdrop against which this coinage was produced and is crucial to explaining many aspects of it. According to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and other sources the years 871–8 were marked by periods of intensive warfare with the Danish armies interspersed with periods of respite, usually initiated by the payment of tribute by the English.⁸ Warfare, centred in central and western Wessex, dominated the years 870–1, 875–7 and 878. The years 872–5, whilst the Danish armies were occupied elsewhere, seem to have been a time of relative peace in Wessex, as was the period from mid 877 to early 878, after Guthrum moved from Exeter to Gloucester, but before the final campaign that culminated with the Treaty of Wedmore in late 878.

With warfare concentrated in central and western Wessex the established centre of Wessex monetary production at Canterbury was free from raiding and distant from the principal areas of military activity. The status of London is less well understood. For both Wessex and Mercia, London was a key strategic location. At the border of the two kingdoms it was a centre of monetary production and of trade. Although historically a Mercian city, Wessex

⁷ Lunettes E coins are not known for Alfred; see also Williams 2008.

⁸ Swanton 2000, 70–9. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* presents both a highly truncated version of events and, being written some time afterwards, benefits from the hindsight that Wessex survived and prospered from the crisis. For selected sources from the period see Whitelock 1979.

influence there had grown as the kingdom asserted control over southern England. Given this background, it is probable that Alfred sought to maintain and further increase Wessex influence in the city, taking advantage of increasing Mercian weakness as the 870s progressed. It is highly probable that Wessex interests in southern and eastern Mercia grew at this time for the same reasons. With the exception of the occupation of London in the winter of 871/2, evidence of Danish involvement is more tentative, but the concept of a Danish presence in the city throughout this period, even if only on a trading basis, is credible.

These events had an undoubtedly impact on the coinage. In particular the issues of paying tribute, the dispersed production of coinage, the increasing involvement in Mercian affairs by Alfred and the final demonetisation of the coinage all need to be considered from the wider strategic and political viewpoint.

The numismatic evidence

Hoards

A full list of hoards is presented in Appendix 1, Table 1A. Fourteen hoards definitely contain coins of Alfred.⁹ A further ten post-1850 hoards may possibly contain coins of Alfred. In view of the turbulence of the times the number of hoards from this period is, not unsurprisingly, higher in comparison with the period before the Danish invasions and subsequent years after the Treaty of Wedmore.

Overall, the hoard record shows the patterns we identified in our paper on Æthelred I continuing:

Lunettes coins of Mercia and Wessex circulated freely between the two kingdoms.

The Lunettes coinage was the principal coinage with earlier types almost completely absent.

Hoards comprise a mix of coins of other contemporary, or near contemporary, archbishops and monarchs. Coins of Alfred tend not to predominate although in some hoards they are the largest group.¹⁰

Find locations for hoards containing Lunettes coins of Alfred, compared to Æthelred I, tend to be slightly more widespread. This may demonstrate the dispersal of tribute payments within the Danish war-bands. There are two possible hoards from outside modern-day England: 'Burgred', Ireland and Tolstrup, Denmark, but the evidence for these is not absolutely certain.¹¹ Overall the pattern is that of a coinage that largely circulated within the area of modern-day England.

Gainford, Beeston Tor, Repton, Walmgate Lincoln, Duddington and North-Yorkshire, all hoards from locations distant from the south east of England, tend to contain a higher proportion of Lunettes B to D coins (although the small Lower Dunsforth hoard 1861 is an exception to this pattern).

The Lunettes coinage completely disappears from the hoard record after the mid 870s both in English controlled areas and further afield.¹² Blunt and Dolley's analysis of the hoard evidence for Alfred made the important point that Lunettes hoards are a distinct

⁹ Nine Lunettes period hoards (Beeston Tor 1924, Cheltenham 1924, Croydon No 2 1862, Lower Dunsforth 1861, Gainford 1864, Gravesend 1838, Hook Norton 1848, London, Waterloo Bridge 1883 and Trewhiddle 1774) were defined as a distinctive group and assigned as Alfred group 1 by Blunt and Dolley 1959, 220–47. To these can be added Abbey Orchard, St Albans 1968, Duddington 1994–5, Leckhampton 1924, Walmgate, Lincoln 1985, North Yorkshire, 2004 and Suffolk 2008.

¹⁰ Alfred's coins seem to predominate in Hook Norton 1848 and Repton 1982 and 1985, though the former is a somewhat anomalous group as it is found at the mass burial site thus is not really a true hoard. Lower Dunsforth 1861, Beeston Tor 1924, Abbey Orchard, St Albans 1968, Walmgate, Lincoln 1985, and Duddington 1994–5 are hoards where Alfred's coins form the largest single group.

¹¹ The provenance of the 'Burgred' Ireland hoard (c.1870) is discussed in Dolley 1967 and the Irish location can only be considered tentative. The coins could be from English finds that acquired a local hoard provenance for a variety of reasons.

¹² The latter is the more surprising as obsolete English coinage is often found in areas such as Ireland, Scotland and Scandinavia where no local currency existed at the time. The authors believe that the relatively poor quality of the Lunettes coinage (especially in comparison with contemporary Carolingian and Islamic silver issues) may have restricted its currency and circulation to the area of modern-day England.

group and are not found with coins of later types.¹³ There are two possible exceptions to this but they do not provide irrefutable evidence of Lunettes coinage in circulation after the mid 870s. The Alfred type xiv attributed to the Trewhiddle hoard was considered by Wilson and Blunt, who came to a view that this was a misattribution that had occurred while the coin was in the Rashleigh family cabinet.¹⁴ This was a contention later strongly supported by Pagan when he acquired what is almost certainly the coin in question.¹⁵ The later London Monogram coin (Verulamium Museum, St Albans: *SCBI* 42, no. 758) associated with the Abbey Orchard, St Albans hoard is also noted and the range of possibilities arising from its context in relation to this find must await the hoard's publication by Marion Archibald.

If there is one difference it is that the number of small hoards (c.10 coins) increases from the five known containing Æthelred I's coins¹⁶ to at least eleven for Alfred. Their location, largely in Danish controlled areas where the raiding army was resident, most probably represents tribute payments paid out to junior members of war-bands indicating wide circulation of the coinage.

The hoard evidence has been interpreted to seek to explain the sequence of reverse types. Traditionally Lunettes B, C and D have been regarded as being later, probably after 873, with any hoard solely containing Lunettes A being from before this date. The position is further complicated by the view that Burgred's Lunettes B to D should be dated to the 860s.¹⁷ We are reluctant to accept the contention that sole presence of Lunettes A should limit the dating of a hoard to before 873 and believe that other explanations for such hoards must be sought.

Single finds

The Early Medieval Corpus and other sources record thirty-four single finds of coins, three times as many as those recorded for Æthelred I. A full list is presented in Appendix 1, Table 1B.

The single finds can be placed into four geographical groups. Lindsey (Group 1) and Cambridgeshire/Bedfordshire (Group 2) can probably be aligned to the presence of Danish armies in 872–3 and 875. These coins would seem to be casual losses associated, in the main, with the Danes themselves. This suggests that tribute payments were widely distributed within Danish war-bands and the large numbers of coins, linked to frequent movement, resulted in a steady number of accidental losses. Finds in London/Kent (Group 3) and elsewhere (Group 4) are much more random and cannot be easily explained by a single cause but Group 3 might be linked to the Danish presence at London in 871–2. This analysis, although useful in defining loss patterns, must be made with two caveats. Firstly, it cannot be overlooked that find location clusters can reflect the activities of modern-day detectorists who have been particularly active in Lincolnshire, East Anglia and Kent. Secondly, the link with specific war-bands must be tentative for the precise circumstances of each loss cannot, of course, be established.

The only single find recorded outside the boundaries of modern-day England is the coin found at Burghead, Morayshire, formerly in the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, and now missing.¹⁸ The coin is noted as having been pierced twice indicating that it was probably in use as jewellery rather than as currency.¹⁹

¹³ Blunt and Dolley 1959, 220. Also the proposal by Blunt (Blunt 1952) that BM 1950–2–1–1 was a mule of Alfred's Lunettes and Alfred's BMC type v was re-evaluated by Blackburn and Keynes 1998 and this very badly worn coin was re-designated as Two Emperors or Portait Quatrefoil/Cross and Lozenge mule (see Blackburn and Keynes 1998, 133 and illustration 7*).

¹⁴ Wilson and Blunt 1961, 112: 'Both (also referring to a coin of Offa) would be unexpected in the context of this hoard.'

¹⁵ Pagan 2000, where he notes that the Franbald coin from the Stack (1999) sale, and almost certainly the coin formerly owned by the Rashleigh family, does not have the same patination as other Trewhiddle hoard coins.

¹⁶ Lyons and MacKay 2007, 75, Table 2.

¹⁷ Pagan 1987, 17. In Lyons and MacKay 2007, we noted that Lunettes D coins were struck for Æthelred I before the end of his reign, with an obverse bust style not found on the Lunettes coins of Alfred.

¹⁸ *SCBI* 6, no. 81. Noted in *PSAS* iv (1860–2), 377–8.

¹⁹ One of the four Burgred coins in the Talnotrie, Kirkcudbrightshire (1912) hoard is also pierced (*SCBI* 6, no. 60).

The Corpus of the Lunettes coinage of Alfred the Great

A comprehensive review of the *Sylloge of the Coins of the British Isles*, the Early Medieval Corpus, the British Museum collection, auction catalogues and dealers' fixed price lists as well as a wide range of other sources has produced a Corpus (appended to this article) of 197 coins.²⁰ We believe our corpus contains the majority of recorded coins but we also list details for another fifteen to twenty untraced coins. These are principally listed in unillustrated auction catalogues from before 1950 and cannot be linked to modern records. There are, in addition, a number of forgeries.²¹

There is a discrepancy in the reconciliation of recorded coins with the hoard and single find records. With 197 coins set against some 150 find records there are, in broad terms, forty more coins than there should be. We believe this discrepancy might be explained by three reasons:

Before the discovery of the Croydon No. 2 hoard in 1862, coins of Alfred's Lunettes type were relatively scarce.²² Ruding's 1840 list²³ only includes sixteen moneyers, although he misses four others that definitely have a pre-1840 provenance.²⁴ Lindsay adds a further moneyer.²⁵ This total of twenty-one moneyers is only a third of those known today. There can thus be few additional coins with pre-1860 provenances.²⁶

Coins removed without record from Croydon and subsequent hoards because of the attractiveness of their Alfredian pedigree. This raises the possibility that major hoards, particularly Croydon No. 2 hoard (1862),²⁷ may underestimate the number and variety of Alfred's coins. Additionally several finds in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are poorly recorded and may have contained coins of Alfred, e.g. Hitchin, Wandsworth and London, Wood Street.

Other unrecorded hoards and single finds.²⁸ There is some suspicion that the appearance of a significant number of unprovenanced coins in the late 1980s and early 1990s may represent a find dispersed on the market piecemeal.²⁹ Finally there is a supposition that there is at least one unrecorded nineteenth-century hoard from the 1850s or 1860s.³⁰

²⁰ There are in addition three coin weights with coins attached, or with impressions of coins, and four coins where the moneyer is unidentified.

²¹ Nineteenth-century forgeries, most likely produced by Emery, are known of Alfred Lunettes coins, with ten known to the authors. The inspiration for these coins seems to be the Higgs' Tata coin (AFL2.50/BMC 172) that was acquired by the British Museum in 1830. Forgeries include coins in the names of Lude, Oeamer, Osric, otherwise unknown as moneyers for this coinage, and for Tata. A list of Tata forgeries is included as footnote 139 in that part of the corpus that lists his genuine coins. For the other 'moneyers', see Blunt and Thompson 1958, and Pagan 1972.

²² The relative scarcity of Alfredian Lunettes before 1860 is indicated by the absence of an example of this type in the three largest sales of the mid-nineteenth century, Devonshire (1844), Cuff (1854) and Chaffers (1857). Conversely, coins of Burgred were present in very large quantities, most likely due to an influx of material from the Gravesend hoard, with Devonshire recording 41, Cuff, 43 and Chaffers, 11. Each collection also had at least one coin of Æthelred I.

²³ Ruding 1840, 125 where moneyers of all types of Alfred's coins are listed together. From this list the following sixteen moneyers can be identified as referring to Lunettes coins known at that time: Biarnwulf, Bosa, Cialmod, Cialwulf, Dudd, Duinc, Dunn, I(B)iarne, Ethelwulf, Manning sic, Oshere, Sefred, Sigestef, Tidbald, Tilefeine and Wulfheard. A seventeenth moneyer, Ethelstan, was almost certainly not known to be a Lunettes moneyer in the 1840s but was probably known for a Two Line coin.

²⁴ Curiously Ruding seems to have missed two coins in the BM: Hebeca (AFL1.58) and Tata (AFL2.50). The latter was illustrated in Hawkins 1841, published contemporaneously. However he was clearly unaware of the Herebald (AFL1.65) known to have been bought by Durrant from Young the dealer in 1821. We are also grateful to Dr Lyon for pointing out an illustration of a coin of currently unlocated coin of Tirwulf drawn into an early edition of Ruding by a Mr Barratt and now listed as AFL2.58.

²⁵ Lindsay 1842, 86. Deigmund, undoubtedly a record of AFL2.17/BMC 162.

²⁶ Coins with a pre-Gravesend provenance are listed as a footnote in Appendix 1A. Two recorded in the nineteenth century cannot now be traced.

²⁷ We have already noted the absence of Alfred's Lunettes in the major mid-nineteenth century sales so Gravesend 1838 is probably not a source. Croydon No. 2 1862 looks more likely in view of the circumstances of the uncontrolled dispersal described in Corbet Anderson 1877, 115–17, Blunt and Dolley 1959 and the supporting evidence that the Rev. Samuel Lewis was able to acquire a number of specimens (now in the Corpus Christi College, Cambridge collection and recorded in MEC) from a dealer in Tunbridge Wells as late as July 1872.

²⁸ Hugh Pagan notes that two coins, Diarelm (AFL1.14/Blunt 342) and Hebeca (AFL1.60/Blunt 344), may come from the same hoard having a similar patination. As there are no unaccounted hoard coins for Hebeca, this might point to these coins being part of a larger 'unknown' hoard.

²⁹ A full list is given in Appendix 1A as a footnote to the Barkby Thorpe hoard (1987) at Appendix 1, Table 1A.

³⁰ A possible mid-nineteenth century hoard was also identified for Æthelred I, see Lyons and MacKay 2007, 74.

Distribution of coins since discovery

The British Museum Collection has by far the largest holding, totalling forty-seven coins (nearly a quarter of those currently recorded). The next largest holding, nineteen coins, is in the St Albans Museum, which derives from the 1968 St. Albans, Abbey Orchard hoard. The holdings at Cambridge in the Fitzwilliam Museum, including the Blunt collection, Corpus Christi College and Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology in total comprise fourteen coins. Lincolnshire County Museum has six coins from the Walmsgate, Lincoln hoard. All other institutions have fewer than five specimens, most with one or two. In all, around two thirds of all known Alfred Lunettes pennies are held in public collections.

Over the last 150 years most of the major private collections have contained an example of an Alfred Lunettes penny. Among the major collections of the last century Burstal, Maish, Elmore Jones and Thorburn each had one example.³¹ Bliss³² had two examples. Mack³³ and Stack³⁴ each had three. The largest groupings were Montagu (8),³⁵ Murdoch (6),³⁶ Lockett (7),³⁷ Grantley (6),³⁸ Carlyon Britton (5),³⁹ and Drabble (4).⁴⁰ Unfortunately many collections, most notably Murdoch, formed in the century to 1950, were tainted by the presence of false coins.⁴¹

The structure of the Lunettes coinage of Alfred the Great

The Corpus splits into two groups defined by distinctive obverse styles: Group 1, the 'Wessex' group (**Pl. 1, 11–19**) and Group 2, the 'Mercian' group (**Pls 1 and 2, 20–43**). In our study of Æthelred I's coinage we designated the latter group as Wessex Irregular Lunettes on the grounds that they were a relatively small group (largely following Mercian styles) not conforming to Wessex standards. Following our examination of the much larger group of non-Wessex style coins of Alfred that seem to have a Mercian influence we believe designating these coins as Mercian style is a better description of this group. Finally a small number of coins are classified as Irregular (**Pl. 2, 44–52**), as although they have affinities to Group 1 or 2 they cannot readily be placed in either group. Both Group 1 and 2 are a continuation of the structure we defined for the Lunettes coinage of Æthelred I.

The majority of Æthelred I's coins (96%) have the Lunettes A reverse with 4%, almost certainly of Mercian origin, using the Lunettes D reverse. Under Alfred, Lunettes B and C were used in addition to D. All occur in both the Wessex and the Mercian style groups. In all 27% of surviving Alfredian Lunettes coins have reverses B, C and D, with a much higher proportion (49%) found in Group 2 (Mercian style) than in Group 1 (Wessex style) (12%). The Irregular group, largely Mercian linked, is predominantly Lunettes B to D (70%).

³¹ Burstal (1912), lot 51 (AfL1.49); Ethered; Maish (1918), lot 24 (not currently traced); Herewulf; Elmore Jones (1971), lot 43 (AfL1.83); Herewulf; Thorburn (1887), lot 52 (not currently traced); Etheleah.

³² Lot 86, Bosa (AfL1.7), Ethered (not currently traced).

³³ Mack, *SCBI* 20, nos 727–9; Bureel, Hebeca, Heremod. All from the Lower Dunsforth hoard (1861).

³⁴ Lots 415–17: Diarel (AfL1.13), Ethered (AfL1.45), Heremod (AfL1.73).

³⁵ 1895 sale, lots 546–52: Sigestef (AfL2.48), Etheleah (almost certainly AfL2.32), Tata (a forgery: either coin 1, 3 or 4 in the footnote to the Tata coins listing forgeries), Dudd (AfL2.22), Heremod (not currently traced), Liabinc (not currently traced), Osric (a forgery), Lude (a forgery). Die duplicates of the Lude and Osric forgeries were lots 35 and 36 in the 1888 duplicates sale along with a coin of Bosa (lot 34 – not currently traced).

³⁶ Lots 83–8: Iaia (Tata) (2 forged coins: either coins 1, 3 or 4 in the footnote to the Tata coins listing forgeries), Lvde, Osric, Oeamer, Herewulf. All false except for the Herewulf (not currently traced).

³⁷ 1955 sale, lots 485–7, Bosa (AfL1.7), Heremod (AfL1.70), Oeamer (a forgery). 1958 sale, lot 2701, Dunn (AfL1.21). 1960 sale, lot 3630, Sigestef (AfL2.48). False coins of Ludig and Tata owned by Lockett never appeared in the sales.

³⁸ Lots 996–9: Iaia (Tata) (a forgery: coin 3 in the footnote to the Tata coins listing forgeries), Osric (a forgery), Sigestef (AfL2.48), Diarelm (AfL1.14), Hebeca (AfL1.60), Wulfheard (AfL2.64).

³⁹ 1913 sale, lots 336–7: Biarnred (AfL2.5), Herewulf (AfL1.84). 1916 sale, lots 927–8: Dudd (AfL2.20), Sefreth (not currently located). 1918 sale, lot 1644, Heremod (AfL1.70).

⁴⁰ 1939 sale, lots 382–3: Bosa (AfL1.10), Denemund (AfL1r1). 1943 sale, lots 836–7: Dunn (AfL1.21) and Tata (a forgery: coin 4 in the footnote to the Tata coins listing forgeries).

⁴¹ Pagan 1972.

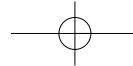


TABLE 1. The Lunettes coinage of Alfred: classification by reverse type.

Note: Unverified coin AfL2.7 allocated to Group 2, Lunettes D. Unknown moneyers and coin weights (less AfL1.26) excluded. Percentage figures in the rows refer to the proportion by type within each group. Percentage figures in the far right column refer to proportion by group of all coins.

	Lunettes A	Lunettes B	Lunettes C	Lunettes D	Total % all
Group 1, 'Wessex'	108 (88%)	11 (9%)	1 (1%)	2 (2%)	122 (62%)
Group 2, 'Mercian'	33 (51%)	11 (17%)	6 (9%)	15 (23%)	65 (33%)
Irregular	3 (30%)	1 (10%)	3 (30%)	3 (30%)	10 (5%)
TOTAL	144	23	10	20	197
% of recorded corpus	73%	12%	5%	10%	100%

Illustrations

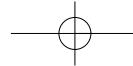


Image sources: Lunettes A, Ashmolean Museum, AfL1.72/SCBI 9, no. 245; Lunettes B, AfL2.49/BMC 175, copyright, The Trustees of the British Museum; Lunettes C, MacKay, AfL2.53; Lunettes D, AfL2.12/EMC 1997.0126, copyright, The Fitzwilliam Museum.

Classification of the Lunettes coinage of Alfred the Great

The Lunettes coinage of Alfred is a direct continuation of that of his brother and predecessor, Æthelred I, which we have already noted can be split into two groups. The first, Æthelred I Group 2 (with Group 1 being his Four Line issue which preceded the Lunettes), is of consistent style using Canterbury-produced dies and comprises four variants, with variants i and ii representing the Standard Bonnet types (**Pl. 1, 1 and 2**) and variants iii and iv, the Bold Head types (**Pl. 1, 3 and 4**). The second, Group 3, a smaller group (17% of Æthelred I's Lunettes coins), is diverse with a variety of styles, and is produced from dies that show Mercian influence and which were almost certainly cut at London or other locations within Mercia. This group comprises variants v, vi and vii (**Pl. 1, 5–7**).

Alfred's coinage continues this pattern with a large group of Wessex coins (Group 1, **Pl. 1, 11–19**) and a smaller group (Group 2, **Pls 1 and 2, 20–43**) showing Mercian influence. The concordance in Table 2 below demonstrates the linkage between the types of the two kings.

TABLE 2. Concordance of the types of *Æthelred I* and *Alfred*.

Type	<i>Æthelred I</i>	<i>Alfred</i>	Remarks
Wessex bonneted bust in good style	Group 2, variant i (Pl. 1, 1)	Group 1, variant I (Pl. 1, 11–15)	Alfred's coins have a single-banded diadem in place of the double-banded diadem of <i>Æthelred I</i> .
Wessex bonneted bust in cruder style	Group 2, variant ii (Pl. 1, 2)	Group 1, variant II (Pl. 1, 16–19)	Alfred's coins have a single-banded diadem as variant I.
Wessex unbonneted bust (bold head) in good style	Group 2, variant iii (Pl. 1, 3)	Not known	
Wessex unbonneted bust (bold head) in cruder style	Group 2, variant iv (Pl. 1, 4)	Not known, except as an irregular coin	Irregular type (a)
Mercian neat style bust	Group 3, variant v (Pl. 1, 5)	Not known	
Mercian bonneted bust	Group 3, variant vi (Pl. 1, 6)	Group 2, variant III (Pl. 1, 20–28)	
Mercian 'horizontal' bust	Group 3, variant vii	Group 2, variant IV (Pls 1 and 2, 29–40)	One coin noted in this style in the <i>Æthelred I</i> corpus (Ae3.12).
Mercian 'vertical' bust	Group 3, variant vii (Pl. 1, 7)	Group 2, variant V (Pl. 2, 41–43)	
Irregular group	Not known	Irregular Group (Pl. 1, 44–52)	

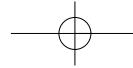
Group 2, the Alfredian Mercian-style Lunettes, is a continuation of *Æthelred I*'s Group 3. Under Alfred the scale of this Mercian-style group is much more significant, accounting for 33% of all coins, as opposed to 17% for *Æthelred I*. The Mercian models for these are Burgred's Horizontal and Vertical style coins (Pl. 1, 9 and 10).

In addition there is a cluster of ten irregular and barbarous coins, comprising 5% of the total (Pl. 2, 44–52), that although largely associated with the Mercian group are best considered separately. Consideration must be given as to whether all the coins in this cluster are official issues. Our view is that they are. As we have already observed in our consideration of the coinage of *Æthelred I*, that is not to say that some coins may be regarded as imitative inasmuch as they were locally-sanctioned, inexpertly-produced emergency issues of the Anglo-Saxon territories. However the intermingling in hoards of coins of varying production quality seems to indicate that crudely produced or anomalously designed coinage was widely accepted. Additionally, looking at the issue from another direction it is difficult to see why the Danes, or some other unofficial agency, would have set out to produce such a complex series of anomalous coins rather than just produce straightforward copies.⁴² Setting aside the fact that the Danes had little need to mint coins as the English were handing over large quantities in tributes, local copying would surely have concentrated on replicating a few existing coins rather than setting out to produce a wide variety of new interpretations of the coinage sometimes in good quality silver by the standards of the issue.⁴³

Whilst the pattern is one of continuity on the obverse, the major change between the Lunettes coinage of *Æthelred I* (where Lunettes A predominates with only a few Lunettes D non-Wessex coins) and Alfred is the adoption of Lunettes reverses B to D into the mainstream of the Wessex coinage. This seems to reflect some deliberate purpose. In parallel there

⁴² As happened to the London Monogram, Osnaforda and Two Line types. Also none of the moneyers' names are Danish in style or reflect the range of continental names seen on the St Edmund Memorial coinage of a decade later.

⁴³ See Irregular AfLir9, a coin of Herewulf of 'quarter-fine' (i.e. around 25% silver).



is a deterioration in the silver content, from an already low starting point of a 'quarter fine' standard (i.e. around 25% silver), to a figure not much more than half of this. But other aspects of the coinage such as die-cutting, flan size and weight present inconsistent patterns that do not demonstrate a consistent decline in standards.

Finally, a subjective assessment of the variety of die-cutting styles indicates that there was die-cutting capacity far in excess of the coinage output actually produced. Overall we believe that this, linked to the large number of moneymasters and a wide variety of obverse styles and four different Lunettes reverses, indicates that in addition to production at Canterbury and London much of this coinage may have been produced on a sporadic and dispersed basis to meet needs for coin as required.

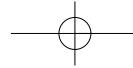
Classification of the Wessex Lunettes coins of Alfred the Great – Group 1: the Wessex Standard Lunettes

Two principal obverse variants are found in this Group. Both incorporate a bust with a bonnet. Variant I has a neat and generally well-proportioned style contrasting with variant II which is marked by a cruder or coarser treatment of the bust. The royal title **+AELBRED REX**,⁴⁴ occurs in all cases, with a number of minor stylistic variations, but always starting at 10 o'clock on every coin. Obverse lettering on the Alfredian coins tends to be slightly larger than on Æthelred I's, but mainly because there are fewer letters in the regnal title. The appearance of the bust on the Wessex Lunettes changes in one aspect as a single-banded diadem immediately replaces the double-band of Æthelred I.

TABLE 3. The Lunettes coinage of Alfred the Great: Group 1 (Wessex Lunettes) variants.

Group	Variant	Obverse
Group 1. Wessex Lunettes, variant I; Standard Bonnet 1.	<p>Variant I</p> <p>Well-proportioned but tall bust with clear bonnet with single-banded diadem surmounted by a crescent and pellet. Distinctive hooknose ending in a serif. The nose is usually a single line linking the diadem and nose. Frog eye, usually with 'eyelid' underneath. Two distinct crescents (curls of hair) in nape of neck with points that face upwards and to the left. Often with a clear attempt to show a chin using a boldly cut pellet (sub-variant A). Others underestimate or omit this appearing chinless (sub-variant B). Wessex style drapery in three panels with outer edges made up of curved lines, the right and left panel containing two horizontal bars and a central panel, a horizontal bar above a 'T'.</p> <p>Sub-variants</p> <p>A. With bold pellet for chin B. Without or weak pellet for chin.</p> <p>Die cutting stylistic variations</p> <p>i. Well-cut and balanced bust (Pl. 1, 11) ii. Heavily rendered dies similar to i (Pl. 1, 12) iii. Less confident style with eye rendered as a dot and without lower eyelid (Pl. 1, 13).</p>	 <p>Variant IA, Standard bonnet 1 with bold pellet chin. (Afl1.40/BMA 466)</p>
		 <p>Variant IB, Standard bonnet 1 with weak pellet chin. (Afl1.5/BMA 455)</p>

⁴⁴ Bibire 1998, 163 states that this is the Kentish form of the name. This is borne out by the Mercian use of Elfred and similar forms on quite a number of coins of non-Wessex origin.

TABLE 3. *Cont.*

Group	Variant	Obverse
Group 1. Wessex Lunettes, variant II, Standard Bonnet 2.	Variant II As last, but bust with poorer proportions and generally elongated or thin bust. Sometimes with a smaller head. Exists as sub-variants A and B A. More coarsely cut version of variant I (Pl. 1, 16, 17) B. Thin, elongated bust (Pl. 1, 18) Wide variation of die cutting styles suggests dispersed production away from Canterbury.	
		Variant IIA, Standard bonnet 2, coarser version of variant I. (AfL1.101/BMC 165)
		
		Variant IIB, Standard Bonnet 2, thin elongated bust. (AfL1.93/EMC 1996.200)

Seven obverse legend styles are found with Group 1 Wessex Lunettes coins of Alfred. (All the recorded legends start at seven o'clock. Where a style is recorded for three moneyers or fewer, their names are shown.) Legend styles 2 and 4 are most commonly found.

1. REX +AEBBRED (Tidbald)
2. REX +AELBRED
3. RE++AELBRED
4. REX+AELBRED:
5. REX+AELBRED : (Biarnred, Cialmod, Herebald)
6. REX+AELBRED : (Hebeca, Osgeard)
8. REX +AELBRED :: (Bosa, Liabinc)

The coins are usually struck on slightly smaller diameter flans, typically reduced by 1 mm compared with those of *Æthelred I*. Lunettes B, and much more rarely C and D, are now found within the Wessex Lunettes coinage as well as Lunettes A, already noted for *Æthelred I*. However Lunettes B to D remain the exception, with Lunettes A still dominant and accounting for 88% of the surviving Corpus of Group 1 coins.

Within variant I, standard bonnet 1, there are two distinctive sub-variants, perhaps the product of different die-cutting workshops. Sub-variant A has a bust with a boldly cut pellet above the drapery, looking like a goitre. On sub-variant B, the pellet is weakly cut and sometimes omitted. In addition three different stylistic 'hands' can be identified at work on both sub-variants. Overall, variant I shows a consistency in style and continuity with the coinage of *Æthelred I*, which suggests it was struck using Canterbury prepared-dies.

Variant II, standard bonnet 2, is distinct from variant I, with a bust that is poorly proportioned. Busts can be quite crude (Pl. 1, 17–18) or rather better produced (Pl. 1, 16, 19) but closer examination shows irregularities and coarse production standards, notably the failure to make the lines of the lunettes parallel on the latter two coins. We believe that, as with *Æthelred I*'s variant ii and iv, these coins were struck from dies prepared away from Canterbury. However there seems to have been a more determined attempt to sustain

standards and there are fewer really poorly produced dies of Alfred compared to the output of Æthelred I (and certainly nothing like the wide variety of poorly executed coins of Burgred from the same period). Most of the moneymen using variant II dies are recorded for variant I.

Within Group 1, ninety-four variant I (77%) and twenty-eight variant II (23%) coins are noted (detailed in Appendix 2, Table 2A). This compares with seventy-four coins of variants i/iii (62%) and forty-three of variants ii/iv (38%) in the matching group (Group 2) of Æthelred I. This suggests that the dominance of Canterbury as the principal die-cutting and administrative centre for the Wessex Lunettes coinage was undiminished.

The mix of variants and sub-variants does not suggest that moneymen regularly used a single die-cutter. The dies seem to have been drawn for use as required. The overall impression given is one of die-cutting capacity that could be called on to produce sufficient dies when required. This further reinforces the pattern of sporadic surge production that seems to be a principal characteristic of this coinage. This is particularly noticeable with the coins of Herewulf where the dies of all the existing coins (AfL1.82 to AfL1.86) seem to have been cut simultaneously, possibly for some large-scale production project.

There has been some consideration in the past as to whether some of these coins, particularly those with Lunettes B to D reverses, could be 'mules' using Canterbury obverses with Mercian reverses. Appendix 2, Table 2C, shows that the evidence for this is inconclusive. Lunettes B has every appearance of being a Wessex-produced group, although with a higher than normal proportion of variant II coins. Whilst the very small number of Lunettes C and D coins have the appearance of 'muling', the evidence for this is not conclusive.

There are a few coins in Group I, notably the Repton Tidehelm (AfL1.116) and two coins of Wulfheard (AfL1.121 and 122), which have in the past been excluded from the Wessex Lunettes on the grounds of style. Overall, although we note the slightly anomalous nature of the reverses, we reject this view as unsustainable when the coins are set in the wider context of an analysis of obverse styles for all the surviving material.⁴⁵ We have therefore assigned these coins to Group I.

Classification of the Wessex Lunettes coinage of Alfred the Great – Group 2: the Mercian Style Lunettes

The three principal obverse variants found in Group 2 are all a direct continuation of Æthelred I's variants vi and vii. Variant III (Pl. 1, 20–28), aligns with Æthelred I variant vi (Pl. 1, 6) and copies the Canterbury Standard Wessex Bonnet, a style also found in the name of Burgred (Pl. 1, 8), reinforcing the Mercian link. Variants IV (Pl. 1, 29–36 and Pl. 2, 37–40) and V (Pl. 2, 41–43), align with Æthelred I variant vii (Pl. 1, 7). Variant IV uses the Mercian 'Horizontal' type, that is, the diadem of the bust is between forty-five and sixty degrees and the hair is unbonneted (Pl. 1, 9). Variant V (Pl. 2, 41–3) conforms with the Mercian 'Vertical' type (Pl. 1, 10), with the diadem between five and fifteen degrees from the vertical and the head lacking any signs of a bonnet. Æthelred I variant v (Pl. 1, 5), with an obverse bust design reminiscent of earlier types, does not reappear (although moneymen linked with this type are recorded for sub-variant IVD; Pl. 2, 39 and 40). Unlike Group 1, the double-banded diadem is often found on the Group 2 coins. Although this appears to be a complex structure, in comparison with the contemporary issues of Burgred the coins are well-executed and reasonably consistent in appearance.

⁴⁵ Most notably in Pagan 1986b and 1987.

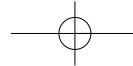


TABLE 4. The Lunettes coinage of Alfred the Great: Group 2 (Mercian-style Lunettes) variants.

Group	Variant	Obverse
Group 2. Mercian style Lunettes, variant III, 'London Wessex' bonnet.	<p>Variant III. 'London-Wessex' Bonnet Design of bust in Wessex idiom but almost certainly cut in London or elsewhere in Mercia. Distinctive bonnet is mounted on single-banded diadem. With frog-eye. Drapery takes a number of forms based generally on the 'Wessex' pattern of a central panel with one horizontal bar above one or two vertical bars.</p> <p>Sub-variants</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> A. Long face with large nose. B. Squarer cut bust. C. Bust with double-diadem and frequently more complex drapery. 	 <p>Variant III, 'London Wessex' bonnet. (Sub-variant IIIB: AfL2.25/SCBI 17, no. 117)</p>
Group 2. Mercian style Lunettes, variant IV, 'Horizontal' bust	<p>Variant IV. 'Horizontal' Bust An interpretation of the Burgred 'Horizontal' style. Lacks bonnet and hair comprised of several horizontal lines usually ending in pellets and sloping between 45 and 60 degrees. Double-banded diadem surmounted by crescent. Distinctively cut 'wedge' lips. The eye a small circle with dot in centre. Different patterns of drapery exist.</p> <p>Sub-variants</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> A. Hair unpelleted and bold sweep of diadem to nose. (Pl. 1, 29, 30 and 31). B. Square cut bust, hair ends pelleted, 'wedge' lips. (Pls 1 and 2, 32-8). C. Thinner bust, hair represented as two lines of hoops. D. Thin bust, on one example tending towards the 'vertical'. Double-banded diadem, pelleted hair. (Pl. 2, 39 and 40). 	 <p>Variant IV, Horizontal bust. (Sub-variant IVB: AfL2.3/SCBI 2, no. 560)</p>
Group 2. Mercian style Lunettes, variant V, 'Vertical' bust	<p>Variant V. 'Vertical' Bust. An interpretation of the Burgred 'Vertical' style. Lacks bonnet and hair comprises one or two horizontal hooped lines sprouting from single-banded diadem surmounted by a crescent. Distinctively cut 'wedge' lips. Eye, an elongated circle with dot in centre. Different patterns of drapery but central panel usually a number of vertical bars. Every coin recorded is different and they appear to be cut by a variety of hands.</p>	 <p>Variant V, vertical bust. (AfL2.30/BMA 462)</p>

As with the Group 3 Wessex Irregular Lunettes coins of *Æthelred I*, a wide range of obverse legend styles are found, some only recorded for single coins.

2. REX +AELBRED (Biarnmod, Biarnred, Bureel, Cialbred, Cialulf, Cuthwulf, Deigmund, Dudinc, Duinc, Dunn, Ealmeit, Etheleah, Ethered, Ethelwulf, Heafreth, Manninc, Osgeard, Sigestef, Tata, Tirwald, Winberht, Wine)
3. RE++AELBRED (Biarnred, Biarnwulf, Cialulf, Denewald, Dudwine, Ethelhere, Ethered)
4. REX+AELBRED: (Biarnred, Dealinc, Dudd, Ealhere, Herebald, Tirwulf, Wulfheard)
5. REX+AELBRED .: (Wine)
7. REX+AELBRED :: (Ethelhere, Tirwald)
9. REXAELBRED (Dudd)
10. REX +ELFRED (Sigestef)
11. RE+AEL() (Ethelgar)

12. REX+++AELBBED (Sigeric)
13. REX+ELBRED ∴. (Tata)
14. RE()LFRED :: (Denewald)
16. EL·RED RE (Tilefein)
19. ELFEREDM-X+ (Tata)
20. +ELFREDM:+ (Wulfheard)
21. +ELFREDM+-+ (Dudd)
22. +ELFREDMX+ (Wulfheard)
23. +ELFREDREX (Elelaf)
24. +AELBREDREX (Ealmund, Ethelstan, Ethelwulf, Luhinc)
25. +AELBREDRE (Tirwulf)
27. DRE+AELBRE (Tata)

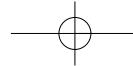
The sheer range of styles and the large numbers of moneyers involved suggests a wide and diverse approach to production. The problem of coming to any conclusions about Group 2 is best exemplified by the coin of Deigmund (AfL2.17 – **Pl. 1, 33**). It is the only recorded coin of Alfred known from the Gravesend 1838 hoard. It is thus almost certainly amongst the earliest dated coins in this Group. Although of good weight, it is one of the worst executed coins in the Group. This coin is thus of little assistance if a model of consistent coinage decline between 870 and the mid-870s is accepted.

Given this, there is every indication that this coinage follows on directly from Æthelred I's Mercian-style coinage (Æthelred I Group 3), with the following pairs very similar stylistically (the obverses of the Alfred coins are somewhat better cut): Denewald, Æthelred I (Ae3.5) and Alfred (AfL2.18); Dunn, Æthelred I (Ae3.12) and Alfred (AfL2.27); Ealmund, Æthelred I (Ae3.13) and Alfred (AfL2.31).

TABLE 5. Mercian-style Lunettes moneyers, stylistic variations and reverse types.

Key. *Tata*: established Mercian moneyer working for Alfred; *Denemund*: new Mercian moneyer working for Alfred; *Biarnmod*: established Wessex moneyer not known for coins of Burgred; *Osgeard*: new Wessex moneyer. Mercian moneyers also known for coins of Æthelred I are indicated by an asterisk.

<i>Variant</i>	<i>Stylistic variation</i>	<i>Coin: moneyer, corpus reference and Lunettes reverse type</i>
Variant III	Sub-variant A (Long face)	<i>Bureel</i> (AfL2.9: A), <i>Cialulf</i> (AfL2.12: D), <i>Etheleah</i> (AfL2.32: C), <i>Sigestef</i> (AfL2.47: A), <i>Sigestef</i> (AfL2.48: B), <i>Sigestef</i> (AfL2.49: B), <i>Tata</i> (AfL2.53: C).
	Sub-variant B (Square head)	<i>Dudwine</i> (AfL2.25: A), <i>Duinc</i> (AfL2.26: D), <i>Manninc</i> (AfL2.44: C).
	Sub-variant C (Double diadem)	<i>Biarnmod</i> (AfL2.1: A), <i>Biarnmod</i> (AfL2.2: B), <i>Biarnwulf</i> (AfL2.8: B), <i>Cialbred</i> (AfL2.10: D), <i>Ethelwulf</i> (AfL2.37: D), <i>Ethered</i> (AfL2.39: B), <i>Ethered</i> (AfL2.40: D), <i>Herebald</i> (AfL2.42: B), <i>Tata</i> (AfL2.52: B), <i>Wine*</i> (AfL2.61: B).
Variant IV	Sub-variant A (Un-pelleted hair, bold head)	<i>Biarnred</i> (AfL2.6: C), <i>Cialulf</i> (AfL2.11: B), <i>Tirwulf</i> (AfL2.58: D), <i>Wine*</i> (AfL2.60: A)
	Sub-variant B (Square head)	<i>Biarnred</i> (AfL2.3: A), <i>Cialulf</i> (AfL2.13: D), <i>Cuthwulf</i> (AfL2.15: D), <i>Denewald*</i> (AfL2.19: A), <i>Dudd*</i> (AfL2.20: A), <i>Dudd*</i> (AfL2.21: A), <i>Dudinc</i> (AfL2.24: A), <i>Dunn</i> (AfL2.27: A), <i>Heafreth</i> (AfL2.41: A), <i>Sigeric</i> (AfL2.46: B), <i>Tirwald</i> (AfL2.56: A), <i>Wulfheard</i> (AfL2.62: A). In crude style: <i>Biarnred</i> (AfL2.4: A), <i>Biarnred</i> (AfL2.5: A), <i>Deigmund</i> (AfL2.17: A), <i>Ealhere</i> (AfL2.28: A), <i>Ealmeit</i> (AfL2.29: C), <i>Ethelhere</i> (AfL2.34: A), <i>Tilefein</i> (AfL2.54: A), <i>Tirwald</i> (AfL2.55: A), <i>Tirwulf</i> (AfL2.54: A), <i>Winberht</i> (AfL2.59: A), <i>Wulfheard*</i> (AfL2.63: A).
	Sub-variant C (Two line hair)	<i>Ethelstan</i> (AfL2.36: D), <i>Ethelwulf</i> (AfL2.38: D), <i>Osgeard</i> (AfL2.45: D).
	Sub-variant D (Thin bust)	<i>Ealmund</i> (AfL2.31: D), <i>Ethelgar</i> (AfL2.33: D), <i>Luhinc</i> (AfL2.43: D)

TABLE 5. *Cont.*

Variant	Stylistic variation	Coin: moneyer, corpus reference and Lunettes reverse type
Variant V	All coins cut with slightly differing interpretation of the Vertical bust	Denewald* (AfL2.18: A), Dudd* (AfL2.22: A), Dudd* (AfL2.23: A), <i>Elelaf</i> (AfL2.30: A); Tata (AfL2.50: A), Tata (AfL2.51: A), Wulfheard* (AfL2.64: A), Wulfheard* (AfL2.65: A). In crude style: <u>Ethelhere</u> (AfL2.35: C).

Group 2, Variant III: The 'London Wessex' Bonnet

There are three sub-variants. Sub-variants A (Pl. 1, 20–22) and B (Pl. 1, 23–25) are closely linked in style to the Wessex Group 1 coins which they seem to imitate. In comparison sub-variant C (Pl. 1, 26–28) seems to be less influenced by the Canterbury die cutting style.

Sub-variants A and B have the single-banded diadem, drapery and inscription largely following Wessex styles. There may be a case to be made that they were produced in a Wessex-run workshop in London. Lunettes A to D exist in largely equal quantities possibly indicating minting for a large number of purposes.

Sub-variant A is a better-produced coinage. Although the bust is ungainly there is little variability in design. This is possibly a short-term issue. The style is not noted for *Æthelred I*. A short period of production is reinforced by the fact that all the moneyers, with the exception of *Bureel*, are known to produce other coin types. A coin of *Sigestef* (AfL2.49) is recorded as being 15.9% silver.

Sub-variant B is more variable and seems to be cut by a wider variety of hands; however it follows on in general appearance from similar coins of *Æthelred I* (variant vi). The presence of *Manninc* (with a coin, AfL2.44, of 18.5% silver), a well-known Canterbury moneyer, may indicate a shift of some production from Canterbury to London in the early 870s. Overall the mix of moneyers and design characteristics both point to a London focus and that this style lasted for the duration of the coinage.

Sub-variant C, with its double-banded diadem bust and frequently crude die-cutting seems to be a coinage less under Canterbury control and possibly produced outside London.⁴⁶ The fact that the coins are only known with Lunettes B and D reverses further suggests a provincial connection.⁴⁷ There are wide variations in die-cutting. However, as so often with Alfred's Lunettes coins things are not as straightforward as they seem. Three of the moneyers (*Biarnmod*, *Ethered* and *Herebald*) are mainstays of the Canterbury mint and *Tata* and *Wine* play a similar role in London. This sub-variant is most probably die-cut and struck away from London. This is yet another indication of established moneyers being deployed away from their normal workplaces in a deliberate policy to meet emergency requirements for coin production.

Group 2, Variant IV: 'Horizontal' bust

Variant IV (Pl. 1, 29–36, Pl. 2, 37–40) is a variation of the standard Mercian Horizontal type. One poorly executed example has already been noted for *Æthelred I* (Ae3.12). However it plays a major part in Alfred's coinage.

Within Variant IV, sub-variant A (Pl. 1, 30–31 and possibly 29), is a very distinctive interpretation that seems to link with Variant III, sub-variant A (Pl. 1, 20–22). The authors have

⁴⁶ There is a coin of *Burgred* that has a double diadem bust and bonnet that is cut in a manner more closely aligned to sub-variant B. See *SCBI* 20, no. 620 Lunettes A moneyer *Liafwald*. This moneyer is not known for Wessex issues.

⁴⁷ Two of these coins come from the Somerset County Museum: AfL2.10, *SCBI* 24, no. 382 *Cialbred* and AfL2.39, *SCBI* 24, no. 383 *Ethered*. Although without provenance it is tempting to consider a West Country origin for these coins. See also Pagan 1986b, 119.

not found any obverses of Burgred that match this design. There is also a die linkage between a Lunettes C coin of Biarnred (AfL2.6, **Pl. 1, 31**) and a Lunettes A of Wine (AfL2.60, **Pl. 1, 30**) both from the Beeston Tor hoard (1924). In common with variant III, sub-variant A, this small group looks to be a short-term issue struck with dies cut at London.

Sub-variant B (**Pl. 1, 32–36, Pl. 2, 37–38**) is the complete opposite, a sprawling series that seems to become a widespread standard for Mercian-style coins. Based on a Mercian prototype (cf. Cenred Lunette A, *SCBI* 1, no. 412) it developed into a standard interpretation for Mercian moneyers producing coins for Wessex. Out of the nineteen moneyers only one, Ethelhere, is an established Wessex moneyer. Ethelhere, who struck coins for Æthelberht, is only known for Mercian-style coinage in Alfred's Lunettes. Tirwulf, a moneyer of Æthelred I noted for Mercian-style coins, is one of the quite large group who use both Wessex and Mercian-style dies. Three new moneyers, Ealhere, Heafreth and Tirwald, although categorised as new Wessex moneyers, use both Wessex and Mercian-style dies and could have worked at a location or locations where dies could have been supplied from either London or Canterbury as needed.

About half of this sub-variant is in crude style that may indicate some die-cutting away from London or just a decline in quality of workmanship. Lunettes A predominates. We propose this coinage was struck in southern Mercia and possibly at London too.

Sub-variant C differs from IVA and IVB, having a square cut bust and two rows of hair reminiscent of some Vertical bust types. This seems to be another non-London issue with two established Mercian moneyers, Ethelstan and Ethelwulf, supplemented by one new moneyer, Osgeard, who uses both Wessex and Mercian dies. It is noteworthy that all three known examples are Lunettes D and we believe this may suggest an east or south-east Mercian location.⁴⁸

There is a further sub-variant, D (**Pl. 2, 39–40**), again exclusively using Lunettes D reverses that includes two rare moneyers, Ealmund and Ethelgar, known for Æthelred I's variant v. An additional moneyer Luhinc is also noted and occurs for Wessex-style coins. The style has a thin bust reminiscent of some Vertical bust coins of Burgred. However the authors believe there is a closer affinity with the horizontal style, especially the use of the double-banded diadem and way in which nose and diadem are linked in a single line, and have placed it in variant IV. Whilst these coins do not match the style found on the Æthelred I variant v coins, they do seem to be related to them with the use of Lunettes D and the same moneyers not otherwise found. In our conclusions for Æthelred I variant v, made in the absence of these coins, we proposed that it was an 'emergency issue, possibly struck away from the monetary centres of London and Canterbury'.⁴⁹ With these coins of Alfred it seems these must come from a stand-alone production centre possibly located in east or south-east Mercia.⁵⁰

Group 2, Variant V: 'Vertical' Bust

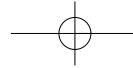
Variant V (**Pl. 1, 38–40**) continues on from Æthelred I's variant vii (**Pl. 1, 7**). The obverse dies are cut in a wide variety of interpretations and may represent a system of production where die-cutting was devolved to moneyers. All the moneyers, with the exception of Elelaf, are well-established. Lunettes A dominates. The only non-Lunettes A coin, the Lunettes C of Ethelere (AfL2.33) has a very uncertainly drawn bust and probably is a local copy; interestingly it comes from the group of crudely produced coins found at Repton.⁵¹

⁴⁸ These coins seem to have characteristics in common with Æthelred I Group 3, variant v.

⁴⁹ Lyons and MacKay 2007, 92.

⁵⁰ The find spots of the Ealmund and Ethelgar coins are Norfolk and Suffolk respectively, reinforcing this attribution. Both coins are very recent finds: Ealmund, 2006, and Ethelgar, 2008. See MacKay and Lyons forthcoming.

⁵¹ Biddle *et al.* 1986, 117.



Irregular and barbarous coinage

There are ten coins in the corpus that do not fit within the Group 1 and 2 classifications. Each coin is stylistically idiosyncratic and in some cases unique. While most of these coins exhibit sufficient features in common to allow them to be linked with Group 1 or Group 2, nevertheless they are best classified as irregular issues. The coins can be allocated into seven types, (a)-(g), with types (a) and (b) associated with Alfred Group 1 Lunettes and types (c) to (g) with Alfred Group 2 Lunettes.

The irregular coins related to Group 1 (**Pl. 2, 44–45**) are by Diara, Herewulf and Wulfheard, all known Wessex moneyers. Group 1 irregular type (a) both have features that link them with Group 1, particularly the use of a literate inscription (Inscription 2: **REX+AELBRED**). The coin by Herewulf has a distinctive bonnet (**Pl. 2, 44**), whilst another by Wulfheard uses the Wessex drapery style with the vertical and two horizontal bars in the central panel. The coin by Herewulf is 24% silver, one of the highest levels recorded for a coin of Alfred. The coin by Diara could almost pass as a variant IB, but the treatment is much more tentative and the lettering rather coarse (**Pl. 2, 45**), hinting at irregularity. This is assigned as irregular type (b).

There are also two barbarous coins linked to irregular type (a). They differ from other irregular coins in having a crudeness in their execution not otherwise seen in the Alfredian Lunettes coinage (**Pl. 2, 51–52**). Both coins are by Dudda (the name seems, as with Æthelred I, to be a variant of Dudd) and have a peculiar treatment of the hair that is spiky and without a bonnet, along with a highly simplistic, almost shrunken, rendering of the facial features. Most notably they have in common use of a blundered obverse legend, style 15: **REXXAELBRD**.

The Group 2 irregulars (**Pl. 2, 46–50**) are more diverse. There are five different moneyers, with a different moneyer for each surviving coin. As is to be anticipated the obverse titles used are, with the exception of Denemund, all irregular:

- 2. **REX+AELBRED** – Denemund
- 11. **RE+AELBRED** – Duni
- 17. **ERX+AELFRED** – Eadred
- 18. **+(X?)AELBREDX** – Diarelm
- 26. **AELBREDREX** – Dudwine

Denemund, Duni and Eadred are not known for other Alfred Lunettes types. Denemund is known for Æthelberht's Inscribed Cross type.

Irregular types (c) to (g) all have in common characteristics found on the Group 2 Alfred Lunettes. Type (c), by Denemund (**Pl. 2, 46**), is based on variant III, but the drapery is exaggerated and overlarge. Type (d), the coin of Duni (**Pl. 2, 47**), is marked by cruder die cutting than found for variant III, with the letters rendered in a heavy style and anomalous treatment of the drapery. On the reverse the moneyer's name is inverted. Type (e), a coin of Dudwine (**Pl. 2, 48**), from the Repton mass-burial excavations, links with variant V but has an anomalous treatment of the central drapery panel which seems to comprise a cross of four triangular segments surrounded by pellets. Type (f), a coin of Diarelm (**Pl. 2, 49** – the name is almost certainly a variant of Diarel), another Repton find, has a distorted bust with complex drapery showing affinities to Burgred coins. It is reminiscent of some of the more disconnected versions of a type of Burgred known principally for two coins of the moneyer Beorneah (*BMC* 165), Bird (1974) 55 and more particularly a coin of Tata (National Museum of Wales, E167).⁵² Type (g), a rather corroded coin of Eadred (**Pl. 2, 50**), has a crudely-produced bust with hair that runs backward in horizontal lines, similar to variant IV.

An explanation is needed for this exceptional group of coins that seem to stand out from the wider surviving Alfredian Lunettes coinage. The majority of the coins have sound provenances that would seem to rule out the possibility that they are modern forgeries. We can be certain that they are all coins of Alfred's time.

⁵² Illustrated in Metcalf and Northover 1985, Pl. 25, no. 57.

They all have in common variations in style from the mainstream Group 1 and 2 Alfredian Lunettes coinage and this seems to suggest use of locally-cut dies copying officially produced coins. They can either be improvised or emergency issues, produced at short notice in the absence of official dies, contemporary copies designed to pass off as official coins or coins produced outside areas of Wessex control, possibly even in the emerging Danelaw. We are reluctant to consider them as Danish imitations, but it is possible they represent unofficial local production within areas slipping out of Mercian or Wessex control.

Half the coins have find locations. Three are from the Repton excavations and four others are finds from Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire and Warwickshire (only one is possibly from the south: AfIr1, the Denemund from the Hook Norton hoard (1848)). This concentration in areas increasingly coming under Danish control may well reinforce the concept of coins produced at a local centre or centres in Mercia and at the fringes of the English monetary system. The key point is that these irregular coins reinforce a model of widely dispersed production conducted with a sense of urgency that relied on locally-cut dies rather than waiting for supplies from either Canterbury or London.

The Lunettes coinage of Alfred the Great: analysis of the Corpus

Weight

Weights are recorded for ninety-seven full coins (Group 1: sixty-two, Group 2: thirty-three and Irregular: two). The poor quality of the coinage results in a very high proportion of chipped and broken coins: so much so that only half the coins in the corpus can be included in this analysis. By comparison the weights of over 70% of Æthelred I's coinage could be analysed.⁵³ Table 6 below lays out the distribution by weight and variant. However these figures must be treated with caution. They are a very small sample and most coins are so base that tightly-controlled weights would almost certainly have not been a high priority. Also the metallic content is prone to the effects of corrosion and leaching, reducing both coin weight and silver content.⁵⁴

Two peaks in the weight distribution are present for Group 1 coins (Variants I and II). The first is the cluster around 1.20 g that reflects the standard established by Æthelred I when he introduced the coinage. But overall the coins are lighter. Excluding the coins under 1.00 g gives an average weight of 1.15 g. This is below Æthelred I's comparable Group 2 average of 1.23 g. Also when compared with Æthelred I's comparable Group 2 coins, there are a smaller proportion of coins above 1.20 g (24% of the total compared with the 63% of Æthelred I).

There is a second cluster around 0.90 g, much more marked in comparison with Æthelred I. This group of coins might be explained as the last stages of production where the need to save even base metal and exigencies of production converged to produce very debased and very light-weight coins. But the evidence does not support this. There are a very considerable number of coins of good execution and appearance, as well as good flan size, that are nevertheless light-weight. Variations in weight here may reflect only different practices in flan preparation and the availability of base metal to mix with the silver.⁵⁵

However reduction in weight from 1.15 g to 0.90 g produces a very small silver saving when the debasement of the coinage reaches 12.5% silver content. A 0.25 g difference in absolute weight would only have produced silver savings of 3.13 g per hundred coins. In such circumstances saving on the base metal used might have seemed an equally important reason to reduce weight.

⁵³ Lyons and MacKay 2007, Table 4.

⁵⁴ This seems particularly noticeable in the Abbey Orchard, St Albans (1968) and Walmsgate, Lincoln (1985) finds. In the former no coin exceeds one gram and in the latter only one coin is over that weight.

⁵⁵ Some examples of Variant I coins where this is so are Dunn (AfL1.17, 0.99 g, same dies as AfL1.18, 1.29 g.) and Ethelmund (AfL1.36/BMA 464), a coin of good appearance and struck on a large flan but which nevertheless weighs 0.98 g.

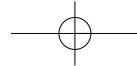


TABLE 6. The Lunettes coinage of Alfred: Weight distribution by variant.

		Cumulative percentages for each variant are given in italics.									
Group/ Variant		<0.79 g	0.80 g– 0.89 g	0.90 g– 0.99 g	1.00 g– 1.09 g	1.10 g– 1.19 g	1.20 g– 1.29 g	1.30 g– 1.39 g	1.40 g– 1.49 g	>1.5 g	Total Coins
1/I		2	4	9	10	13	9	5	Nil	Nil	52
	Cum %	4%	11%	29%	48%	73%	90%	100%	100%	100%	
1/II		2	3	1	1	2	Nil	1	Nil	Nil	10
	Cum %	20%	50%	60%	70%	90%	77%	100%	100%	100%	
2/III		Nil	Nil	1	6	2	1	2	Nil	Nil	12
	Cum %	0%	0%	8%	58%	75%	83%	100%	100%	100%	
2/IV		Nil	Nil	1	3	1	7	2	1	1	16
	Cum %	0%	0%	6%	25%	31%	75%	88%	94%	100%	
2/V		Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	3	2	Nil	Nil	Nil	5
	Cum %	0%	0%	0%	0%	60%	100%	100%	100%	100%	
Irregular		Nil	Nil	1	Nil	Nil	1	Nil	Nil	Nil	2
	Cum %	0%	0%	50%	50%	50%	100%	100%	100%	100%	

The smaller corpus of Variant II largely follows the pattern of Variant I but has proportionally fewer good weight coins above 1.20 g, and more light-weight coins below 1.00 g, than Variant I. Nevertheless the comparative weight profiles, continuing from *Æthelred I*, strongly support the concurrency of Variants I and II.

The patterns of Group 2 coinage weights show less change from *Æthelred I*. Variant III, the 'London-Wessex' group, seems to follow Group 1 quite closely. Variant IV includes some coins of higher and lower weight but has a marked grouping between 1.20 g to 1.29 g. Variant V is clustered around 1.20 g. The Irregular coins seem to be at the lower end of the weight spectrum but the sample is too small to establish any pattern.

Flan sizes

We have carried out an analysis of flan diameters for 161 coins. The result of this has to be subject to the caveat that many of the measurements have been taken from photographic evidence where some degree of distortion is always possible.⁵⁶

TABLE 7. The Lunettes coinage of Alfred the Great: Flan size distribution by variant.

Cumulative percentages for each variant are given in brackets.

Group/variant	<17.9 mm	18.0–18.9 mm	19.0–19.9 mm	>20.0 mm	Total
1/I	9 (12%)	51 (80%)	14 (99%)	1 (100%)	75
1/II	5 (24%)	13 (86%)	3 (100%)	Nil (100%)	21
2/III	1 (4%)	13 (61%)	6 (87%)	3 (100%)	23
2/IV	1 (4%)	8 (36%)	10 (76%)	6 (100%)	25
2/V	3 (33%)	3 (66%)	2 (89%)	1 (100%)	9
Irregular	3 (37%)	3 (75%)	1 (87%)	1 (100%)	8

⁵⁶ The authors did however measure diameters of the actual British Museum and Fitzwilliam Museum coins.

This data shows a tendency for Group 1 coins to be struck on smaller flans with 80% of Variant I and 86% of Variant II coins on flans less than 19 mm in diameter. This contrasts with the Mercian Group 2 where Variant III and V seem to match the Wessex standard while Variant IV seems to stay with a rather larger than average flan size (in particular Lunettes D coins all tend to be on larger flans). This seems to suggest that a reduction in flan size was instituted in Wessex and implemented more determinedly by the Canterbury die cutters than those based elsewhere.

But, as with weights, whilst a pattern can be observed, the evidence is not conclusive. It does seem that the tendency to smaller-size flans for Canterbury-issued dies, begun at the end of the reign of Æthelred I, continued. Group 2 coins, especially variant IV, tended to be struck on larger flans and lay, as with the apparent weight reduction, outside a Canterbury flan/die size reform.

Metallic composition

The principal source for information on the metallic composition of the coinage is Metcalf and Northover's study.⁵⁷ Ten coins of Alfred were analysed with silver content varying between 28.5% and 10.7%. A broad correlation was established that earlier coins contained better silver.⁵⁸ However quality of design and execution is not linked to silver content.⁵⁹ Whilst the data is slight it does show that the scale of debasement present in the Alfredian Lunettes coinage is more marked than for any of the preceding issues. The scale of debasement seems to suggest that limited supplies of silver were being stretched as far as possible to produce large volumes of coins. Nothing though can be proven as to how and when debasement occurred but the authors believe that the later coins were more likely to be debased than the earlier ones.

Coinage in the early years of the reign of Alfred the Great

The circulation and use of coinage in the 870s

The evidence almost certainly indicates that the Lunettes coinage was plentiful, widely produced and subject to successive debasement. It is also evident that the distribution of coin finds shows that it was a coinage that circulated in both English and Danish-controlled areas. There are two key issues regarding the coinage. The first was that the coinage circulated despite the fact that the contemporary precious metal Carolingian, Byzantine and Islamic coinages were of far superior weight and fineness. The second is that the coinage seems to disappear from circulation very quickly once the high silver content Cross and Lozenge coinage is introduced.

The focus of any consideration is how the Danish armies, settlers and English population in the Danish-conquered territories used the coinage. We know virtually nothing about the tribute payment system, except the survival of coin weights. But they tell us little more than that coins were used in certain transactions where large quantities of coins were measured by weight. As to the subsequent use of the coinage paid in tribute, it might on one hand have been melted to fit with a bullion-based form of exchange or on the other, might have continued in the form of coin acceptable for wider trading purposes between the emerging Danelaw and the areas remaining under English control.

We believe all these issues can be better considered once we have completed our study of the coinage of Burgred and we propose returning to this topic in due course. We also propose to look in more detail at the issues raised by coin weights at the same time.

⁵⁷ Metcalf and Northover 1985.

⁵⁸ Their concern (Metcalf and Northover 1985, 101) that a 'Canterbury' (Denemund, AfL.Ir1) coin had only 11% silver is in fact misplaced. This is clearly an irregular coin produced outside the Wessex mainstream.

⁵⁹ A Group 1 Wessex coin of Etheleah (AfL.1.33/SCBI 1, no. 246a), of Variant I and quite well cut, has the same silver content as Dudwine (AfL.Ir6/Repton 1982), a most irregular coin (Irregular e).

Die distribution and minting estimates

The corpus comprises 182 obverse and 177 reverse dies (dies and die linkages are listed in Appendix 3). Forty-five coins are die-linked (some 23% of the total). Inevitably producing any analysis from such a small sample, particularly where so many moneymen are represented by only one or two examples, is more of an art rather than an exact science.⁶⁰ Nevertheless these dies (assuming the traditional 10,000 coins struck per die set) could represent a potential coinage production of some 1.7 to 1.8 million. If the actual number of dies used may be assumed to be two to three times the number of known dies, this gives a maximum theoretical production potential of 3 to 4.5 million coins.

This is a high figure. Our opinion is that actual production would have been considerably lower. This is because there are a large number of moneymen with only one or two coins known and most surviving coins do not show evidence of die wear or retouching suggesting dies were rarely used until they wore out. Furthermore more than half the moneymen are only known for this coinage and the inference must be drawn that they were authorised to produce coins for specific purposes and on a limited basis.

Overall therefore we would favour a total minting output for the Alfredian Lunettes coinage of between one and two million coins. This is some fifty per cent more than the comparable figure we proposed for Æthelred I.⁶¹

Lunettes reverses

We are strongly of the opinion that the Lunettes reverses are a deliberate indicator of some purpose. The dominant type is Lunettes A but there are a considerable number of coins (27%) with Lunettes B, C and D reverses (see Appendix 2, Tables 2B and 2C for full details). As is to be anticipated with reverse types devised for the coinage of Burgred, Lunettes A is less frequent for Alfred Group 2 Mercian-style coins (33 out of 65, 51% of recorded coins as against Group I where only 14 out of 119, 11%, are not Lunettes A). The comparison between Group 1 and the Irregular coins is even starker where only 3 out of the 10 Irregular coins have a Lunettes A reverse. As noted earlier, although Group 1 Lunettes B coins seem largely to have been struck from Wessex dies, the small number of Wessex style Lunettes C and D coins may be 'mules' with Canterbury obverses and London reverses.

As noted in consideration of the hoard evidence, the established view is that Lunettes variation is a later development in Alfred's Lunettes coinage. The numbers of coins and the way that they seem to be integrated into the coinage could perhaps lead to an alternate view that Lunettes variation was a characteristic of the coinage introduced at an early stage. It should be noted too that a precedent for reverses other than Lunettes A already exists in the Lunettes D issues of Æthelred I. We would therefore suggest that an explanation for the reverse types based on sequential issues requires very careful re-consideration.

Attempting to link Lunettes variations to moneymen or die cutters is not sustainable. Not only do many moneymen use more than one reverse type, but there is at least one die linkage where the same obverse is used to produce a Lunettes C coin for Biarnred and a Lunettes A coin for Wine (AFL2.60: Pl. 1, 31 and AFL2.6: Pl. 1, 30). Metcalf and Northover also show that the Lunettes types do not represent different standards of fineness.⁶²

⁶⁰ We are aware of the considerable body of work, and related controversy, on this subject: see in particular Buttrey 1993 and 1994 and subsequent debate, notably Callatay 1995, for a good starting point. More relevant to the Anglo-Saxon series are the series of articles debating the mint output of Offa: Metcalf 1963a, 1963b and Grierson 1963a and 1963b, 1967 give some indication of the intensity of debate and the essential difficulty of building a mathematical model on limited information. Overall we believe our subjective, but pragmatic, proposals are a good a basis as any upon which to define a broad size for the coinage.

⁶¹ In Lyons and MacKay 2007 we suggested a total output at between one and one and a half million coins.

⁶² Metcalf and Northover 1985, 165. 'The adoption of a high tin alloy at the same stage of debasement in both Wessex and Mercia suggests that the silver reduction of 866 was coordinated. If so, one must reject the view that reverse varieties C and D were used to distinguish the better Mercian coins from those of Æthelred.'

With these options eliminated an alternative explanation is needed. The answer may lie in understanding how Mercian kingship operated. Although we know relatively little about this, in recent years a view has emerged based upon the *Tribal Hidage*, a Mercian document perhaps datable to c.880, surviving in eleventh-century and later manuscripts. The document seems essentially an assessment of the capacity of territories to provide tributes.⁶³ Featherstone suggests it shows that Mercia consisted of a series of tribal territories that had come under the sway of Mercian kingship during the seventh and eighth centuries. Emerging from this was a model of Mercian kingship in which power was exercised through influence over leaders of client tribal territories who paid tribute to the king in return for his protection and rewards.

Keynes contrasted this model with that in Wessex where extensive evidence points to a kingdom with a stronger sense of the 'state' built around a king exercising purposeful leadership in kingdom building.⁶⁴ By contrast with Mercia, Wessex was administered by royal officials working for the king.

The Lunettes coinage of Alfred shows precisely the same contrast. With the Group 1 Wessex-style coins there is a general consistency of coinage issues that can only have come through centralised administration. With the Group 2 Mercian-style coins (and the coinage of Burgred) we have the opposite, a diversity that entirely accords with the Mercian decentralised administration that Keynes and Featherstone identify. But how does this provide an explanation for the different Lunettes reverses?

Since the reverse Lunettes variation was a Mercian innovation, beginning before the Lunettes coinage was adopted by Wessex, then the explanation may lie in the exercise of kingship and power within Mercia. The *Tribal Hidage* suggests payments to the king by tribal leaders or ealdorman. The authors believe that the significance of the Lunettes reverse is linked to this, with the variations an administrative device to relate coin production to the territories from which the payment was raised. Coins may not necessarily have been produced within the territories to which the Lunettes style may refer (in fact many were evidently struck at London or with dies cut at London) suggesting the Lunettes style is primarily a Mercian accounting and control device linked to the collection of revenues in the form of coin.

One of the authorities was the king himself and we would propose that one reverse type was regal and related to payments made by the king, or raised by the king from his own territories and estates. The authors would suggest that the case for the regal type being Lunettes A explains why this is the dominant type in centralised Wessex.

The question then arises as to why Lunettes B to D reverses appear in Alfred's coinage? Part of this, as our analysis of the surviving coinage shows, was a major increase in the numbers of coins of Mercian style in Alfred's reign in comparison with Æthelred I's output. From the early 870s when Mercian kingship showed itself increasingly unable to meet the Danish threat the leaders of these territories must have looked to the king most able to protect them and their people. A switch of allegiance may have taken place to the benefit of Alfred, who was then able to command tribute in cash payments from these lords. The authors, taking on Blackburn's observation of increasing Wessex involvement in Mercian affairs,⁶⁵ propose that the expansion in the Mercian content of the Wessex coinage might be explained by this, with the formerly Mercian leadership collecting tributes to pay to Alfred using already existing Mercian administrative methods. The introduction of Lunettes B and to a lesser extent Lunettes C and D in the Group 1 Wessex Lunettes coinage at this time might be explained by some dies being cut for this purpose at Canterbury or elsewhere in Wessex.

In summary then we propose that reverse Lunettes A was the regal issue with Lunettes B to D possibly relating to geographical areas or tribal territories within southern Mercia. The substantial number of Wessex-style Lunettes B coins, greater proportionally than Burgred's coinage, may well derive from an area of monetary control along the borders of Wessex to

⁶³ Featherstone 2001, 23–34, including discussion of the manuscript transmission at pp. 23–6. Dates between the mid-seventh and late ninth century have been suggested for the *Tribal Hidage*: see pp. 29–30.

⁶⁴ Keynes 2001, 310–28.

⁶⁵ Blackburn 1998, 120. But we believe the process started earlier than Burgred's abdication in 874.

the west of London. Lunettes D, based on findspots and the use of an East Anglian style M on one coin (AfL2.31: Ealmund), may relate to east or south-east Mercia. Lunettes C is harder to allocate as so few exist, but this may be because the territory involved was largely occupied by the Danes at an early stage and was only marginally under Wessex influence at any one time. This is reinforced by the fact that Table 2C shows that Lunettes C, although a common type for Burgred, is the rarest, most anomalous and varied type for Alfred. The territory to which this type seems to relate is an area deeper into Mercia to the north or north-west of London.

The remaining issue is to reconcile Pagan's belief that Burgred's Lunettes variation belongs to the period 860–70 and that Alfred's Lunettes only enter circulation c.873, with our proposed model.⁶⁶ If it is accepted that the Lunettes variation was a tool of Mercian rule it is therefore entirely logical that this variation was in use before 870 in Mercia. It is, we believe, also entirely logical that the collapse of Burgred's authority from 870 onwards led to the Lunettes B to D variations appearing in Alfred's name as Mercian leaders switched allegiance from Burgred (in fact the evidence of Lunettes D coins for Æthelred I possibly indicates that this process started earlier). In view of this and the very significant numbers of Lunettes B to D coins we believe Lunettes variation started from the earliest stages of Alfred's reign.

As a consequence we do not take the view that any Lunettes variations used by moneyers working for Alfred (or Æthelred I) have to be explained as anomalous or imitative coinage and in any event most of the coins appear to be entirely regular contemporary issues. Allied to this, if it is accepted that Lunettes A were the king's coinage then the hoards containing issues of this type only are explained by these being related to payments made with money raised solely by the king from his estates or territories. This would reflect the location of the major Lunettes A only hoards. All are essentially in the south-east.⁶⁷ This is the area where Lunettes A coins seem principally to have circulated. Local preference for the king's money as well as mint output or fiscal reasons may explain the Lunettes A only content of hoards in these areas and thus does not preclude them being deposited at any time during the currency of the Lunettes coinage.

With no documentary evidence to explain it, the significance of the Lunettes variations remains largely conjecture. However interpretation of the evidence of the coinage of Alfred allied with the little we do know about Mercian kingship seems to suggest that Mercian practices were increasingly imported from Mercia into the Wessex coinage as Alfred increasingly took over as the *de facto* ruler of large areas of Mercia.

Moneyers

As we have noted elsewhere the numbers of moneyers known with certainty is sixty-eight. (A full list is at Appendix 2, Table 2A, which includes eight other possible names; a complete list of proposed locations and affiliation of moneyers is at Table 2D). Since the publication of the latest edition of *North* fourteen years ago a further seventeen moneyers have been noted.⁶⁸ There is every possibility that further finds could increase this number further.

Forty-two moneyers produced Group 1, thirty-nine Group 2, and nine the Irregular types. Forty-six moneyers are known for one Group (or the Irregular category) only, the remainder are involved in a mix of variants across the two Groups or a mix of a Group with the Irregular category. Only one moneyer, Wulfheard, covers all three categories. The possibility of different moneyers with the same name working in different locations or names being copied, especially in the Irregular category, cannot entirely be ruled out (the Diarel/Diarelm

⁶⁶ Pagan 1987, 17.

⁶⁷ This is reflected with single finds where all but one of an admittedly small sample are Lunettes A coins. A very different distribution of types is evident elsewhere. The only exception to this pattern is the Lower Dunsforth hoard (1861) which although located well away from London is exclusively Lunettes A. But this is a small hoard and the lack of Lunettes B to D coins may just be a matter of chance.

⁶⁸ North 1994, 123. The new moneyers are: Dealinc, Denewald, Diara, Eadred, Ealhere, Ealmund, Ealmeit, Ethelgar, Ethelstan, Heahfreth, Herefreth, Heyse, Hildefreth, Sigefreth, Tithelm, Winberht and possibly Liab.

and Dudd/Dudda groups are a particular problem in this regard). Just under two-thirds (62%) of the moneymen are either only known from one (twenty-seven moneymen) or two coins (fifteen moneymen). This contrasts with 19% (13) of all recorded moneymen producing 47% of surviving coins.

Overall the pool of moneymen striking the Lunettes coinage of Alfred was substantial. It was more than double the thirty-one we noted for *Æthelred I* and is greater than the fifty-five moneymen recorded for *Burgred*, who represent more than twenty years of production.

A major issue is to understand and explain the expansion of moneymen under Alfred in the early 870s. The summary table below suggests a dramatic change in production of the Wessex coinage under Alfred after 871. Of the sixty-eight recorded moneymen, only a relatively small number, twenty-three, are former Wessex moneymen. An additional nine *Burgred* moneymen become involved with Alfred's Lunettes coinage.

The most striking feature is the addition of thirty-six new moneymen who appear to have been brought in to expand coinage output. None of these thirty-six is recorded for any previous coinage either for Wessex or for Mercia, and very few go on to mint subsequent types. Most startling is that sixteen of these moneymen exclusively use Mercian-style dies (three of which are irregular types), but only strike coins in the name of Alfred. Overall the number of moneymen and the mix of their output not only indicates an expansion of coinage at this time, but also the extent to which Alfred drew on Mercian resources to achieve this.

The increase of moneymen and the calling on Mercian resources has every indication that the production of this coinage was part of an organised effort with moneymen being deployed to meet production needs for tribute and warfare when and where required. For instance, eight out of the twenty new Wessex moneymen also use Mercian-style dies and a number of well-established Wessex moneymen do the same.

TABLE 8. Expansion of the Lunettes Coinage of Wessex in the 870s: moneymen.

	Number of moneymen	Moneymen
Established Wessex moneymen * = also use Mercian dies † = includes an irregular coin	17 Number of coins: 75	Dunn*, Eadwulf, Elbere, Ethered*, Heabearht, Hebeca, Herebald*, Herefreth, Herewulf†, Liabinc, Manninc, Oshore, Sefreth, Tirwulf*, Torhtmund, Wine*, Wulfheard*.
New Wessex moneymen * = also use Mercian dies † = also noted for an irregular coin	7 major moneymen Number of coins: 42 13 secondary moneymen Number of coins: 22	Bosa, Diarel(m)†, Etheleah*, Ethelmund, Heremod, Sigestef*, Tirwald*. Biarnwald, Biarnwulf*, Cialmod, Ealhere*, Heafreth*, Heyse, Hildefreth, Liab, Luhinc†, Osgeard*, Sigefreth, Tidbald, Tidbearht. ⁶⁹
Moneyers using Mercian-style dies known for <i>Æthelberht</i> or <i>Æthelred I</i> † = irregular coin	6 Number of coins: 13	Biarnmod, Denemund†, Dudd/Dudda†, Ealmund, Ethelgar, Ethelhere.
New moneymen using Mercian dies but not known for <i>Burgred</i> † = irregular coin	16 Number of coins: 25	Biarnred, Bureel, Cialbred, Cialulf, Cuthwulf, Deigmund, Diara†, Dudinc, Duinc, Duni†, Eadred†, Ealmeit, Elelaf, Sigeric, Tilefein, Winberht.
Mercian moneymen who had already produced coins for Wessex	1 Number of coins: 2	Denewald.
New Wessex moneymen also known for <i>Burgred</i> * = using Wessex dies † = also noted for an irregular coin	8 Number of coins: 18	Dealinc, Diarwulf, Dudwine†, Ethelstan, Ethelwulf*, Guthmund*, Tata, Tithehelm (if Tidhelm).*

⁶⁹ It is of course possible that Biarnwulf, Ealhere, Etheleah, Heafreth, Luhinc, Osgeard, Sigestef and Tirwald were Mercian moneymen who for some reason used Wessex dies.

Places of production

Canterbury

There is one certain anchor in attributing coins to mints in that all Group 1, Variant I coins were produced from dies cut at Canterbury and the majority were almost certainly struck there. Seventeen Variant I moneyers are recorded for earlier Wessex types.⁷⁰ Five are known for *Æthelberht* but not for *Æthelred I*, suggesting that there was a recall of lapsed moneyers to increase production.⁷¹ These moneyers are joined by at least seven new ones⁷² and up to four formerly only known for *Burgred*.⁷³ Overall it seems that twelve to fifteen moneyers were active at any one time. There is a lot of change but two moneyers, *Ethelred/Ethered* and *Torhtmund*, seem to provide a remarkable thread of continuity across twenty-five years of minting.

About half these moneyers are known for Variant I only, with the others making considerable use of Mercian-style dies or use of the less well-cut Variant II dies. This continues a pattern we noted with *Æthelred I*'s coinage and it is notable that *Wine*, who produced both Wessex and Mercian-style coins for *Æthelred I*, continued to do so under Alfred. As already noted there are a variety of die-cutting styles at both Canterbury and London and there is every indication of die-cutting over-capacity in relation to the quantity of dies known. Peaks in demand, when large numbers of dies were needed quickly, probably explain this. Finally these moneyers or die cutters seem to have moved around, continuing, albeit on a somewhat larger scale, the pattern noted with *Æthelred I*'s Lunettes coins.

Elsewhere in Wessex

The significant numbers of new moneyers recorded for Wessex-style Group I coins make it implausible that they would all have worked at Canterbury, as that would have created an enormously cumbersome mint. The inference must be that some moneyers, perhaps those with small numbers of surviving coins and only known for this type, used dies prepared at Canterbury but struck coins at locations elsewhere. Use of Mercian-style rather than Canterbury dies by moneyers who seem to be Wessex based probably repeats a circumstance known from *Æthelred I*'s reign. During periods of disruption, London or even other south Mercian locations were frequently more accessible than Canterbury for many places in western Wessex.

With the major areas of fighting in the south-west it is clear that Alfred and his immediate court were largely located in western Wessex during this period. The Wessex financial system based on Canterbury, with close links to London, seems to have sustained high levels of coin production despite this separation from central direction. Nevertheless there has to be a case for mints operating in western Wessex, perhaps at the intermittently opened mint at Winchester,⁷⁴ or even further west at Bath and Exeter. However Danish occupation of Exeter and possibly Bath would have temporarily halted production. In addition other locations could have been used as temporary mints to meet short-term urgent requirements that seem to have been a characteristic of this period.

⁷⁰ Dunn, *Eadwulf* (not known for *Æthelred I* but a moneyer for *Æthelberht*), *Elbere*, *Ethered* (assuming this prolific moneyer is *Ethelred*), *Hebeca* (formerly an archiepiscopal moneyer), *Heabearht* (not known for *Æthelred I* but a moneyer for *Æthelberht*), *Herebald*, *Herefreth* (not known for *Æthelred I* but a moneyer for *Æthelberht*), *Herewulf*, *Liabinc*, *Manninc*, *Oshore* (not known for *Æthelred I* but a moneyer for *Æthelberht*), *Sefreth* (not known for *Æthelred I* but a moneyer for *Æthelberht*), *Tirwulf*, *Tohrmund*, *Wine* and *Wulfheard*.

⁷¹ It is, of course, possible that these moneyers worked for *Æthelred I* but their coins have yet to appear.

⁷² The coin evidence for three of these (*Diarelm*, *Sigestef*, *Tirwald*) might indicate that they were either never at Canterbury or moved into south Mercia at some point.

⁷³ *Diarwulf*, *Ethelwulf*, *Guthmund* and *Tithehelm*.

⁷⁴ Naismith 2008 reviews the existence of a Winchester mint during the reign of Egbert (802–839). In our study of *Æthelred I* we also noted the Four Line (Group 1) coin of *Osric* attributed to Winchester (Lyons and MacKay 2007, 84), as well as a possible non-Canterbury location or locations for the more crudely-produced coins (Lyons and MacKay 2007, 88–9). However, only one (*Ethelmund*) of the six Cross and Lozenge, Winchester-style moneyers listed by Blackburn and Keynes 1998, 143–6, is found for the Alfredian Lunettes coinage.

A mint may also have accompanied the court. As we proposed in our paper on Æthelred I the existence of poorly-cut coins in the names of well-known Canterbury based moneyers might indicate the existence of a military or court mint moving around with Alfred or other large military groups.

London

The key question that has to be addressed is whether the London mint was operating throughout the whole period of the currency of Alfred's Lunettes coinage. The large number of moneyers that can be linked to London suggests it probably was, but disruption of operations during times of crisis, such as the Danish occupation of 871/2, and the temporary removal of production from London cannot be ruled out. We believe that London is the most likely source of many if not most Mercian-style (Group 2) dies. There seem to have been some transfers of moneyer affiliations to other mint locations.⁷⁵ Conversely Biarnmod and Dudd, both prolific moneyers for Æthelred I's Canterbury coins, are only known for Mercian-style coins of Alfred. Overall there is a pattern of intermingling and interchange between Wessex and Mercian moneyers. The overall trends are that of an increasing number of Mercian moneyers working for Alfred and around a quarter of the moneyers are known to use dies of both Wessex and Mercian style.

Finally we noted three distinctive variants that can be associated with London and which seem to reflect two different workshops (variants III and IV) and a group of moneyers (variant V) who seem to have cut their own dies. Of these the London-Wessex style variant III, especially sub-variants A and B, may have been the output of a Wessex-operated mint (continuing a practice that seems to have started during Æthelred I's reign⁷⁶), with the other two variants being produced in Mercian-controlled establishments under a sharing of London production resources between the two kingdoms.

Elsewhere in Mercia

Blackburn notes that the increasing feebleness of Mercia led to an expansion of Alfred's power and that following Burgred's departure he was recognised as the legitimate ruler in London and some other parts of southern Mercia.⁷⁷ The coin evidence seems to suggest this expansion was underway before 874 with sixteen new moneyers producing coins in the Mercian style, over half of whom produce Group 2, sub-variant IVB. This seems to reflect use of a mix of London and locally-produced dies for production away from London. The high incidence of single coin moneyers might again be explained by a deliberate augmentation of production resources for short periods to meet expediencies such as tributes to the Danes or tax levies to the king of Wessex for defence.

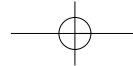
The large number of Lunettes B coins of Alfred, proportionately greater than that encountered in the Burgred mix of Lunettes B to D, seems to represent a major involvement in the Mercian tribute activity associated with this reverse type. As has been noted above this may well indicate increasing Wessex activity in an area along the borders of Wessex to the west of London. The mix of Lunettes B moneyers using both Wessex and London dies as well as the large number of moneyers involved (See Appendix 2, Tables 2C and 2D) points to a continuing and developing relationship.

The small group of Lunettes C coins, of which the majority are anomalous in some way or another, as well as a scatter of findspots in the Derbyshire/Staffordshire/Nottinghamshire area (five out of the nine coins recorded) points, we believe, to an area right at the edge of Wessex influence. However the nine moneyers involved are with two exceptions (Ealmeit and

⁷⁵ See Appendix 2, Table 2D for details of this complex pattern.

⁷⁶ Lyons and MacKay 2007, 87.

⁷⁷ Blackburn 1998, 120.



Eadred) known for other variants and there may be a case to be made for some of the coins (less the anomalous examples) being produced in London.

The exclusively Lunettes D sub-variants IVC and IVD with three out of the six moneyers only known for these types⁷⁸ seem to indicate Wessex controlled monetary production in east and south-east Mercia on a significant and long-standing scale of activity. This is reinforced by the almost exclusively eastern English location of findspots (twelve out of the thirteen coins with known findspots).

Finally two moneyers that can be placed firmly in Mercia are Cuthwulf and Winberht, both of whom went on to produce Two-Line coins in the West Midlands style.

Subsequent moneyer affiliations

Seven Lunettes moneyers were involved in Alfred's Phase II (Cross and Lozenge), two of whom also struck the same issue for Archbishop Æthelred. Two others struck Cross and Lozenge for Ceolwulf II. Of all these, five along with ten others not known for Cross and Lozenge, went on to produce Phase III of Alfred's coinage, the Two-Line type. (See Table 9 and Appendix 2, Table 2D.)⁷⁹ Interestingly there is some movement between London and Canterbury but this may reflect geographical dispersal of moneyers away from these locations, with the most convenient die-cutting centre becoming the source of supply.

TABLE 9. Lunettes Moneyers producing the Cross and Lozenge (Alfred Phase II) and Two Line Type (Alfred Phase III).⁸⁰ Regional styles and moneyers' locations are given in brackets:

C: Canterbury
L: London
NK: not known
W: Winchester
WM: West Midlands

Issue	Number of Moneyers (% of total Alfred Lunettes moneyers)	Alfred Lunettes' moneyers (Moneyers in italics are recorded for Lunettes but currently the coins cannot be traced.)
Portrait Quatrefoil – Archbishop Æthelred (and possibly Alfred) Also Two Emperors or Portrait quatrefoil/Cross and Lozenge Mule – Alfred	1 (1%)	Ethered (C)
Cross and Lozenge – Alfred	7 (10%)	Ciolwulf (Ciolwulf?) (L), Eadwulf (Eadulf) (L), Ethelm[] (Ethelmund?) (W?), Ethelred (Ethered) (C), Herefreth (L), Tirwald (C), Torhtmund (C)
Cross and Lozenge – Archbishop Æthelred	2 (3%)	Ethelmund (C), Torhtmund (C)
Cross and Lozenge – Ceolwulf II	2 (3%)	Cuthwulf (WM), Dealinc (L).
Two-Line – Alfred ⁸¹	15 (22%)	<i>Beagstan</i> (L), Cuthwulf (WM), Dealinc (L), Denewald (C), <i>Eadmund</i> (C), Eadwulf (L), Ethelred (C), Ethelstan (C), Ethelwulf (C), Heremod (C), Herewulf (L), Tilefien (Tilewine?) (L) ⁸² , Tirwald (C), Wine (C), Winberht (WM).

⁷⁸ Ealmund, Ethelgar and Ethelstan. The first two are known for Lunettes D of Æthelred I and the latter is a scarce moneyer for Burgred.

⁷⁹ Two of these moneyers, Beagstan and Eadmund, are recorded on the Early Medieval Corpus but the coins have not been traced by the authors.

⁸⁰ Moneyers and mint attributions of the Cross and Lozenge group are taken from Blackburn and Keynes 1998.

⁸¹ Details of the regional styles of the Two-Line type are taken from Blackburn 1998, Table 2.

⁸² Also strikes London Monogram type as Tilewine.

Cessation of production and demonetisation

The only single fact on which all can agree is that the demonetisation of the Lunettes coinage was rapidly implemented and highly effective. However it is difficult to be precise as to when this happened. The authors enter this debate with caution as the written sources (none of which shed direct light on the issue) and the numismatic evidence are contradictory.⁸³

Dolley and Blunt thought that no Lunettes hoards could be dated later than Burgred's abdication.⁸⁴ Blackburn⁸⁵ and Keynes⁸⁶ essentially supported this position, although slightly modified, by suggesting a short period when Alfred maintained production of the Lunettes coinage and took control of south Mercian production. They added that the departure of Burgred in 874 resulted in the relatively rapid withdrawal of Lunettes coins and their immediate substitution with Cross and Lozenge coinage. Blackburn argued cogently that to fit the coinage into the period before Ceolwulf II's presumed demise in 879, the Lunettes coinage would have had to cease production in 875 and that even an extension to 877, although 'tempting', was too late.

Although the documentary evidence for Burgred's abdication and Ceolwulf II's accession in 874 is well attested, the numismatic evidence does not easily match this. As we have shown, the Alfredian Lunettes coinage was a huge enterprise involving the largest number of moneyers recorded for a single issue up to that date and almost certainly produced in a much wider range of locations both in Mercia and Wessex, if only spasmodically, than any previous coinage. The coinage represents a dramatic change in scale in comparison with both the coinages of Æthelred I and Burgred. Set against this Blackburn and Keynes' comprehensive analysis of Cross and Lozenge coins only produces a total of sixty-one coins (twenty-five of which are from the Cuerdale hoard).⁸⁷ These equate to less than a third of the surviving Lunettes coinage and about a quarter of the number of moneyers. Finally the political/military situation must be taken into account. The continuing crises of the years before 877 would seem to make any move to a higher quality coinage difficult to set up. The dramatic uplift in quality, with its significant deflationary economic effects, could only occur when there was some prospect of stability to enable its implementation.

The chronology proposed in Blackburn and Keynes that the Quatrefoil issue came first, followed by Two Emperors and Portrait Quatrefoil and then Cross and Lozenge seems to fit the pattern of surviving material.⁸⁸ But how long were they produced for and what was their interaction with the Lunettes coinage? We agree with the general consensus that the Quatrefoil, Portrait Quatrefoil and Two Emperors are provisional or experimental types that for one reason or another never became substantive issues. These coins are completely different from the Lunettes and either represent a concurrent stream of experimentation while Lunettes coins were still in production, or a precursor phase once Lunettes coins had ceased production and before a decision was made to select Cross and Lozenge as the substantive type. Either course is possible but, whichever it was, the time to produce these tentative issues need not have been long.

The Cross and Lozenge issue marks the final break with the old Lunettes coinages for both Mercia and Wessex. As with the tentative issues, the die-cutting of busts, new styles of lettering and the sense of design and balance of the coinage suggest a desire for a completely fresh

⁸³ The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* provides little additional information. Two charters (Sawyer 1968, nos 215 (Daylesford, Glos) and 216 (Overbury, Conderton and Pendock, Worcs) citing Ceolwulf as king in 875 are discussed by Keynes 1998, 12–13, where his interpretation is that these only referred to areas where Ceolwulf II had control.

⁸⁴ Dolley and Blunt 1961, 80, essentially basing their statement on the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and the relatively small corpus of Alfred's Lunettes known at that time.

⁸⁵ Blackburn 1998, 106, 'In the mid-870s Alfred set about restoring the fineness of the coinage.'

⁸⁶ Keynes 1998, 15: 'Alfred's moneyers were apparently still striking Lunettes coins for a while after Burgred's deposition in 874, but there are no surviving specimens in Ceolwulf II's name (or for that matter Archbishop Æthelred, who was appointed in 870), and the likelihood is that the type was soon discontinued.'

⁸⁷ Blackburn and Keynes 1998. The only hoards with more than 10% of Alfred's corpus are Croydon (16.5%) and Beeston Tor (10.5%).

⁸⁸ Blackburn and Keynes 1998, 125.

start.⁸⁹ Instead of a utilitarian coinage with every sense of being produced by a kingdom facing great crisis the Cross and Lozenge series strives (not always successfully) towards higher artistic merit and is generally produced to standards that had not been in evidence in the English coinage for nearly a century. It is, not stretching the issue too far, a coinage for peace, not war.⁹⁰

The rapid disappearance of Lunettes reflects this, pointing to a comprehensive and fast-paced re-coinage once the political and military situation was favourable. This however was not a particularly large-scale project, as the re-coinage could only have produced, at best, one new coin for every four or five old ones and in many cases one coin for ten or fifteen. On this basis fewer moneyers would have been needed, leading to a contraction in the numbers deployed compared with the Lunettes coinage. It is probable that the bulk of the re-coinage could have been completed within six months with *renovatio* production trailing off rapidly once the new coinage was established.⁹¹ The recoinage extended across both Wessex and what remained of Mercia and it seems to have been Wessex led with Ceolwulf II very much the junior partner with a much smaller scale of production.⁹²

Although the lack of firm evidence either way makes this debate essentially a matter of opinion the authors believe that based on the surviving material the most convincing model for the development of the coinage after 874 is that Alfred took control of the southern Mercian coinage shortly before or after Burgred's departure and ran it for the next two years or so with production continuing until 876 or early 877. After some experimentation around a new coinage limited to Wessex with the Quatrefoil and Portrait Quatrefoil types in 876/7 and also a new joint coinage with Mercia at the same time with Two Emperors, it was the prospect of more stable times from mid-877 that led Alfred to initiate a major re-coinage with Cross and Lozenge. This makes the second half of 877 the earliest plausible start date for Cross and Lozenge coinage.⁹³

In Mercia, despite the documentary evidence for Ceolwulf II's kingship between 874 and 877, he was not in a position to produce coinage in the remaining areas of Mercia under his control, but joined the great re-coinage as a junior partner sometime in 877/8 with Cross and Lozenge, having initially been party to the Two Emperors experimental type in 876/7.

Conclusions

Closer examination of the Lunettes coinage of Alfred reveals that it was the most complex single monetary issue struck by the English to that date. Building a corpus of 197 coins in public and private collections, we have been able to subject this largely neglected coinage to critical scrutiny. The most obvious characteristic is that the coinage clearly carries on with structures established under Æthelred I, with two distinct groups of coins, one produced in Wessex, based on Canterbury; the other using Mercian styles, based on London (see Table 2 above for a concordance of the types of Alfred and Æthelred). Within each group a number of variants exist. The Wessex-produced coins, Alfred Group 1, Variants I and II, continue the bonneted bust first used by Æthelred I Group 2 variants i and ii, whose Group 2 variants iii and iv, the bold head, are no longer used. Alfred's Group 2, the Mercian-style Group,

⁸⁹ The possible exception to this is an anomalous coin of Guthere (BMA 477) that seems to use Lunettes obverse style conventions.

⁹⁰ It is of interest that the bust is non-military in appearance. If he had wished Alfred could have selected any one of a number of powerfully realised military prototypes from late Antiquity but chose not to do so.

⁹¹ We return to the fact that the demonetisation of Lunettes seems to have been carried out with great rapidity. There is no evidence that the two coinages circulated concurrently in either Wessex, Mercia or Danish controlled areas. The latter would seem to imply Danish co-operation in the process. Additionally if our broad estimate of between one and two million Lunettes coins for Alfred is broadly correct, this would suggest that the Cross and Lozenge minting was, at the most, a few hundred thousand coins.

⁹² The arguments in Blackburn 1998 that comparisons of die-cutting styles indicated that Ceolwulf II's re-coinage followed that of Alfred are, we believe, still sustainable in our model.

⁹³ If the pace of tribute payment had slowed and there was possibly a steady flow of coins back from trade with areas under Danish control, there would probably have been enough Lunettes coins in circulation to sustain economic activity through 877. For the latter point about lack of money see Keynes and Lapidge 2004, 22–3.

Variants III, IV and V align with Æthelred I Group 3 variants vi and vii (variant vii dividing into variants IV and V). Æthelred I variant v is discontinued (but two of the moneymen involved continue to strike coins with the same Lunettes D reverse). There is a small but diverse group of irregular coins that are almost certainly official issues but produced at the limits of royal control.

Under Alfred the coinage developed in a number of ways. Weights were reduced slightly within Wessex-based production and smaller flan coins, first introduced in the last months of Æthelred I's reign, became dominant within the Wessex produced group. This reform was however largely confined to Canterbury with the Group 2 Mercian-style coins remaining generally unchanged in weight and flan size. Silver content is generally between 25% and 10%, with some evidence for progressive debasement. However there is no correlation between flan size, weight and variant to indicate that smaller and lighter coins are later.

The Alfredian Lunettes coinage was produced to meet the needs of the times, dominated by warfare and the payment of cash as tribute to the Danish invaders. Needs drove output and this required a deliberate expansion that doubled the number of moneymen compared with Æthelred I. There was a well-managed and tightly directed centre of die production and minting that almost certainly continued to be based at Canterbury, delivering styles and standards that retained the consistency in the Wessex Lunettes coinage. The relationship with Mercia through the monetary union established in 866 deepened with the Mercian style and produced coins becoming a major part of the overall surviving output, with Alfred increasing Wessex influence in Southern Mercia. The London-Wessex type (Group 2 variant III) indicates a Wessex die-cutting workshop was probably operating in London. Overall, despite this dispersion of effort a surprisingly high quality of output was achieved, certainly markedly more consistent than the contemporary coinage of Burgred.

A direct impact of this extension of Wessex influence into Mercian areas was that Mercian practices were adopted into the Wessex coinage, and reverse type variation, previously largely confined to Mercia, started to appear more widely within the Wessex coinage. Although the precise reasons for the use of the Lunettes reverse variations remains unclear, the most likely explanation is that they relate to Mercian territorial administration associated with tribute collection by the king and monetary production for this purpose. The Mercian-style coins of Alfred include a much larger proportion of Lunettes B to D coins in comparison with the Wessex style series. We believe this reflects the increasing extension of Alfred's influence into areas of Mercia. This process starts from the beginning of his reign. In Wessex, Lunettes A, which we believe identifies the royal coinage, remains the principal type and its local predominance is reflected in the hoards located in or close to Wessex. We tentatively propose that Lunettes B derives from an area along the borders of Wessex to the west of London; Lunettes C, because of its rarity, is associated with an area largely outside Wessex influence, possibly deeper into Mercia to the north or north-west of London; with Lunettes D from east or south-east Mercia.

We believe that the sixty-eight recorded moneymen (and there were almost certainly more) could not have been restricted to the two minting centres of London and Canterbury. Obverse styles with differing variants suggest that, whilst Canterbury and London were major hubs in the monetary production system, there were other locations where coins were minted and possibly dies were being cut. These are most likely to have been elsewhere in Wessex, and in southern and eastern Mercia. However no specific mint locations can be identified. Furthermore just under two-thirds of the moneymen are only known for one or two coins and thirty-six are new moneymen not otherwise known for Burgred or earlier issues of Wessex. These factors suggest a coinage that was often produced in sporadic bursts to meet short-term, locally-driven requirements. Overall the wide variety of variants linked to the substantial number of moneymen involved gives the strong impression of monetary production being on a war footing meeting urgent needs for coin tributes whenever and wherever they were required.

Previously the end of the Lunettes coinage has been placed at 874/5 when Burgred abdicated. This date may be when the Mercian Lunettes coinage ended. However the sheer size and variety of Alfred's Lunettes coinage and what we know of the continuing need to sustain

warfare against the Danes, as well as pay tribute, all point to the fact that Wessex needed to continue coin production and had no reason to cease. The coinage evidence suggests that Alfred filled the gap left in royal authority by the exile of Burgred by taking monetary production in southern Mercia and London under Wessex control. On this basis Lunettes coins could have continued in production until 876 or even early 877. We believe it was not until 876/7 that the first attempts were made to replace it with the tentative Wessex-only Quatrefoil and Quatrefoil Portrait coinage, as well as with a new joint Wessex-Mercian coinage in the Two Emperors type. On this timeline the earliest plausible date for the change to Cross and Lozenge coinage is most probably in the second half of 877. But at whatever date this occurred it was a successful recoinage, completely driving the poorer quality Lunettes coins out of circulation not only in English but also in Danish controlled areas.

Cross and Lozenge and its immediate precursors introduced a monetary revolution. Not only was artistic and silver quality restored but also the whole apparatus of coinage production set up for the later Lunettes coinage was disbanded. In place of dispersed production, a characteristic of the Lunettes coinage, the new coinage seems to have been produced by a few moneyers at a few locations.

From one viewpoint the Lunettes coinage of Alfred is the last chapter of the ninth-century coinages of Wessex and Mercia. It was clearly a coinage produced with great vigour and drive, hallmarks of Alfred's reign. However under huge political and fiscal strain, the coinage became increasingly unsatisfactory and was demonetised in such a thorough way that it completely disappeared from circulation in a remarkably short space of time. But from another angle the unification of the coinage systems of Wessex and Mercia, begun in 866, was sustained through difficult times resulting in a very significant and generally well-managed coinage. The concept of a single coinage for England was established providing a clear precursor to the monetary reforms of Edgar a century later.

APPENDIX 1. HOARDS AND SINGLE FINDS.

TABLE 1A. Hoards containing Lunettes coins of Alfred.

(Note. Lunettes reverse types of Alfred only are shown in the last row of the hoard content column. Arbp = archbishop.)

Hoard and date of find	Accepted date of deposition	Location	Number of coins	Hoard content
Pre-1800 hoards.	Not known	Not known, various	At least 21	Almost certainly mixed but could include some coins of Alfred in addition to 11 coins of Æthelred I and Arbp Ceolnoth. ⁹⁴ Lunettes: A, B, D.
Trewhiddle, Cornwall, 1774.	873?	Cornwall	115	Alfred: 1, Æthelred I: 2, Burgred: 52 Plus a wide variety of other material. ⁹⁵ Lunettes: A.

⁹⁴ This is a tentative attribution to explain the origin of a number of Lunettes coins known to the earliest scholars and collectors. At least twenty-one coins have pre-Gravesend 1838 provenances: Biarnred (Afl2.3/SCBI 2, no. 560), Cialmod (Afl1.11/BMC 161), Cialulf (Afl2.13/BMC 177), Dudd (Afl2.22/CNG Triton V), Dunn (last known at Dymock sale 1858), Duinc (Afl2.26/BMC 178), Ethelwulf (last known at Lewin-Sheppard sale 1861), Hebeca (Afl1.58/BMC 163), Herebald (Afl1.65/SCBI 21, no. 985), Manninc (Afl1.98/BMC 164), Oshere (Afl1.101/BMC 165), Sefreth (Afl1.103/BMC 166), Sefreth (Afl1.105/SCBI 1, no. 543), Sigestef (Afl2.49/BMC 175), Sigestef (Afl2.48/Clonterbrook Trust 1974), Sigestef (last known at Rashleigh sale 1909), Tata (Afl2.50/BMC 172), Tilefein (Afl2.54/BMC 170), Tidbald (Afl1.110/BMC 169), Tirwulf (Afl2.58, last known in Barratt collection) and Wulfheard (Afl2.62/BMC 171). Ruding also notes Biarnwulf and Bosa but the specific coins cannot be traced. It is of interest that nearly half the coins are Group 2; this is a strong indication that the coins were found to the north of London.

⁹⁵ Thompson 1956, no. 362, Fitzwilliam Museum 2008, 59, Blunt and Dolley 1959, 222 and Wilson and Blunt 1961. Blunt and Dolley 1959 excluded the Alfred Type xiv coin of Franbald that had been associated with the hoard but the comment in Wilson and Blunt 1961 was slightly more equivocal. The case for removal of this coin from the hoard is strongly made in Pagan 2000 and doubt is also placed on whether the coin of Sigestef should also be included. For the time being we have left the record unchanged.

Hoard and date of find	Accepted date of deposition	Location	Number of coins	Hoard content
Gravesend, Kent, 1838.	871/2	Wessex	552	Alfred: 1, Remainder: Mercian, East Anglian, Arbp Canterbury, Carolingian and earlier Wessex. ⁹⁶ Lunettes: A.
Hook Norton, Oxon, 1848.	875?	Mercia	c.13	Alfred: 5, Burgred: 1. Details of 7(?) other coins lost. ⁹⁷ Lunettes: A, B, C.
Lower Dunsforth, Yorks, 1861.	872/3	Northumbria	15	Alfred: 7, Æthelred I: 2, Burgred: 6. ⁹⁸ Lunettes: A.
Croydon No. 2, Surrey, 1862.	871/2	Wessex	c.250	Alfred: 31, Æthelred I: 16, plus Burgred, East Anglia and overseas. ⁹⁹ Lunettes: A.
Gainford, Durham, 1864.	c.875	Northumbria	4	Alfred: 3, Burgred: 1. ¹⁰⁰ Lunettes: B, D.
Satley, Durham, 1874.	c.874	Northumbria	6+	'Egbert and Alfred' sold or lost. ¹⁰¹ Lunettes: not known.
London, Wood Street, 1881.	Not known	Mercia	Not known	Alfred: 1? ¹⁰² Lunettes: A.
London, Waterloo Bridge, 1883.	872/3	Mercia	c.100	Possible Alfred: 2. ¹⁰³ Burgred: 96, Æthelred I: 1. Lunettes: A.
'Burgred' Hoard Leinster, Ireland? c.1870.	c.875	Ireland	6+	Alfred: 2 Æthelred I: 1, Burgred: 3. ¹⁰⁴ Lunettes: A.
Tolstrup, Denmark? 1891.	880?	Denmark	180?	Alfred: 1. ¹⁰⁵ Lunettes: A.
Westminster Bridge, London, 1895.	Not known	Mercia/Wessex	Not known?	Possible but no coins of Alfred noted. ¹⁰⁶ Lunettes: not known.
Wandsworth, c.1913.	Not known	Mercia/Wessex	Not known	Burgred: 4. ¹⁰⁷ Could possibly contain coins of Æthelred I and Alfred. Lunettes: not known.
Beeston Tor, Staffs., 1924.	872/3	Mercia	49	Alfred: 21, plus Æthelwulf, Æthelred I, Arbp Ceolnoth and Burgred. ¹⁰⁸ Lunettes: A, B, C, D.

⁹⁶ Thompson 1956, no. 176, Fitzwilliam Museum 2008, 64.

⁹⁷ Blunt and Dolley 1959, 221, Fitzwilliam Museum 2008, 75 and Biddle *et al.* 1987, 26 n.39. In Biddle *et al.* 1987 a coin of Denemund is added to the four listed by Blunt and Dolley 1959.

⁹⁸ Thompson 1956, no. 146, Fitzwilliam Museum 2008, 74 and *NCirc* March 1924 stock numbers 28866 to 28880. For some reason Blunt and Dolley 1959 omit the coin of Hebeca listed in *NCirc*.

⁹⁹ Thompson 1956, no. 111, Fitzwilliam Museum 2008, 67 and Blunt and Dolley 1959, 222–35. Quantities taken from Blunt and Dolley.

¹⁰⁰ Thompson 1956, no. 167; this was substantially amended by Pagan 1967. Fitzwilliam Museum 2008, 76.

¹⁰¹ Fitzwilliam Museum 2008, 78 and Metcalf 1960, 99.

¹⁰² Not in Thompson or Coin Hoards. From Bliss before 1916.

¹⁰³ Thompson 1956, no. 256. No coins of Alfred noted, Fitzwilliam Museum 2008, 65. Coins of Herewulf (Afl1.84/Carlyon Britton (1913) 337) and Osgeard (Afl1.100/Lavertine (1998) 1669) are thought to be from the Waterloo Bridge find. See Heywood 1907, pl. facing 59, Blunt and Dolley 1959, 221 and Lavertine (1998) sale catalogue.

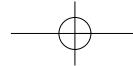
¹⁰⁴ Dolley 1967 and Fitzwilliam Museum 2008, 72.

¹⁰⁵ For details see *SCBI* 4, p25. The hoard was predominantly German (171 coins) with one Kufic, two Carolingian and two Danish. The coin of Alfred was recovered after the main hoard.

¹⁰⁶ Fitzwilliam Museum 2008, 68 and Pagan 1966, 24.

¹⁰⁷ Fitzwilliam Museum 2008, 69. Four coins of Burgred in Museum of London recorded in *SCBI* 42 (nos 648, 649, 656 and 658).

¹⁰⁸ Thompson 1956, no. 40, Fitzwilliam Museum 2008, 73, Brooke 1924 and Blunt and Dolley 1959, 220. There is also a coin of Dudwine in the William Salt Library, Stafford that is stated to be from the hoard. See Afl2.25/*SCBI* 17, no. 117.



THE LUNETTES COINAGE OF ALFRED THE GREAT

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Hoard and date of find	Accepted date of deposition	Location	Number of coins	Hoard content
West Country? c.1920–30.	875	South Mercia/ West Wessex	5?	Alfred: 2 Æthelred I: 2 Burgred: 1. ¹⁰⁹ Lunettes: B and D.
Leckhampton, Cheltenham, Gloucs., 1924.	c.875	Mercia	Said to be 5 coins but two only recorded	Alfred: 1, Burgred: 1, plus three other coins. ¹¹⁰ Lunettes: A.
Abbey Orchard, St Albans, Herts., 1968.	873/4	Mercia	46	Alfred: 19 Æthelred I: 2 Burgred: 14 Arpb Ceolnoth: 1 (a fragment London Monogram halfpenny associated). ¹¹¹ Lunettes: A.
Repton 1, Derbyshire, 1982.	873	Mercia	5	Alfred: 2 also Æthelred I: 1 and Burgred: 2. ¹¹² Lunettes: A, D.
Repton 2, Derbyshire, 1985.	874	Mercia	6	Alfred: 4, Burgred: 2. ¹¹³ Lunettes: B, C, D.
Walmsgate, Lincoln, 1985.	c.873	Mercia/ Lindsey	9	Alfred: 6; also Æthelred I: 1; Burgred: 2. ¹¹⁴ Lunettes types: A, B, D.
Barkby Thorpe, Leics., 1987.	?	Mercia/ Danelaw	7+?	‘Seven silver pennies fused together in a pile, Burgred (and possibly Alfred)’. ¹¹⁵
Duddington, Northants., 1994–5.	875	Mercia	32	Alfred: 13, also Æthelred I: 8 and Burgred: 10, plus Lunettes fragments. ¹¹⁶ Lunettes: A, B, D.
North Yorkshire, 2004.	875	Northumbrian Danelaw	9	Alfred: 2 and Burgred: 7, plus Lunettes fragments. ¹¹⁷ Lunettes: A, B.
Suffolk, 2008.	875	East Anglia	3	Alfred: 2 Burgred: 1 All coins badly damaged. ¹¹⁸ Lunettes: A, D.

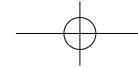
¹⁰⁹ Pagan 1986b, 118 and 119.¹¹⁰ Blunt and Dolley 1959, 221, Fitzwilliam Museum 2008, 66.¹¹¹ Fitzwilliam Museum 2008, 80. Coins illustrated *SCBI* 42, nos 628, 665 to 678, 733 to 753 and 758. The London Monogram half penny fragment (See *SCBI* 42, no. 758) has led to some difficulty in dating this hoard. The hoard report has yet to be published but for the purposes of this paper the working hypothesis is that the London Monogram coin was added later or became associated with the hoard by some other means.¹¹² Biddle *et al.* 1986, 115–22, Fitzwilliam Museum 2008, 70. From the mass-burial site excavated in 1982.¹¹³ Biddle *et al.* 1987, 16–19, 23 and 34, Fitzwilliam Museum 2008, 71. 3 coins from single grave 529 (Biarnwulf: AfL2.8, Dudda: AfL.Ir5 and Diarelm: AfL.Ir3) and one coin from grave 651 (Guthmund: AfL1.55).¹¹⁴ Fitzwilliam Museum 2008, 71a.¹¹⁵ Pagan 1988, 179 and Fitzwilliam Museum 2008, 70a. The appearance of up to eighteen coins on the market in the late 1980s and early 1990s without earlier provenance might be related to this find, suggesting that it might be an incomplete report. These include Group 1: Diara (AfL1.12), Diarel (AfL1.13), Dunn, (AfL1.18), Ethered (AfL1.48), Hebecea (AfL1.63), Herefret (AfL1.69), Herewulf (AfL1.85), Hildefret (AfL1.90), Manninc (AfL1.99), Sefret (AfL1.104), Tirwulf (AfL1.114). Group 2: Biarnmod (AfL2.1), Cuthwulf (AfL2.15), Dudd (AfL2.21), Dunn (AfL2.27), Tata (AfL2.52 and AfL2.53), Wulfheard (AfL2.65). The spread of these coins between Groups 1 and 2 (as well as possible presence of an irregular coin) is consistent with the northerly location of the hoard.¹¹⁶ Fitzwilliam Museum 2008, 76a. The authors are also indebted to Marion Archibald for this information.¹¹⁷ The authors are grateful to Dr Gareth Williams for allowing this hoard to be examined at the British Museum in 2007. The hoard also contained Islamic dirhem fragments and seven Burgred pennies of which four are reverse Lunettes A and three reverse Lunettes E. See also Williams 2008.¹¹⁸ Not yet formally recorded. Two Alfred coins (Heremod, AfL1.75 and Ethelgar, AfL2.33) with a coin of Burgred (Lunettes A Guthmund), bought from trade by one of the authors (Lyons); findspot reported as Suffolk.

TABLE 1B. Single finds of Alfred Lunettes coins.

Note. Nk = not known.

Group	Coin ref (EMC or other)	Variant/Lunettes type/Moneyer	Find Location	Inc in corpus	Notes
Group 1 Lindsey	2000.0344	Nk/Nk/ Beagstan	Barton-on- Humber.	No	Current location of coin not known. Moneyer not otherwise recorded for Alfred Lunettes. Photograph in BM.
	1987.0122	Nk/D/Biarnred	Torksey.	AfL2.7	
	2001.0693	II/A/Biarnwulf	Torksey area.	AfL1.3	
	1998.0092	Irregular (b)/D/Diara	Riby, Lincs.	AfL.Ir2	
	1983.0010	Nk/C/Dudwine	Barrow-on- Humber.	No	Also Blackburn, Collyer, Dolley 1983, table 2:13 and Pagan 1986b, 19.
	2000.0263	Nk/D/Eadmund	Flixborough, ¹¹⁹ Lincs.	No	Current location of coin not known. Moneyer not otherwise recorded for Alfred Lunettes. Also Blackburn 1993, 87.
	1998.0093	I/A/Elbere	Riby, Lincs.	AfL1.29	
	2001.0935	Nk/A/Hebeca	Torksey.	No	Fragment.
	1996.0199	I/A/Heremod	Nr Louth, Lincs.	AfL1.77	
	2001.1100	Nk/Nk/Osfeard	Caistor on the Wolds.	No	Current location of coin not known. Moneyer is almost certainly Osgeard, otherwise moneyer not known.
	1970.1728	I/A/Sigefreth	Torksey.	AfL1.106	Now Fitzwilliam CM.423.1995.
	SCBI 27, no 1945	I, II or III/A/ possibly Bureel or Burcel	Lincoln, St Paul-in-the- Bail church.	AfLU3	Burcel not recorded as a moneyer's name. Fragment, less than 30% of coin survives.
Group 2 Cambridge/ Bedfordshire	1983.9946	I/B/Wine	Lincoln, St Paul- in-the-Bail church.	AfL1.120	Also SCBI 27, no. 1946. This EMC entry appears to be duplicated by EMC 2000.0299 that records the same coin listed in Blackburn 1993, 88.
	2001.0708	Nk/A/..ear..	Lincs. ('south').	AfLU4	Fragment possibly Heabearht or Tidbearht. Also Blackburn 1993, 87.
	Bonser 1998	IA/A/Herebald	Flixborough, Lincs.	No	
	2000.0264 Archibald forthcoming	Nk/Nk/Nk	Lincolnshire.	No	
		Nk/D/Diarulf	Flixborough, Lincs.	No	Broken. Detectorist find. Recorded from a line drawing.
	2001.1151	Nk/Nk/Nk	Torksey.	No	
	1997.0126	III/D/Cialulf	Girton, nr Cambridge.	AfL2.12	
	NC (1897), 248	?/B/Edwald	Shillington, Bedfordshire.	No	Current location of coin not known. Moneyer not otherwise recorded for Alfred's Lunettes.
	1996.0200 MEC 1350A	II/A/Liabinc	Nr Cambridge.	AfL1.93	Fragment.
		III?/D/..mund	Great Shelford, Cambs.	AfLU2	

¹¹⁹ Details on the Flixborough coins kindly provided by Marion Archibald (publication forthcoming).



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Group	Coin ref (EMC or other)	Variant/Lunettes type/Moneyer	Find Location corpus	Inc in	Notes
Group 3. London/ Kent	1991.0247	Nk/Nk/Dunn	London, St Peters Hill.	No	Also Stott 1991, no. 68. Find initially recorded May 1839.
	2005.0060	I/A/Etheleah	Kent.	AfL1.34	
	1991.0246	Nk/A/Hebeca	Lambeth, river Thames.	No	Also Stott 1991, no. 67. Found 1974.
	BMC 163	I/A/Hebeca	Wilmington, Kent, 1747.	AfL1.58	
	NCirc May 1989 item 2501	III/B/Herebald	Thames Exchange.	AfL2.42	
	Bonser 1998	Nk/Nk/Hubearn	St Augustine's, Canterbury.	No	Current location of coin not known. Moneyer not otherwise recorded. Reported by Marion Archibald.
Group 4. Other locations	2001.0942	Nk/A/Tidbearht	Godmersham Park, Kent.	No	
	2000.0317	Irregular (g)/C/Eadred	Southwell, Notts.	AfLIr8	
	Bonser 1998	Nk/Nk/Eadwulf	Aldbourne, Wilts.	No	Reported by C.E. Blunt.
	Bonser 1998	Nk/Nk/Ealmod	Fairford (Claydon Pike), Gloucester.	No	Current location not known. Moneyer not otherwise recorded.
	AfL2.31	IV/D/Ealmund	Norfolk.	AfL2.31	Reported by D.M. Metcalf.
	SCBI 9, no. 246	Irregular (a)/- A/Herewulf	Princethorpe, Warwickshire.	AfLIr9	Dealer's statement on eBay.
	SCBI 6, no. 81	Nk/Nk/Wine	Burghead, Morayshire.	No	Currently missing.

APPENDIX 2. LISTS OF MONEYERS AND COINAGE, LUNETTES TYPE
DISTRIBUTION AND AFFILIATIONS.

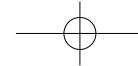
TABLE 2A. The Lunettes coinage of Alfred: moneyers and coin distribution by variant.

Moneyers in *italics* are known but not included in the Corpus as insufficient details are available. Moneyers not recorded in North 1994 are asterisked.

Moneyer	Group 1. Wessex					Group 2. Mercian		TOTAL
	Variant I	Variant II	Variant III	Variant IV	Variant V	Irregular	Variant unknown	
Beagstan								EMC 2000.0344
Bernred								Coinweight
Biarmod			2					2
Biarnred					4		1	5 Unallocated: AfL2.7
Biarnwald	1							1
Biarnwulf	1	1		1				3
Bosa	3	4						7
Burcel?								SCBI 27, no. 1945
Bureel			1					1
Cialbred			1					1
Cialmod	1							1
Cialulf			1	2				3
Cuthwulf			1	1				2
Dealinc*			1					1
Deigmund				1				1
Denemund						1		1

Moneyer	Group 1. Wessex					Group 2. Mercian		TOTAL
	Variant <i>I</i>	Variant <i>II</i>	Variant <i>III</i>	Variant <i>IV</i>	Variant <i>V</i>	Irregular	Variant unknown	
Denewald*				1	1			2
Diar*		1				1		2
Diarel/Diarelm	1	2				1		4
Diarwulf	1							1
Dudd/Dudda				2	2	2		6
Dudinc				1				1
Dudwine			1			1		2
Duinc			1					1
Duni						1		1
Dunn	8			1				9
<i>Eadmund</i>								
Eadred*						1		
Eadwulf	2							
Ealhere*	1			1				
Ealmeit*				1				1
<i>Ealmod</i>								
Ealmund*				1				
<i>Edwald</i>								
Elbere	4							4
Elelaf					1			1
Ethelgar*				1				1
Etheleah	4		1					5
Ethelhere				1	1			2
Ethelmund	3	1						4
Ethelstan*				1				1
Ethelwulf	3	1	1	1				6
Ethered	8	2	2					12
Guthmund	1	1						2
Heabearht	1							1
Heafreth*	1			1				2
<i>Healf</i>								
Hebeca	4	2						6
Herebald	4	1	1					6
Herefreth*	1							1
Heremod	9	3						12
Herewulf	5					1		6
Heys*	2							2
Hildefreth*	1	1						2
<i>Hubearn</i> ¹²⁰								
Liab ¹²¹	1							1
Liabinc	2	2						4
Luhinc		2		1				3
Manninc	2		1					3
<i>Osfeard</i>								
Osgeward	1			1				2
Oshere	1	1						2
Sefreth	3							3
Sigeric				1				1
Sigefreth*	1							1
Sigestef	2	1	3					6

¹²⁰ Recorded in North 1994 as a moneyer for Alfred's Lunettes but no coin has been located.¹²¹ Either Liabinc or a new moneyer.



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Moneyer	Group 1. Wessex					Group 2. Mercian		TOTAL
	Variant <i>I</i>	Variant <i>II</i>	Variant <i>III</i>	Variant <i>IV</i>	Variant <i>V</i>	Irregular	Variant unknown	
Tata			2		2			4
Tidbald	1							1
Tidbearht	1							1
Tilefein				1				1
Tirwald	2			2				4
Tirwulf	1	1		2				4
Tithehelm*	1							1
Torhtmund	2							2
Winberht*				1				1
Wine	1	1	1	1				4
Wulfheard	2			2	2	1		7
Totals	94	28	22	33	9	10	1	197
Total Group 1	122							
Total Group 2	64							
Irregular	10							
Unallocated	1							
(AFL2.7)								

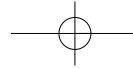
TABLE 2B. Moneyers striking reverse types other than Lunettes A.

Group 1. Wessex Lunettes

Moneyer	<i>Lunettes B</i>	<i>Lunettes C</i>	<i>Lunettes D</i>	<i>Total</i>
Biarnwald	1			1
Diara	1			1
Diarel			1	1
Diarwulf			1	1
Dunn	1			1
Ethelmund	1			1
Ethered	1			1
Guthmund	1			1
Hildefreth	1			1
Tidbearht	1			1
Tirwald	1			1
Tirwulf	1			1
Wine	1			1
Wulfheard		1		1
Total Group 1	11	1	2	14

Group 2. Mercian-style Lunettes and Irregular

Irregular coins are indicated by an asterisk	<i>Lunettes B</i>	<i>Lunettes C</i>	<i>Lunettes D</i>	<i>Total</i>
Biarnmod	1			1
Biarnred		1	1	2
Biarnwulf	1			1
Cialbred			1	1
Cialulf	1		2	3
Cuthwulf	1		1	2
Denemund	1*			1
Diara			1*	1
Diarelm			1*	1
Dudda		2*		2
Dudwine			1*	1
Duinc			1	1
Eadred		1*		1
Ealmeit		1		1
Ealmund			1	1
Ethelgar			1	1
Etheleah		1		1
Ethelhere		1		1

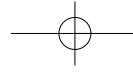


	<i>Lunettes B</i>	<i>Lunettes C</i>	<i>Lunettes D</i>	<i>Total</i>
Ethelstan			1	1
Ethelwulf			2	2
Ethered	1		1	2
Herebald	1			1
Luhinc			1	1
Manninc		1		1
Osgeward			1	1
Sigeric	1			1
Sigestef	2			2
Tata	1	1		2
Tirwulf			1	1
Wine	1			1
Total Group 2	12	9	18	39

TABLE 2C. Analysis of coins with Lunettes B to D reverses.

Note: Wessex-style coins are listed first in each Lunettes group with Mercian-style and Irregular coins listed subsequently.

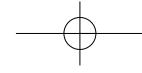
<i>Lunettes type</i>	<i>Coin reference</i>	<i>Variant</i>	<i>Reverse</i>	<i>Findspot</i>
Wessex style				
B	Biarnwald (AfL1.1)	IA	Standard Canterbury obverse. Thin lettering reverse. Canterbury cut dies.	Findspot unknown
B	Diara (AfL1.12)	IIA	Crude bust and thick lettering but is similar to other Variant II coins. Certainly Wessex but possibly dies prepared away from Canterbury.	Findspot unknown
B	Dunn (AfL1.23)	IA	Cut in similar style to Diarwulf, Lunettes D (AfL1.16) and Tidbearht, Lunettes B (AfL1.111). Medium thickness lettering. Struck on a large flan. Certainly Wessex, but possibly dies prepared away from Canterbury.	Hook Norton (1848)
B	Ethelmund (AfL1.39)	IIB	Of slightly coarse appearance, may not be Canterbury cut. Obverse similar to Herewulf, Lunettes A (AfL1.82) and Wine, Lunettes B (AfL1.120). Thin lettering reverse.	Lower Dunsforth (1861)
B	Ethered (AfL1.53)	IIB	Bust inside small circle. Reverse medium thickness lettering with Θ almost rendered +) as seen on coins of $\text{\textless}Ethelred I$. Dies prepared in Wessex, possibly not at Canterbury.	Walmgate, Lincoln (1985)
B	Guthmund (AfL1.55)	IIB?	As this coin is a fragment it is difficult to make a substantive assessment but on balance would seem to be Wessex dies. In view of the medium thickness of the lettering on the reverse may possibly not be cut in Canterbury.	Repton no. 2 (1985)
B	Hildefreth (AfL1.90)	IIB	Obverse in thickish lettering but not conclusively a London die.	Findspot unknown
B	Tidbearht (AfL1.111)	IA	Obverse and reverse very similar to Dunn Lunettes B (AfL1.23), but slightly larger circle round head, and Diarwulf, Lunettes D (AfL1.16). Struck on a large flan. Certainly Wessex but possibly dies prepared away from Canterbury.	Beeston Tor (1924)



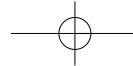
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<i>Lunettes type</i>	<i>Coin reference</i>	<i>Variant</i>	<i>Reverse</i>	<i>Findspot</i>
B	Tirwald (Afl1.113)	IB	Of good appearance, very probably Canterbury dies.	Walmsgate, Lincoln (1985)
B	Tirwulf (Afl1.115)	IIB	Of slightly coarse appearance.	Findspot unknown
B	Wine (Afl1.120)	IIB	Obverse of slightly coarse appearance. Similar to Ethelmund, Lunettes B (Afl1.39) and Herewulf, Lunettes A (Afl1.82). Thin lettering reverse. Dies prepared in Wessex but possibly not at Canterbury.	Lincoln single find
Mercian style				
B	Biarnmod (Afl2.2)	IIIC	This coin and Afl2.1 are of similar appearance. Bust relatively crudely cut with characteristic Mercian curved shoulders to bust, but nevertheless are cut in an approximation of the Canterbury style for Æthelred I. Reverse in London style lettering.	Findspot unknown
B	Biarnwulf (Afl2.8)	IIIC	A conventional London Wessex coin but with a double diadem.	Repton no. 2 (1985)
B	Cialulf (Afl2.11)	IVA	A London coin attempting to copy the Wessex pattern bust.	Walmsgate, Lincoln (1985)
B	Cuthwulf (Afl2.14)	III, sub- variant not known	A conventional London Wessex coin.	North Yorkshire (2005)
B	Ethered (Afl2.39)	IIIC	A typical variant IIIC.	Possible West Country hoard
B	Herebald (Afl2.42)	IIIC	A square bold bust version of this sub-variant.	Thames Exchange, London single find
B	Sigeric (Afl2.46)	IVB	A typical IVB coin.	Gainford (1864)?
B	Sigestef (Afl2.48)	IIIA	Slightly less assured bust in comparison with other IIIA coins.	Findspot unknown, pre 1800
B	Sigestef (Afl2.49)	IIIA	Die duplicate of Afl2.48.	Findspot unknown, pre 1800
B	Tata (Afl2.52)	IIIC	A square bold bust version of this sub-variant.	Findspot unknown
B	Wine (Afl2.61)	IIIC	A poorly drawn bust.	Duddington (1994-5)
Irregular				
B	Denemund (Afl.Ir1)	Irregular (c)	An anomalous coin in the irregular and barbarous category. Discussed and described in the relevant text above. Not Wessex and almost certainly not London produced.	Hook Norton (1848)
Wessex style				
C	Wulfheard (Afl1.122)	IA	Inexpertly cut obverse. Reverse thick lettering. Similar to Elbere Lunettes A (Afl1.28). Unlikely to be Canterbury but completely unlike variant III coins. Possibly produced in Wessex.	Beeston Tor (1924)
Mercian style				
C	Biarnred (Afl2.6)	IVA	A well cut London die which although sub-variant IVA is influenced by the London-Wessex sub-variant IIIA.	Beeston Tor (1924)
C	Ealmeit (Afl2.29)	IVB	A crudely styled version of this sub-variant.	Findspot unknown



<i>Lunettes type</i>	<i>Coin reference</i>	<i>Variant</i>	<i>Reverse</i>	<i>Findspot</i>
C	Etheleah (AfL2.32)	IIIA	A well-produced coin within the context of the Wessex Lunettes C group.	Findspot unknown
C	Ethelhere (AfL2.35)	V	An anomalous variant V coin, particularly as diadem is double-banded.	Beeston Tor (1924)
C	Manninc (AfL2.44)	IIIB	A well-produced coin within the context of the Wessex Lunettes C group.	Hook Norton (1848)
C	Tata (AfL2.53)	IIIA	A well-produced coin within the context of the Wessex Lunettes C group.	Findspot unknown
Irregular				
C	Dudda (AfLIr4)	Irregular (a)	An anomalous coin in the irregular and barbarous category. Discussed and described in the relevant text above. Not Wessex and almost certainly not London produced.	Findspot unknown
C	Dudda (AfLIr5)	Irregular (a)	Die duplicate of AfLIr4.	Repton no. 2 (1985)
C	Eadred (AfLIr8)	Irregular (g)	An anomalous coin in the irregular and barbarous category. Discussed and described in the relevant text above. A Mercian local production.	Southwell, Notts. single find
Wessex style				
D	Diarel (AfL1.15)	IA	A well cut obverse in good Wessex style. Reverse thick lettering that could indicate a mule with London.	Walmsgate, Lincoln (1985)
D	Diarwulf (AfL1.16)	IA	Very similar in style to Lunettes B coins of Dunn (AfL1.23) and Tidbearht (AfL1.111). Medium thickness lettering. Struck on a large flan. Certainly Wessex, possibly dies prepared away from Canterbury.	Beeston Tor (1924)
Mercian style				
D	Biarnred (AfL2.7)		No details available.	Torksey single find
D	Cialbred (AfL2.10)	IIIC	A typical variant IIIC coin with less assured diecutting.	Possible West Country hoard
D	Cialulf (AfL2.12)	IIIB	A IIIB coin that shows strong Wessex influence but nevertheless Mercian die cutting idioms (bold lettering, formation of mouth, broad shoulders and hooped bars in outer panels) strongly suggests London die-cutting.	Girton, Cambs. single find
D	Cialulf (AfL2.13)	IVB	A typical IVB coin.	Findspot unknown, pre-1800
D	Cuthwulf (AfL2.15)	IVB	A typical IVB coin.	Findspot unknown
D	Duinc (AfL2.26)	IIIB	A typical IIIB coin.	Findspot unknown
D	Ealmund (AfL2.31)	IVD	An anomalous coin with a thin bust, seems to be part of a larger scale issue. Discussed and described in the relevant text above. Possibly east Mercian.	Norfolk c. 2006
D	Ethelgar (AfL2.33)	IVD	As Ealmund (AfL2.31).	Suffolk 2008
D	Ethelstan (AfL2.36)	IVC	One of three Lunettes D coins of this sub-variant found at Duddington and currently not known from any other source.	Duddington (1994-5)



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<i>Lunettes type</i>	<i>Coin reference</i>	<i>Variant</i>	<i>Reverse</i>	<i>Findspot</i>
D	Ethelwulf (AfL2.37)	IIIC	A well cut IIIC coin.	Findspot unknown
D	Ethelwulf (AfL2.38)	IVC	One of three Lunettes D coins of this sub-variant found at Duddington and currently not known from any other source.	Duddington (1994–5)
D	Ethered (AfL2.40)	IIIC	A typical IIIB coin.	Findspot unknown pre-1870s
D	Luhinc (AfL2.43)	IVD	As Ealmund (AfL2.31).	Unknown findspot
D	Osgeard (AfL2.45)	IVC	One of three Lunettes D coins of this sub-variant found at Duddington and currently not known from any other source.	Duddington (1994–5)
D	Tirwulf (AfL2.58)	IVA	Appears to be a well cut IVA coin.	Findspot unknown
Irregular				
D	Diara (AfLIr2)	Irregular (b)	An anomalous coin in the irregular and barbarous category. Discussed and described in the relevant text above. Almost certainly Mercian local production.	Riby, Lincs. single find
D	Diarelm (AfLIr3)	Irregular (f)	An anomalous coin in the irregular and barbarous category. Discussed and described in the relevant text above. Almost certainly Mercian local production.	Repton no. 2 (1985)
D	Dudwine (AfLIr6)	Irregular (e)	An anomalous coin in the irregular and barbarous category. Discussed and described in the relevant text above. Almost certainly Mercian local production.	Repton no. 1 (1982)

TABLE 2D. Location and affiliation of moneyers.¹²²

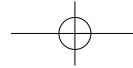
Note: Moneyers recorded, but where the coin cannot now be located, principally on EMC, are noted in italics.

<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>Previous affiliation</i>	<i>Types of Alfred Lunettes</i>	<i>Possible Location/Affiliation</i>	<i>Subsequent affiliation (where applicable)</i>
Beagstan	<i>Burgred</i>	<i>Not known</i>	<i>Presumed to be London</i>	<i>Two Line: London</i>
Biarnmod	Æthelberht: Inscribed Cross. Æthelred I: Four Line, Group 2, variants i, ii and iv.	Group 2, variant III.	Canterbury moneyer who could have moved to London or worked elsewhere. His corpus of coins of Æthelred I (Lyons and MacKay 2007: Ae1.1 to Ae1.3 and Ae2.6 to Ae2.22) contains a variety of coin types possibly indicating a moneyer working away from Canterbury.	
Biarnred		Group 2, variant IV.	New moneyer, located Mercia almost certainly outside London. variant IV die links to Wine.	
Biarnwald		Group 1, variant I.	New moneyer located Wessex, use of Variant I dies may indicate a location close to Canterbury in east Wessex.	Possibly Byrnwald recorded for Two Line: Canterbury.
Biarnwulf		Group 1, variants I and II. Group 2, variant III.	New moneyer located Wessex, possibly use of variant II and II dies may indicate west Wessex.	

¹²² Attribution of Two-Line moneyers taken from Blackburn 1998, 110, Table 2, and for Cross and Lozenge from the corpus of coins in Blackburn and Keynes 1998.

<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>Previous affiliation</i>	<i>Types of Alfred Lunettes</i>	<i>Possible Location/Affiliation</i>	<i>Subsequent affiliation (where applicable)</i>
Bosa		Group 1, variants I and II.	New moneyer, Canterbury and possibly elsewhere in Wessex.	
Burcel		<i>Not known</i>	<i>Not known</i>	
Bureel		Group 2, variant III.	New moneyer, located Mercia, possibly London.	
Cialbred		Group 2, variant III.	New moneyer, located Mercia and because sub-variant IIIC dies used almost certainly outside London.	
Cialmod		Group 1, variant I	New moneyer located Wessex, use of variant I dies may indicate a location close to Canterbury in east Wessex.	
Cialulf		Group 2, variants III and IV.	New moneyer. With two Lunettes D and one Lunettes B coins noted may have been based in London working for sponsors of these two reverse types.	Alfred: Cross and Lozenges (in name of Ciolwulf). This moneyer may be linked to Ciolwulf at London which seems possible as his Lunettes record is strongly Mercian based.
Cuthwulf		Group 2, variants III and IV.	In view of subsequent west Midlands affiliation for Two Line and distinctive Cross and Lozenge issues this moneyer almost certainly south or west Mercia. ¹²³	Ceolwulf II: Cross and Lozenge: west Midlands. Two-Line: west Midlands.
Dealinc	Burgred.	Group 2, variant III.	London.	Ceolwulf II: Cross and Lozenge: London. Two-Line: London.
Deigmund		Group 2, variant IV.	New moneyer, located Mercia almost certainly outside London.	
Denemund	Æthelberht: Inscribed Cross.	Group 2, Irregular (c).	Located Mercia or Wessex outside Canterbury or London.	
Denewald	Æthelred I: Group 3, variant vii. Burgred.	Group 2, variants IV and V.	London.	Two-Line: Canterbury.
Diara		Group 1, Irregular (b).	New moneyer located Mercia outside London, possibly east Mercia.	
Diarel(m)		Group 1, variants I and II. Group 2 Irregular (f).	New moneyer, Canterbury and elsewhere in Wessex. Irregular (f) may have been produced in or near the Northants/Derby area.	
Diarwulf	Burgred.	Group 1, variant I.	London moneyer who seems to have worked in Wessex.	

¹²³ Blackburn and Keynes 1998, 60.



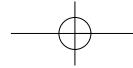
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<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>Previous affiliation</i>	<i>Types of Alfred Lunettes</i>	<i>Possible Location/Affiliation</i>	<i>Subsequent affiliation (where applicable)</i>
Dudda/ Dudd	Æthelberht: Floriated Cross (as Dudda). Æthelred I (both Dudd and Dudda): Group 2, variants i-iv, Group 3, variants vi and vii. Moneyer's name also noted (Dudda) for King Eadmund of East Anglia and Burgred as Dudda.	Group 2, variant IV and V. Group 1, Irregular (a).	A London based moneyer who may have worked elsewhere in Mercia or Wessex. May possibly be two moneyers?	
Dudinc		Group 2, variant IV.	New moneyer, located Mercia possibly outside London.	
Dudwine	Burgred	Group 2, variant III, Irregular (e).	Mercia almost certainly outside London.	
Duinc		Group 2, variant III.	New moneyer, located Mercia almost certainly outside London, possibly east Mercia.	
Duni		Group 2, Irregular (d).	New moneyer, located Mercia almost certainly outside London.	
Dunn	Æthelred I: Group 3, variant vii.	Group 1, variant I. Group 2, variant IV.	A moneyer who uses Canterbury dies but seems to retain a Mercian affiliation. Possibly moved from London to Canterbury at some stage.	Possibly Dunna recorded for Cross and Lozenge and Two Line: Winchester
<i>Eadmund</i>	<i>King Edmund of East Anglia.</i>	<i>Only coin of this moneyer is very corroded. Possibly Group 2</i>	<i>Not known</i>	<i>Two Line: Canterbury</i>
Eadred		Group 2, Irregular (g).	New moneyer, located Mercia almost certainly outside London, possibly south east Mercia.	
<i>Edwald</i>		<i>Not known</i>	<i>Not known</i>	<i>Two Line: Canterbury</i>
Eadwulf	Æthelberht: Inscribed Cross.	Group 1, variant I.	Canterbury.	Alfred: Cross and Lozenge if this moneyer can be linked to a lead trial piece in the possible name of Eadulf; however, this is in London style. ¹²⁴ Two Line: London. St Edmund Memorial.
Ealhere		Group 1, variant I, Group 2, variant IV.	New moneyer, possibly located central or west Wessex, as he uses London and Canterbury dies.	

¹²⁴ Blackburn and Keynes 1998, 141, item 32.

<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>Previous affiliation</i>	<i>Types of Alfred Lunettes</i>	<i>Possible Location/Affiliation</i>	<i>Subsequent affiliation (where applicable)</i>
Ealmeit		Group 2, variant IV.	New moneyer, located Mercia almost certainly outside London.	
<i>Ealmod</i>		<i>Not known</i>	<i>Not known</i>	
Ealmund	Æthelred I: Group 3, variant v.	Group 2, variant IV.	Mercia, possibly in view of style of lettering on coin and previous Lunettes D production, south-east or east Mercia.	
Elbere	Æthelred I: Group 2, variants i and iii.	Group 1, variant I.	Canterbury. Die links to Heabearht.	
Elelaf		Group 2, variant V.	New moneyer, located Mercia possibly outside London.	
Etheleah		Group 1, variant I. Group 2, variant III	New moneyer drawing dies from Canterbury and London, possibly central or west Wessex.	
Ethelgar	Æthelred I: Group 3, variant v.	Group 2, variant IV	As Ealmund.	
Ethelhere	Æthelberht: Inscribed Cross.	Group 2, variants IV and V.	A Wessex moneyer who seems to have moved to London or elsewhere in Mercia or possibly central or west Wessex.	
Ethelmund		Group 1, variant I and II.	Canterbury (archiepiscopal moneyer?) but there is also an anomalous Lunettes B coin indicating possible activity elsewhere.	Alfred: Cross and Lozenge, Winchester, Archbishop Æthelred: Cross and Lozenge: Canterbury. Blackburn and Keynes 1998 note this may not be the same moneyer. Two Line: Canterbury.
Ethelstan	Burgred	Group 2, variant IV.	London.	Two Line: Canterbury.
Ethelwulf	King Eadmund of East Anglia, Burgred.	Group 1, variants I and II. Group 2, variants III and IV.	May be two moneyers, Canterbury and London.	Two Line: Canterbury.
Ethered	Æthelberht: Inscribed Cross Æthelred I: Group 2, variants i and ii (all as Ethelred). Group 3, variant v.	Group 1, variants I and II; Group 2, variant III.	May be two moneyers, Canterbury and London. Ethelred, working at Canterbury, seems to be the principal Lunettes moneyer there.	Alfred: Portrait Quatrefoil; Cross and Lozenge: Canterbury. Two Line: Canterbury.
Guthmund	Burgred	Group 1, variant I and II?	A Mercian moneyer using Canterbury dies for Alfred. Variant II is based on an interpretation of a fragment of a Lunettes B coin (AfL.1.55).	
Heabearht	Æthelberht: Inscribed Cross.	Group 1, variant I.	Canterbury. Die links to Elbere.	



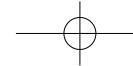
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<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>Previous affiliation</i>	<i>Types of Alfred Lunettes</i>	<i>Possible Location/Affiliation</i>	<i>Subsequent affiliation (where applicable)</i>
Heafreth		Group 1, variant I and Group 2, variant IV.	New moneyer located Wessex, use of variant I and variant IV dies may indicate a location between Canterbury and London.	
Hebeca	Archbishop Ceolnoth.	Group 1, variants I and II.	Canterbury (archiepiscopal moneyer?)	
Herebald	Æthelwulf: Canterbury coinage. Æthelberht: Inscribed and Floriated Cross. Æthelred I: Group 2, variant ii.	Group 1, variants I and II. Group 2 variant III.	Principally Canterbury based. Use of variants II and III indicates moneyer may have worked away from Canterbury.	
Herefreth	Æthelbearht Inscribed Cross.	Group 1, variant I.	Use of variant I dies may indicate Canterbury or a location close to Canterbury in east Wessex.	If same moneyer as Herefirth, also Alfred Cross and Lozenge: Canterbury.
Heremod		Group 1, variants I and II.	Canterbury but variant II may indicate moneyer working away from Canterbury elsewhere in Wessex.	Two line: Canterbury.
Herewulf	Æthelred I: Group 2, variant i.	Group 1, variant I. Irregular (a).	Canterbury and possibly Irregular may indicate west Wessex or south Mercia activity.	Two line: London. Danelaw London Monogram imitations.
Heyse		Group 1, variant I.	New moneyer located Wessex, use of Variant I dies may indicate a location either at Canterbury or close to Canterbury in east Wessex.	
Hildefreth		Group 1, variants I and II.	New moneyer located Wessex, possibly east Wessex.	
Hubearn		Not known	Not known	
Liab		Group 1, variant I.	If a new moneyer and not a variant of Liabinc probably Wessex and Canterbury based.	
Liabinc	Æthelberht: Inscribed Cross. Æthelred I: Group 2, variants i and ii, Group 3 variants vi and vii (former as Lifinc).	Group 1, variants I and II.	Canterbury and possibly some activity away from Canterbury. This would match the pattern noted for Æthelred I.	
Luhinc		Group 1, variant II. Group 2, variant IV.	New moneyer possibly working both in Wessex and south east or east Mercia.	
Manninc	Æthelberht: Inscribed Cross (as Maninc).	Group 1, variant I. Group 2, variant III.	Known to be a Rochester moneyer could have continued to work from that location. ¹²⁵ Otherwise east	

¹²⁵ Lyon 1969, 220–2 and 229, believes that the Rochester mint was closed. In Lyons and MacKay 2007, 89, we concurred on the ground that there was no specific evidence but noted the continued employment of the moneyer Manninc.

<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>Previous affiliation</i>	<i>Types of Alfred Lunettes</i>	<i>Possible Location/ Affiliation</i>	<i>Subsequent affiliation (where applicable)</i>
	Æthelred I: Group 2, variants i-iii.		Wessex drawing dies from Canterbury and London.	
Osgeard		Group 1, variant I. Group 2, variant IV.	New moneyer located Wessex, possibly west Wessex.	
Oshere	Æthelberht: Inscribed Cross and Floriated Cross.	Group 1, variant II.	Wessex but most probably outside Canterbury.	
Sefreth	Æthelberht: Inscribed Cross.	Group 1, variant I.	Canterbury.	
Sigeric		Group 2, variant IV.	New moneyer, located Mercia almost certainly outside London, possibly south Mercia.	
Sigefreth		Group 1, variant I.	New moneyer located Wessex. Use of Variant I dies may indicate a location either at Canterbury or close to Canterbury in east Wessex.	
Sigestef		Group 1, variants I and II. Group 2, variant III.	New moneyer, Canterbury and elsewhere in Wessex.	
Tata	Burgred	Group 2, variants III and V.	Mercia, probably used London sourced dies.	
Tidbald		Group 1, variant I.	New moneyer located Wessex, use of variant I dies may indicate a location either at Canterbury or close to Canterbury in east Wessex/Kent.	
Tidbearht		Group 1, variant I.	New moneyer located Wessex. Use of Variant I dies may indicate a location either at Canterbury or close to Canterbury in east Wessex/Kent.	
Tilefein		Group 2, variant IV.	London.	Possibly Tilewine recorded for London Monogram and Two Line: London. Also Danelaw imitations of London Monogram.
Tirwald		Group 1, variant I. Group 2, variant IV.	Based on Canterbury but may operate elsewhere.	Alfred: Cross and Lozenge: Canterbury. Two Line: Canterbury.
Tirwulf	Æthelred I, Group 3, variant vii.	Group 1, variants I and II, Group 2, variant IV.	A moneyer using Mercian-style dies who seems to have worked exclusively for Wessex using dies sourced from Canterbury, London or possibly locally produced.	
Tithehelm	Burgred?	Group 1, variant I.	A Mercian moneyer who seems to work for Wessex. The only coin noted seems to be subject to both London and Canterbury influences. Possibly worked in south Mercia.	



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Moneyer	Previous affiliation	Types of Alfred Lunettes	Possible Location/Affiliation	Subsequent affiliation (where applicable)
Torhtmund	Æthelberht, Inscribed Cross. Æthelred I, Four Line, Group 2, variant ii.	Group 1, variant I.	Canterbury (archiepiscopal moneymer?)	Alfred and Archbishop Æthelred Cross and Lozenge: Canterbury.
Winberht		Group 2, variant IV.	West Midlands.	Two line: West Midlands.
Wine	Æthelred I, Group 2, variant ii, Group 3, variant vii. Burgred.	Group 1, variants I and II. Group 2, variants III and IV.	May be two moneymers based Canterbury and London. Variant IV die links to Biarnred.	Two line: Canterbury St Edmund Memorial.
Wulfheard	Æthelberht, Inscribed Cross. Æthelred I, Group 2, variant iv. Burgred.	Group 1, variant I. Group 2, variants IV. Group 1. Irregular (a).	An extremely active moneymer. Recorded for the maximum number of variants for any of Alfred's Lunettes moneymers, including an Irregular type. Could have undertaken a number of separate commissions to meet short-term production requirements in both Wessex and south Mercia.	?Two Line (Edward the Elder).

APPENDIX 3. THE COINAGE OF ALFRED: DIE ANALYSIS.

Note: Total number of coins listed: 196 (AfL2.7 not recorded). Obverse dies: 182. Reverse dies: 177.

Moneyer	No. of coins	No. of obv. dies	No. of rev. dies	Die duplicates	Die links
Biarnmod	12	12	12	Nil	Nil
Biarnred	4	3	3	2 (1 pair)	One obv. links to Wine.
Biarnwald	1	1	1	Nil	Nil
Biarnwulf	3	3	3	Nil	Nil
Bosa	7	6	6	Nil	D/d-E/d, F/e-F/f
Bureel	1	1	1	Nil	Nil
Cialbred	1	1	1	Nil	Nil
Cialmod	1	1	1	Nil	Nil
Cialulf	3	3	3	Nil	Nil
Cuthwulf	2	2	2	Nil	Nil
Dealinc	1	1	1	Nil	Nil
Deigmund	1	1	1	Nil	Nil
Denewald	2	2	2	Nil	Nil
Denemund	1	1	1	Nil	Nil
Diara	2	2	2	Nil	Nil
Diarel/Diarelm	4	4	4	Nil	Nil
Diarwulf	1	1	1	Nil	Nil
Dudda/Dudd	6	4	4	4 (2 pairs)	Nil
Dudinc	1	1	1	Nil	Nil
Dudwine	2	2	2	Nil	Nil
Duinc	1	1	1	Nil	Nil
Duni	1	1	1	Nil	Nil
Dunn	9	8	7	2 (1 pair)	D/d-E/d
Eadred	1	1	1	Nil	Nil
Eadwulf	2	2	2	Nil	Nil
Ealhere	2	2	2	Nil	Nil
Ealmeit	1	1	1	Nil	Nil
Ealmund	1	1	1	Nil	Nil

Moneyer	No. of coins	No. of obv. dies	No. of rev. dies	Die duplicates	Die links
Elbere	4	4	4	Nil	One obv. links to Heabearht
Elelaf	1	1	1	Nil	Nil
Etheleah	5	5	5	Nil	Nil
Ethelhere	2	2	2	Nil	Nil
Ethelgar	1	1	1	Nil	Nil
Ethelmund	4	4	4	Nil	Nil
Ethelstan	1	1	1	Nil	Nil
Ethelwulf	6	6	6	Nil	Nil
Ethered	12	11	10	2 (1 pair)	C/c(2)-D/c
Guthmund	2	2	2	Nil	Nil
Heabearht	1	1	1	Nil	One obv. links to Elbere
Heafreth	2	2	2	Nil	Nil
Hebeca	6	6	5	Nil	C/c-D/c
Herebald	6	6	5	Nil	A/a-B/a
Herefreth	1	1	1	Nil	Nil
Heremod	12	9	8	4 (2 pairs)	i D/d-D/e; ii E/f-F/f-G/f
Herewulf	6	5	5	Nil	A/a-A/b-B/a
Heyse	2	1	1	2 (1 pair)	Nil
Hildefreth	2	2	2	Nil	Nil
Liab	1	1	1	Nil	Nil
Liabinc	4	3	3	2 (1 pair)	Nil
Luhinc	3	2	2	2 (1 pair)	Nil
Manninc	3	3	3	Nil	Nil
Osgeard	2	2	2	Nil	Nil
Oshere	2	2	2	Nil	Nil
Sefreth	3	3	3	Nil	Nil
Sigeric	1	1	1	Nil	Nil
Sigefreth	1	1	1	Nil	Nil
Sigestef	6	5	5	2 (1 pair)	Nil
Tata	4	4	4	Nil	Nil
Tidbald	1	1	1	Nil	Nil
Tidbearht	1	1	1	Nil	Nil
Tilefein	1	1	1	Nil	Nil
Tirwald	4	4	4	Nil	Nil
Tirwulf	4	4	4	Nil	Nil
Tithehelm	1	1	1	Nil	Nil
Tohrtmund	2	2	2	Nil	Nil
Winberht	1	1	1	Nil	Nil
Wine	4	4	4	Nil	One obv. links to Biarnred
Wulfheard	7	7	7	Nil	Nil

CORPUS OF LUNETTES COINS OF ALFRED THE GREAT.

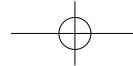
This corpus includes all known coins of the following reference numbers:

- Lunettes A: *BMC* type i, North 625, Spink 1057
- Lunettes B: *BMC* type ia, North 626, Spink 1057 variety
- Lunettes C: *BMC* type ib, North 627, Spink 1057 variety
- Lunettes D: *BMC* type ic, North 628, Spink 1057 variety.

All coin details contained in the main Corpus have been sourced from actual coins, published sources or photographs. The BM and Fitzwilliam coins, in particular, were seen and individually recorded. Careful vetting has been undertaken to establish the identity of each coin on the basis of provenance, weight and images where available.

In addition the authors note a number of principally pre-1920s auction catalogues and sales list entries that cannot with certainty be linked with coins in the Corpus. In total we believe that between fifteen and twenty coins found before 1925 may be unrecorded in modern times.

Each coin is given a unique reference number e.g. Afl1.3 is the third coin listed for Group 1, the Wessex Lunettes type. The entry then gives a reference, museum collection, private collection or latest known date when offered for sale. The Lunettes type is stated, followed by the weight, including observations on coin condition affecting weight, and flan size to the nearest 0.5 mm. The obverse style is noted on the basis of the variant to which



it belongs and the inscription style used. For example the coin AfL1.3 is noted as IIB/4 meaning it is a variant II coin (Wessex in a crude style) sub-variant B (chinless bust) with legend style **REX+AELBRED:** (complete lists of bust styles and legends are given below). In Group 2 and the Irregular and Barbarous series the relatively lengthy obverse description results in the inscription being labelled as such for clarity. Other obverse characteristics may also be noted. The reverse is then described. The entry is then completed with any known provenance for the coin, followed by general remarks. Dies are lettered, but it should be noted that die lettering is inevitably arbitrary and the letter does not indicate the order in which the dies would have been used. A master list of dies and die linkages is given at Appendix 3 above.

Coins are numbered in the following series:

AfL1: Alfred Group 1. Wessex-style Lunettes.
 AfL2: Alfred Group 2. Mercian-style Lunettes.
 AFLIr: Alfred Irregular Lunettes.
 AFLU: Alfred unknown or uncertain Moneyer Lunettes.
 AfLW: Alfred Lunettes Coinweights.

* indicates coin illustrated at reference shown.

Wnr indicates weight not recorded.

Underlined letters are ligatured.

TABLE 11. The coinage of Alfred: summary of classifications: Bust styles.

Group	Variants	Description
Group 1. Wessex-style Lunettes	I.	Wessex bonnet, neat style, two sub-variants A and B.
	II.	Wessex bonnet, coarse style, two sub-variants A and B.
Group 2. Mercian-style Lunettes	III.	'London-Wessex' bonnet, three sub-variants A to C.
	IV.	'Horizontal' bust, four sub-variants A-D.
Irregular	V.	'Vertical' bust, no sub-variants.
	Irregular types (a)-(g)	Various irregular or barbarous coins.

Inscriptions

All legends recorded reading from seven o'clock. Legends known for fewer than five moneyers have names indicated.

1. **REX+AEBBRED** (Tidbald)
2. **REX+AELBRED**
3. **RE++AELBRED**
4. **REX+AELBRED:**
5. **REX+AELBRED .:** (Biarnred, Cialmod, Herebald, Tirwald, Wine)
6. **REX+AELBRED :** (Hebca)
7. **REX+AELBRED ::** (Denewald, Ethelere)
8. **REX+AELBRED ::** (Bosa, Herebald, Liabinc, Wine)
9. **REXAELBRED** (Dudd)
10. **REX+ELFRED** (Sigestef)
11. **RE+AELBRED** (Duni, Ethelgar)
12. **REX++AELBBED** (Sigeric)
13. **REX+ELBRED .:** (Tata)
14. **RE()LFRED ::** (Denewald)
15. **REXXAELBRD** (Dudda)
16. **ELFRED RE** (Tilefein)
17. **ERX+ELFRED** (Eadred)
18. **+(X?)AELBREDX** (Diarelm)
19. **ELFEREDM-X+** (Tata)
20. **REX+ELBRED:** (Wulfheard)
21. **+ELFREDM+-+** (Dudd)
22. **+ELFREDMX+** (Wulfheard)
23. **+ELFREDREX** (Elelaf)

- 24. **+AELBREDREX** (Ealmund, Ethelstan, Luhinc)
- 25. **+AELBREDRE** (Tirwulf)
- 26. **AELBREDREX** (Dudwine)
- 27. **DRE+AELBRE** (Tata)
- 28. **ELFERED M XX** (Tata forgeries)

Group 1. Wessex Lunettes

Biarnwald

Afl1.1. *BMC* 173. Lunettes B. 1.15 g, mended, was in three pieces, weight before conservation 1.16 g. 19 mm. *Obv.* IA, style i/2. *Rev.* .DMO with four pellets surrounding BIARNVL./NETA * * of small pellets. Purchased E. Morris 1846. For further analysis of Lunettes B to D reverses, including this coin, see Appendix 2, Table 2C.

Dies A/a

Biarnwulf

See also Mercian style coin and coin weight.

Afl1.2. Longbottom (1934) 60.* Lunettes A. wnr. Diameter not known. *Obv.* IA, but pellet of chin set back, style i/4. *Rev.* .LFMO./BIARNV./NETA. Almost certainly Walters (1913), 16.

Dies A/a

Afl1.3. EMC 2001.0693. Lunettes A. 0.80 g. Diameter not known. *Obv.* IIB, crude bust and central panel of drapery very wide /4. *Rev.* .LFMO./BIARNV./NETA. Found near Torksey, Lincs.

Dies B/b

Bergne (1873) 151 (bought Johnston £2 'extremely fine and rare'), Murchison (1866) 177 bought Bergne. wnr. Rev: BIARNVLF.

Samuel Smith (1895), 16, bought Lincoln.

Neligan (1881) bought Verity.

Croydon No. 2 hoard (1862) (listed Blunt and Dolley 1959, 229 no. 146), possibly Evans?

(Pl. 1, 19)

Bosa

Afl1.4. *BMC* 160. Lunettes A. 1.03 g, large chip at 9 o'clock. 19 mm. *Obv.* IA, thin bust with poorly cut mouth inner panels of drapery curve outwards at top, style iii/8. *Rev.* .M◊N. /+BOSA :/ETA * * Ex Hook Norton hoard (1848).

Dies: A/a

Afl1.5. BMA 455. Lunettes A. 1.22 g. 19 mm. *Obv.* IB, style i/2. *Rev.* .MON./+BOSA /ETA. Illustrated North 3rd edition Pl. 10, 18.* Beeston Tor hoard (1924): Brooke 1924, number 30.

(Pl. 1, 14)

Dies: B/b

Afl1.6. National Museum of Ireland. Lunettes A. 0.74 g, coin flattened between 6 and 9 o'clock, either in production or later, latter more likely as brocages are very rarely encountered in the Anglo-Saxon series. 19 mm. *Obv.* IIB, elongated bust/2 but REX not visible. *Rev.* .M◊N./+BOSA/ETA (assumed * *) 'Burged' Ireland hoard (c. 1870). Dies: C/c

Afl1.7. Lockett (1955), 485 (bought Seaby £9). Lunettes A. 1.17 g, weight derived from Bliss. 18 mm. *Obv.* IIA, unusual bust with pellet eye/2. *Rev.* .MON./+BOSA/ETA * * of very small pellets. Ex Walters (1932) 53 bought Lockett £3 7s. 6d. Almost certainly Bliss (1916), 86a, bought Walters with a coin of Edered for 2 gns; (Walters (1932) 54). Bliss before 1916 records this coin as Clark (1898), 12 bought Verity, 'very fine and rare'. Subsequently SCMB Jun 1957 5133* offered at £12 10s.

Dies: D/d

Afl1.8. NCirc Dec 1967 item 8270* (very fine, offered at £95). Lunettes A. wnr. 18 mm. *Obv.* IA, but pellet tucked under chin, style i/2. *Rev.* same as Afl1.7/Lockett (1955), 485.

Dies: E/d

Afl1.9. Coats Collection, University of Glasgow (SCBI 2, no. 561)* Lunettes A. 1.04 g, chipped. 18 mm. *Obv.* IIB, but very cramped bust/4. *Rev.* .M◊N./+BOSA trefoil of pellets apex left/ETA.

Dies F/e

Afl1.10. NCirc Oct 1993 item 7119* Lunettes A. wnr. 'Very fine but cracked.' 18 mm. *Obv.* IIB/4, same die as Afl1.9/SCBI 2, no. 561. *Rev.* .M◊N./+BOSA :;/ETA * * Ex NCirc Sep 1988 item 5421* coin has been cleaned; Glendining (13 Apr 1988) 111*, sold for £250; NCirc Apr 1987 item 2169* 'in need of careful cleaning and has a slight edge chip', offered at £490; NCirc Mar 1985 item 933, 'a little corroded and the hint of a crack along line of one lunette,' offered at £475; Drabble (1939), 382.*

Dies F/f

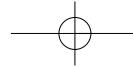
Beeston Tor hoard (1924): Brooke 1924 no. 31 wnr ?/2 Rev: .MON./+BOSA/ETA:

Murchison (1866) 178 bought Webster.

Croydon No. 2 hoard (1862) (listed Blunt and Dolley 1959, 229 no. 147; Christmas (1864) 176 bought Montagu (1888) 34 bought Lincoln for JJ Nunn; Nunn (1896) 82 bought Verity.

Lower Dunsforth hoard (1861); NCirc Mar 1924, item 28874 EF offered at £3.

Spink Auction (21 Nov 1995) 60, not illustrated, could be Afl1.10.

**Cialmod**

AfL1.11. *BMC* 161. Lunettes A. 1.23 g. 18 mm. *Obv. IB*, style iii/5. *Rev. .MON/CIALMOD/.ETA* • Ex Tyssen (1802). Illustrated Ruding (1840) Pl. 15 Alfred 2.*
 Dies A/a

(Pl. 1, 15)

Diara

See also Irregular style coin.

AfL1.12. Baldwin Argentum Auction (Jun 04) 93.* Lunettes B. 0.55 g, loss of fabric at top and bottom of *obv.* 18 mm. *Obv. IIA/2. Rev. MON/DIARA* • /ETA Ex *NCirc*, Oct 1991, item 6461* (offered at £500). For further analysis of Lunettes B to D reverses, including this coin, see Appendix 2, Table 2C.
 Dies A/a

Diarel

See also Irregular coin of Diarelm.

AfL1.13. Stack (1999) 415* ('very fine' sold for £990). Lunettes A. 1.0 2g. 18 mm. *Obv. IIB*, but of crude appearance only one cross bar in central panel of tunic/4. *Rev. M* in shape of E on side **ON/DIAREL'ETA**.
 Dies A/a

AfL1.14. Blunt Collection, Fitzwilliam Museum (Blunt 342).* Lunettes A. 0.65 g, chipped. Coin very battered 17 mm or thereabouts. *Obv. IIB*, smaller head/4. *Rev. M* pellet above before next letter **MO** • /DIAREL/NETA •. Blunt bought London 1949. Ex Grantley (1944) 999a sold for £4 with coins of Hebeca and Wulfred. Almost certainly Mann (1917) 138c 'a damaged penny of the Mercian type reading **DIARED MMONETA**' from Blunt illustration final letter of middle line could be read as D rather than L.¹²⁶ Sold with two coins of Burgred from the Burstable collection for £2. Hugh Pagan notes, on grounds of patination, that from same hoard as this coin.
 Dies B but very similar to AfL1.13/Stack (1999) 415.

AfL1.15. Lincolnshire Museums Collection Lunettes D. 0.92 g. Diameter not recorded. *Obv. IA*, style i/2. *Rev. MON* pellet over **O/DIAREL/ETA** • facing upwards under T. Ex Walmgate, Lincoln hoard (1985). For further analysis of Lunettes B to D reverses, including this coin, see Appendix 2, Table 2C.
 Dies C/c

Croydon No. 2 hoard (1862), listed Blunt and Dolley 1959, 229 no. 149 possibly Evans.

Diarwulf

AfL1.16. BMA 456. Lunettes D. 0.90 g. 19.5 mm. *Obv. IA*, square bust, style i/2. *Rev. MON/DIARVLF/ETA* Beeston Tor hoard (1924); Brooke 1924, number 49. For further analysis of Lunettes B to D reverses, including this coin, see Appendix 2, Table 2C.
 Dies A/a

*Flixborough Lunettes D possibly Group I but a detectorist find recorded solely by a sketch drawing. Found Flixborough, North Lincolnshire.*¹²⁷

Dunn

See also Mercian style coin.

AfL1.17. BMA 457. Lunettes A. 1.29 g. 18.5 mm. *Obv. IA*, style i/2. *Rev. .MON./DVNN/.ETA* • Ex Beeston Tor hoard (1924); Brooke 1924, number 32.
 Dies A/a

AfL1.18. CNG 20 (25 Mar 1992), 1202.* Lunettes A. 0.99 g. 18 mm. Same dies as AfL1.17/BMC 457.
 Dies A/a

AfL1.19. Verulamium Museum, St Albans (*SCBI* 42, no. 736).* Lunettes A. 0.76 g, chipped. 18 mm. *Obv. IB*, style i/2. *Rev.* similar to BMA 457. Ex Abbey Orchard, St Albans hoard (1968).
 Dies B/b

AfL1.20. Ryan (1952), 711* (bought Seaby £8 10s.). Lunettes A. wnr. 18 mm. *Obv. IA*, but chin set back in neck, style i/2. *Rev. .MON./DVNN/.ETA*.
 Dies C/c

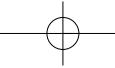
AfL1.21. CNG Triton 3 (30 Nov 1999), 1473* Lunettes A. 1.20 g. 18 mm. *Obv. IA*, style i/2, *Rev. .MON./DVNN/.ETA* • Ex 'Ridgemount' (1989) 52* (sold for £1350); Lockett (1958) 2701* (bought Seiffert £20); Drabble (1943), 836* (bought Lockett £6 15s.); Peckover (1920), 182.
 Dies D/d

AfL1.22. *NCirc* May 1978 item 6342* (offered at £308). Lunettes A. wnr. 18 mm. *Obv. IA*, square bust, style i/2. *Rev.* same as AfL1.21.
 Dies E/d

AfL1.23. *BMC* 174. Lunettes B. 0.97 g. 19.5 mm. *Obv. IA*, style iii/2. *Rev. MON/DVNN/ETA* • Larger than normal flan for Alfred Group 1 Lunettes. Ex Hook Norton hoard (1848). For further analysis of Lunettes B to D reverses, including this coin, see Appendix 2, Table 2C.
 Dies F/e

¹²⁶ Pagan 1987, 19, in his listing of Lunettes B to D coins thinks the coin in the Mann sale might be a Lunettes D but we believe a linkage with the Blunt coin is more likely.

¹²⁷ To be published by Marion Archibald in Loveluck forthcoming.



AfL1.24. Wolfshead Galleries Jul. 2008 Lunettes A. wnr diameter not known. Obv: **IB/2.** Rev: **.MON:/+DVNN/•** **ETA** formation of six pellets. This is the most complex reverse for any Lunettes A coin of this series.

Dies G/f

Dymock (1858) 115, ex Barclay (1831) ex Henderson (1818).

*EMC 1991.0247, Stott 1991, item 68, noted as being found St Peter's Hill Excavations, City of London prior to May 1839 and recorded in Rev. Roach Smith's journals on 5 May 1839.*¹²⁸

NCirc. Mar 1924 item 2887, EF, offered at £2 10s., subsequently NCirc, Apr 1927, item 66998 offered at £2. Ex Lower Dunsforth hoard (1861).

Murchison (1866) 176 DVNN MON ETA. bought Webster.

Croydon No. 2 hoard (1862), listed Blunt and Dolley 1959, 229 no. 153 subsequently Christmas (1864) 175.

Eadmund

*Flixborough Lunettes C possibly Group I but very corroded. Found Flixborough, North Lincolnshire.*¹²⁹

Eadwulf

AfL1.25. BMA 458. Lunettes A. 1.18 g. 18 mm. *Obv. IA, style i/4. Rev. .MON./EADVLF./ETA.* Ex Beeston Tor hoard (1924); Brooke 1924, no. 33.

Dies: A/a

AfL1.26. CNG (21 Sep. 2005) 1249* (sold for \$2100) with coin weight. Lunettes A. Total weight 24.01 g. Diameter not known. *Obv. IA, style i/2. Rev. .MON./EADVLF./ETA* (Pl. 2, 53)

Dies B/b

Allen (1898), 186a Obv. +AELBRED RE+ Rev. +EADVLF MON ETA Croydon No. 2 hoard (1862), listed Blunt and Dolley 1959, 229 no. 154. Subsequently possibly NCirc, Jan 1920, item 77823, fine, 'somewhat oxidised', offered at £1 15s.

Ealhere

See also Mercian style coin.

AfL1.27. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (MEC 1347).* Lunettes A. 1.04 g, broken and chipped. 18.5 mm. *Obv. IA, style i/2. Rev. .EMON./+HEALHE(R)/.ETA. Lewis (1891), bought Tunbridge Wells 2 Jul. 1872. Ex Croydon No. 2 hoard (1862) (listed Blunt and Dolley 1959, 229 no. 155).*

Dies A/a

Edwald

Shillington, Beds. Lunettes B. Rev. EDVAL MONETA. Published NC (1897), 248, stated to be similar to Ruding Pl. XV no. 5: this is AfL2.49/BMC 175, a Lunettes coin in 'London Wessex' style, but the comparison may only refer to the reverse.

Elbere

AfL1.28. BMA 461. Lunettes A. 1.28 g. 19 mm. *Obv. IA, style i/2, die appears to be clogged and worn. Rev. .MON./ELBERE/ETA.* Ex Morgan (1915); Evans (1908). Ex Croydon No. 2 hoard (1862) (illustrated Corbet Anderson no. 3*, listed Blunt and Dolley 1959, 229 no. 156).

Dies A/a

AfL1.29. EMC 1998.0093. Lunettes A. wnr. Full coin. Diameter not known. *Obv. IA, style i/2. Rev. .MON./ELBERE/ETA.* EMC records this as Lunettes C, but the top lunette and bottom right junction of the lunettes on this coin clearly show this to be Lunettes A. Found at Riby, Lincs, with coin of Diara, EMC 1998.0092.

Dies B/b

AfL1.30. Corbet Anderson no. 4*, Lunettes A. wnr. Diameter not known. *Obv. IA, style i/3. Rev. .M+N./ELBERE/ETA.* Ex Croydon No. 2 hoard (1862), listed Blunt and Dolley 1959, 229 no. 157. Subsequently Bennington.

Dies C/c

AfL1.31. NCirc Feb 1990 item 187* (offered at £650). Lunettes A. 0.99 g. 18 mm. *Obv. IA, style ii/3.* Die links to Heabearht BMA 467. *Rev. .MON./ELBERE/ETA.* Almost certainly SCMB Jun 1957 offered at £12 10s. and ex Beeston Tor hoard (1924); Brooke 1924, coin no. 35.

Dies D, die linked to die A of Heabearht /d

SCBI 42, no. 738 stolen ex Abbey Orchard, St Albans hoard (1968). No further details available.

O'Hagan (1907) 235b sold with a Heremod for £3.

Boyne (1896) 1138a ELBERE MONETA AELBRED REX

Loscombe (1855) 1072 bought Chester AELBRED REX 'very fine and rare'.

Etheleah

See also Mercian style coin.

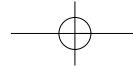
AfL1.32. BMA 464 Lunettes A. 1.24 g. 18.5 mm. *Obv. IA, style ii/4. Rev. .HM+N./E+DELEA/ETA.* Ex Beeston Tor hoard (1924); Brooke 1924, no. 37.

(Pl. 1, 12)

Dies A/a

¹²⁸ Details of Rev. Charles Roach Smith (1806–90) and his interests in City antiquities are given in Stott 1991, 325.

¹²⁹ To be published by Marion Archibald in Loveluck forthcoming.



AfL1.33. Verulamium Museum, St Albans (*SCBI* 42, no. 739).* Lunettes A. 0.94 g, chipped 18.0 mm. *Obv. IA*, style i/4. *Rev. .HMO./E-DELEA/.NETA*. Ex Abbey Orchard, St Albans hoard (1968).

Dies B/b

AfL1.34. EMC 2005.0060.* Lunettes A. 0.87 g, chipped. Diameter not known. *Obv. IA*, style i/4. *Rev. .HMO* trefoil of pellets/*E-DELEA/.NETA*. Noted as found Kent. Timeline Originals, 2005, offered at £650, also *BNJ* 76, Coin Register 2006, 195*.

Dies C/c

AfL1.35. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (allocated reference *SCBI* 9, no. 246a in Metcalf and Northover 1985 but not listed in *SCBI*). Lunettes A. wnr. 18 mm. *Obv. IA* square bust, style i/4. *Rev. HMO./E-DELEA/.NETA*. Shortt bequest. Metcalf and Northover 1985 note this coin is 18.14% 'silver', an alloy of predominantly silver mixed with very small quantities of gold and lead. Coin is also illustrated at Pl. 27, no. 98.*

Dies D/d

Ethelmund

AfL1.36. BMA 464. Lunettes A. 0.98 g. 18.5 mm. *Obv. IA*, style i/3. *Rev. .NDMO./E-DELMVN/.NETA*. Ex Beeston Tor hoard (1924); Brooke 1924, no. 38. (Pl. 1. 11)

Dies A/a

AfL1.37. Boyd (2005), 782* ('Mottled staining but very fine', sold for £780). Lunettes A. 1.14 g. 18.5 mm. *Obv. IB*, style i/2. *Rev. as BMA 464 but without pellets*. Ex Lord Airlie (1897), 5. See also Boyd note on unpublished coins in his collection.¹³⁰

Dies B/b

AfL1.38. Lincoln Museums Collections. Lunettes A. 0.87 g. Diameter not recorded. *Obv. IB*, style i/2. *Rev. .NDMO./E-DELMVN/.NETA*. Ex Walmgate, Lincoln hoard (1985).

Dies C/c

AfL1.39. Ryan (1952) 712* (bought Seaby £7 5s.). Lunettes B. wnr. 18 mm. *Obv. IIB/2*. *Rev. DMO* with three spikes/*ETELMVN/.NETA* Unusual spelling for this moneyer. Probably ex Lower Dunsforth hoard (1861), in which case *NCirc* Mar 1924, item 28875, 'VF' offered at £2 5s. For further analysis of Lunettes B to D reverses, including this coin, see Appendix 2, Table 2C.

Dies D/d

Peace (1894), 33b AELBRED EELMOND bought Vestey, subsequently possibly Airlie (AfL1.37).

Wylie (1882), 108 + AELBRED RE+ ETHELMVND MONETA 'fine and very rare type.'

Murchison (1866), 181 EDELMVD MONETA

Ethelwulf

See also Mercian-style coins.

AfL1.40. BMA 466. Lunettes A. 1.09 g. 18.5 mm. *Obv. IA*, style i/2. *Rev. .MON./E-DELVLF/.ETA*. Ex Beeston Tor hoard (1924), Brooke 1924, no. 40.

Dies A/a

AfL1.41. Verulamium Museum, St Albans (*SCBI* 42, no. 740).* Lunettes A. wnr. 18 mm. *Obv. IB*, style i/2. *Rev. similar to BMA 466*. Ex Abbey Orchard, St Albans hoard (1968).

Dies B/b

AfL1.42. Verulamium Museum, St Albans (*SCBI* 42, no. 741).* Lunettes A. wnr, chipped. 18 mm. *Obv. IB*, style i/2. *Rev. similar to BMA but with '·' at end of third line*. Ex Abbey Orchard, St Albans hoard (1968).

Dies C/c

AfL1.43. Verulamium Museum, St Albans (*SCBI* 42, no. 742).* Lunettes A. wnr, slightly chipped. 17 mm. *Obv. II B/2*. *Rev. .MON./EDELVLF/.ETA* '·' Obverse is very similar to La Riviere Sefreth. Ex Abbey Orchard, St Albans hoard (1968).

Dies D/d

Lewin-Sheppard (1861) bought Eastwood 14.5 gr AELBRED REX EDELVLF MONETA 'desirable though slightly broken at the edge'. Presumably Lunettes A but this not specifically stated. Could be Rose (AfL2.37): see Group 2.

Murchison (1866) 182 Lunettes D.

Ethered

See also Mercian-style coins.

AfL1.44. BMA 465. Lunettes A. 1.32 g. 18.5 mm. *Obv. IA*, style ii/3. *Rev. .MON./E-DERED/.ETA*. Ex Beeston Tor hoard (1924), Brooke 1924, no. 39.

Dies A/a

AfL1.45. Hall (2006), 38* (sold for £1700). Lunettes A. 1.01 g. 18 mm. *Obv. IB*, style i/3. *Rev. DMO* two pellets above/*EDERE/.NETA* Ex Stack (1999), 416* ('slight edge chip below and with reverse corrosion, otherwise very fine and rare', bought Hall for £605); *SCMB*, Nov 1986, E452* offered at £1350; *NCirc*, May 1986, item 3218* offered at £900; *NCirc*, May 1985, item 3027* offered at £1250; *NCirc*, Nov 1984, item 7415* offered at £1400; *NCirc*, Jul 1983, item 4737* offered at £1800; *NCirc*, Jun 1982, 4786* offered at £1800; *NCirc*, Mar 1982, 1631* offered at £1800. Almost certainly *SCMB*, Feb 1951, 3139 offered at £5 10s.

Dies B/b

¹³⁰ Boyd 1900, 266. This coin described, but not illustrated, as no. 4.

AfL1.46. Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, National Museum Copenhagen (*SCBI* 4, no. 671).* Lunettes A. 0.65 g, corroded and chipped. Original diameter possibly 18 mm. *Ov.* **IB**, style i/3. *Rev.* **.M** inverted **•** above **‘M’** and **‘O’ON/EDERED/ETA**. Ex Thomsen, noted Thomsen (1875), 8068.

Dies C/c

AfL1.47. Corbet Anderson 10.* Lunettes A. wnr. Diameter not known. *Ov.* **IB**, style i/3. *Rev.* similar or same dies as AfL1.46 and 1.48. Croydon No. 2 hoard, listed Blunt and Dolley 1959, 229 no. 158. Subsequently Mrs Weller. Although it is difficult to compare line drawings with photographs, the quality of Corbet Anderson's work is exceptional and the detail of this coin does not match others with this particular reverse.

Dies D but could be a die duplicate of *SCBI* 4, no. 671/c?

AfL1.48. *NCirc* Feb 1990, 188 (offered at £650). Lunettes A. 1.20 g. 18 mm. *Ov.* **IB**, style i/2. *Rev.* same or similar as AfL1.46 and 1.47.

Dies C/c

AfL1.49. *NCirc* Nov 1987, 6382* (offered at £1900). Lunettes A. 0.89 g. 18 mm. *Ov.* **IA**, style i/3. *Rev.* similar to AfL1.45, 1.46 and 1.47. Norweb (1986) 779 'about extremely fine', sold for £1500; Burstable (1912), 51* sold for £4. Illustrated and described (*SCBI* 16, no. 140).*

Dies E/d

AfL1.50. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (*MEC* 1348).* Lunettes A. 1.32 g. 18 mm. *Ov.* **II**, very distorted forehead, possibly A/3. *Rev.* **.MON/E-DERED/ETA**. Lewis (1891), bought Tunbridge Wells, 2 Jul. 1872. Croydon No. 2 hoard (1862), listed Blunt and Dolley 1959, 229 no. 159.

Dies F/e

AfL1.51. CNG Triton 3 (30 Nov. 1999), 1474.* Lunettes A. 1.17 g. 19 mm. *Ov.* **IA**, style i/4. *Rev.* **.M-N/E-DERED/ETA**. Ex *NCirc*, Nov 1982, 8137* ('very rare, choice', offered at £1700) and possibly Sotheby, Oct. 1957.

Dies G/f

AfL1.52. Duddington hoard (1994–5). Lunettes A. wnr. 18 mm. *Ov.* **IA**, square bust, style i/3. *Rev.* **.MON/E-DELRED/ETA**

Dies H/g

AfL1.53. Lincolnshire Museums Collections. Lunettes B. 0.92 g. Diameter not known. *Ov.* **IIB/2**. *Rev.* **MON/E-DERED/ETA** Ex Walmsgate, Lincoln hoard (1985). For further analysis of Lunettes B to D reverses, including this coin, see Appendix 2, Table 2C.

Dies I/h

Bergne (1873) 152 bought Douglas £2 10s. 'nearly as fine . . .' (as the Bergne Biarnwulf).

*Walters (1932) 54 'very fine but slight edge chip', Lunettes A. Rev. **MON/E-DERED/ETA** Ex Bliss (1916), 86 (wt 1.28g.), sold with a coin of Bosa for 2 gns, 'fine, somewhat oxidized'. Bliss before 1916 states coin is from 'Wood St City Find 1881'.*

Guthmund

AfL1.54. Blunt Collection, Fitzwilliam Museum (Blunt 343).* Lunettes A, but with noticeable pellets where hoops join the straight line. wnr. 18.5 mm. *Ov.* **IB**, style i/2. *Rev.* **DMO./GV-DMVN./NETA**. Bt London 1986, ex Harris (bought Spink 1982).

Dies A/a

AfL1.55. Repton no. 2 (1985), Grave 651. Lunettes B. 0.34 g, fragments comprising less than a third of the original coin. Diameter not known. *Ov.* probably **IIB** in view of fact that this type predominates in the Canterbury Lunettes B group/2? *Rev.* **DMON/G(VDM)VN/(ETA)** Ex Repton 1985 excavation, see Pagan 1987, 23 and illustration at p. 34 no. 11*. Also recorded as EMC 1986.0402.* For further analysis of Lunettes B to D reverses, including this coin, see Appendix 2, Table 2C.

Dies A possibly/b

Heabearht

AfL1.56. BMA 467. Lunettes A. 1.35 g. 18.5 mm. *Ov.* **IA**, style ii/3 die links to *NCirc*, Feb 1990 coin of Elbere, *Rev.* **RHTMOH/HEABEA :/NETA** Beeston Tor hoard (1924), Brooke 1924, no. 41.

Dies: A die links to die D of Elbere/a.

Heafreth

See also Mercian-style coin.

AfL1.57. Duddington hoard (1994–5). Lunettes A. wnr, but only 60% of coin remains. Diameter cannot be ascertained because of damage to coin. *Ov.* **IA**, style ii /2?. *Rev.* **M(ON)/HEAFR(D?)/ETA**

Dies A/a

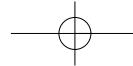
Hebeca

AfL1.58. BMC 163. Lunettes A. 0.74 g, extensively chipped at top and bottom. Probably 18 mm. *Ov.* **IB**, style i/2. *Rev.* **MON/HEBECA/ETA** Found at Wilmington, Kent, 1747, 'in digging a grave.'

Dies A/a

AfL1.59. Mack Collection (*SCBI* 20, no. 728).* Lunettes A. 0.79 g, extensively chipped. Possibly 17.5 mm–18 mm. *Ov.* **IB**, style i/4. *Rev.* similar to BMC 163. Ex Matthews (1970), *NCirc*, Mar 1924, 28878 'much damaged' offered at 7s. 6d.; Lower Dunsforth hoard (1861). Subsequently Mack (1977) 82*, 'badly chipped and corroded otherwise fine and rare' estimated at £80.

Dies B/b



AfL1.60. Blunt Collection, Fitzwilliam Museum (Blunt 344).* Lunettes A. 0.84 g, extensively chipped between 5 and 9 o'clock. 17.5 mm. *Obv. IIA*, coarse head/2. *Rev.* similar to *BMC* 163. Grantley (1944) 999b sold for 4 gns with a Group 1 Diarel and Group 2 Wulfheard (described in Grantley as Wulfred), both now also Blunt. Pagan notes, 'From same hoard, on grounds of patination, as Blunt Diarel(m)'.

(Pl. 1, 17)

Dies C/c

AfL1.61. Lincolnshire Museums Collection. Lunettes A. 0.67 g, chipped in two places, coin very corroded on obverse. Diameter not recorded. *Obv. IB*, style i/2. *Rev.* same as AfL1.60/ Blunt 344. Ex Walmsgate, Lincoln hoard (1985).

Dies D/c

AfL1.62. Sotheby (14 Jul. 1976), 402.* (sold for £180). Lunettes A. wnr. 18 mm. *Obv. IB*, two vertical bars in central panel of drapery, style i/6. *Rev.* .MON/HEBECA/ETA

Dies E/d

AfL1.63. *NCirc* Dec 1988, 7795.* Lunettes A. wnr. 18 mm. *Obv. IIA/2*. *Rev.* .MON/HEBECA/ETA. 'Extremely fine', offered at £950.

Dies F/e

EMC 2001.0935 Lunettes A. 0.3 g, fragment. *Rev.* MON/()BECA/(). Found Torksey. No image available.

EMC 1991.0246 0.98 g, found 60 feet upstream of Lambeth Bridge 1974. Recorded in *Stott* 1991 at no. 68.

Herebald

See also Mercian-style coin.

AfL1.64. BMA 468. Lunettes A. 1.06 g, 18.5 mm. *Obv. IA*, style i/2. *Rev.* .DM/HEREBAL/.NETA. Croydon No. 2 hoard (1862) (illustrated Corbet Anderson no. 6*, listed Blunt and Dolley 1959, 229 no. 162). Ex Evans (1908) and Morgan (1915).

Dies A/a

AfL1.65. Leeds City Museum (SCBI 21, no. 985).* Lunettes A. 0.88 g, 18 mm. *Obv. IIB/2*. *Rev.* same as AfL1.64/BMA 468. Ex Baron (1854); Durrant (1847), 17, bought Baron, bought Durrant from Young the dealer, 1821.

(Pl. 1, 18)

Dies B/a

AfL1.66. BMA 469. Lunettes A. 1.01 g, 18 mm. *Obv. IA*, style ii/4. *Rev.* LDMO/HEREBEA/.NETA. Allen (1898) 186a. Croydon No. 2 hoard (1862) (illustrated Corbet Anderson no. 5*, listed Blunt and Dolley 1959, 229 no. 161).

Dies C/b

AfL1.67. Verulamium Museum, St Albans (SCBI 42, no. 743).* Lunettes A. 0.76 g, chipped. 18 mm. *Obv. IA*, style i/5. *Rev.* DMO/HEREBAL/.NETA. Abbey Orchard, St Albans hoard (1968).

Dies D/c

AfL1.68. Stewartby. Lunettes A. 0.62 g, very ragged flan, diameter cannot be ascertained. *Obv. IB*, style i/8. *Rev.* LDMO/HEREBEA/ETA Bought Seaby, 21 Mar. 1954.

Dies: E/d

*Flixborough Lunettes A possibly Group IA but slightly corroded. Found Flixborough, North Lincolnshire.*¹³¹

Herefret

AfL1.69. *NCirc* Oct. 1991, 6463* ('pleasing EF', offered at £1500). Lunettes A. 0.88 g, 17.5 mm. *Obv. IA*, style i/4. *Rev.* .MON/HEREFREÐ/ETA. Subsequently *NCirc*, Feb. 1992 item 136,* offered at £1200.

Dies A/a

Heremod

AfL1.70. British Museum. Lunettes A. 1.15 g, 18 mm. *Obv. IA*, style i/2. *Rev.* .MON/HEREMOD/ETA. Ex Carlyon Britton (1918) 1644* (bought by Baldwin on behalf of Lockett for £3 2s. 6d.); Lockett (1955), 486*. Although this and the Bruun Rasmussen coin are undoubtedly from the same dies the appearance of the lettering, particularly on the obverse of this coin, is thicker than the Rasmussen coin. The only explanation the authors have is that the Rasmussen coin represents a later striking where the dies are becoming clogged. A die crack line on the Rasmussen coin from the eye to the nose supports this contention.

Dies A/a

AfL1.71. Bruun Rasmussen (Dec. 2006), 5435* (sold for £1850). Lunettes A. 1.01 g. Diameter not known. Same dies as AfL1.70/BM Lockett, but see notes above.

Dies A/a

AfL1.72. Ashmolean Museum (SCBI 9, no. 245).* Lunettes A. 1.36 g, 18.5 mm. *Obv. IA*, style i/2. *Rev.* similar to AfL1.70/71. Ex Reynolds (1954), 134. Metcalf and Northover 1985 note this coin is 28.52% 'silver', an alloy of predominantly silver mixed with very small quantities of gold and lead, and illustrated at Pl. 27, no. 95*.

Dies B/b

AfL1.73. DNW (16 Mar. 2005), 156*, 'broken and repaired at 11 o'clock, otherwise good very fine with dark tone.' Lunettes A. 1.02 g, 18 mm. *Obv. IA*, style i/3. *Rev.* .M N/HEREMOD/ETA.* Ex Stack (1999), 417* sold for £682; Mack (1975), 111* 'rather corroded, fine and rare' sold for £340; *NCirc* Mar 1924, 28879, EF, offered at £2 5s.; Lower Dunsforth hoard (1861). Illustrated in SCBI 20, no. 729.* Although SCBI 20, no. 729 states that the coin

¹³¹ To be published by Marion Archibald in Loveluck forthcoming.

weighs 1.02 g, Stack (1999) gives weight as 0.93 g and DNW 2005 sale as 0.95 g. Undoubtedly this is the same coin but it has deteriorated over time.

Dies C/c

AfL1.74. York Coins Jul. 2007 Ebay Mar. 2007. Lunettes A. wnr, but broken, chipped and repaired. Diameter not known. Obv: IA, style i/3, similar to AfL1.73. Rev. .M+N./HEREMOD/ETA. Ex Ebay (seller located Bishops Stortford, Herts.) Mar. 2007.

Dies D/d

AfL1.75 Lyons Lunettes A. 0.65 g, but only 50% of coin extant. Diameter not known. Obv. same as AfL1.74. Rev. (MO)N./(HE)REMOD/(?)ETA. Ex Suffolk find (2008).

Dies D/e

AfL1.76. Verulamium Museum, St Albans (SCBI 42, no. 744).* Lunettes A. 0.64 g, chipped. 18 mm. Obv. IB, style i/2. Rev. DMON./HEREMO/ETA. Abbey Orchard, St Albans hoard (1968).

Dies E/f

AfL1.77. EMC 1996.0199. Lunettes A. 1.04 g. 18 mm. Obv. IB, style i/2. Rev. same die as AfL1.76/SCBI 42, no. 744. Found near Louth, Lincs. Subsequently NCirc Dec. 1992, 7433* offered at £650. See also BNJ Coin Register 1996, no. 199.*

Dies F/f

AfL1.78. Cheltenham Museum (published Blunt and Dolley 1959, 221 and Pl. XVI no. 21*). Lunettes A. 0.97 g. 18 mm. Obv. IB, style i/4. Rev. same die as AfL1.76/SCBI 42, no. 744. Found Leckhampton, Glos. 1924. Coin subsequently lost but re-appeared in NCirc Nov. 1992, 6558* (offered at £750) and NCirc May 1993.2591.*

Dies G/f

AfL1.79. Corbet Anderson 7A.* Lunettes A. wnr. 18.5 mm. Obv. IIB, a slightly dislocated bust/4. Rev. .MON./HEREMOD/ETA.* Dr Cooper. Croydon No. 2 hoard (1862), listed Blunt and Dolley 1959, 229 no. 163.

Dies H/g

AfL1.80. Corbet Anderson 7B.* Lunettes A. wnr. 18.5 mm. Same dies as AfL1/77. Dr Cooper? Croydon No. 2 hoard (1862), Blunt and Dolley 1959, 230 no. 164.

Dies H/g

AfL1.81. British Museum. Lunettes A. 0.77 g. but coin broken with substantial part missing. 17.5 mm. Obv. I sub-variant not known/2 but reading only (RE)X+AELBRE(D). Rev. DMON.*./()REM()()TA. North Yorkshire hoard 2004.

Dies I/h

Croydon No. 2 hoard (1862), listed Blunt and Dolley 1959, 230 no. 165, subsequently Evans.

Croydon No. 2 hoard (1862), listed Blunt and Dolley 1959, 230 no. 166, subsequently Evans.

Bagnall (1934) HEREMOD/MON/ETA.

O'Hagan (1907) 325a, bought Daniels for £3 with coin of Elbere. Lunettes A. Obv: AELBRED REX, Rev: HEREMOD MONETA Ex Montagu (1895) 550 bought O'Hagan, Brice (1887), Murchison (1866) bought Webster Rev: HEREMOD MONETA

Herewulf

See also Irregular style coin.

A moneyer who usually uses a three-pellet formation above the top line of the reverse to differentiate dies. It is of interest that the four obverse and reverse dies listed are very similar and seem to have been cut by the same hand at the same time. Furthermore dies A, B and a, b seem to have been used interchangeably.

AfL1.82. British Museum (T.G. Barnett bequest 1935, no. 416). Lunettes A. 1.10 g, chipped. 19 mm. Obv. IB, style i/4. Rev. MON horizontal line of three pellets over HEREVVLF/ETA

Dies A/a

AfL1.83. NCirc Jun. 1973 4855* (offered at £350). Lunettes A. 1.02 g. 18 mm. Obv. IB, style i/4, similar to AfL 1.82. Rev. similar to AfL 1.82. Ex Elmore-Jones (1971) 43* (sold for £230).

Dies A/b

AfL1.84 University Collection, Reading. (SCBI 11a, no. 42.) Lunettes A. 1.13 g. 18.5 mm. Obv. IB, style i/4, similar to AfL1.82 and 1.83. Rev. same as 1.82. Bought Baldwin, ex Napier (1916) 41 (wrongly ascribed to HEREWIG) bought Daniels £2 18s.; NCirc Nov 1914, 24534 'FDC', offered at £3 15s.; Carlyon Britton (1913), 337* (wrongly ascribed to HEREVIS) bought Spink £2 15s.; ex Waterloo Bridge hoard (1883), illustrated Heywood 1907, pl. facing p. 59; inadvertently the coin is combined with one of Æthelred I so the obv. is 24* and the rev. is 23*.

Dies B/a

AfL1.85. CNG 29 (30 Mar. 1994) 1592.* Lunettes A. 1.32 g. 19 mm. Obv. IA, pellet well under chin, style i/2. Rev. very similar to AfL 1.82 but line of three pellets in top lunette over O and N. Ex CNG *Classical Numismatic Review* Vol. 18 Part 4, Q3 1993, item 345*.

Dies C/c

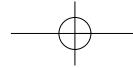
AfL1.86. Duddington hoard (1994-5). Lunettes A. wnr. 19 mm. Obv. IA, style i/2. Rev. .MON./HEREVLF line of three pellets over O/ETA. Very similar to AfL1.82 but with single pellets in top and bottom lunette.

Dies D/d

Murdoch (1903) 88 bought Lambert.

Maish (1918) 24 bought Daniels £3 7s.

'Gentleman' 7 Mar 1894 33 bought Spink HEREVLF MONETA



Shand (1949) 313 sold for £1. This and the coin below are almost certainly Afl1.84 and 1.85 but it is not certain which is which.

Shand (1949) 314 sold for £7 5s. 'differing in minor details' from 313. See note against Shand (1949) 313 above.

Heyse

Afl1.87. Verulamium Museum, St Albans (SCBI 42, no. 745).* Lunettes A. 0.78 g, with only superficial chipping lying outside the design. 17.5 mm. *Obv. IA*, style i/2. *Rev. .MON/HEYSE* vertical row of three pellets/.*ETA* ::. Abbey Orchard, St Albans hoard (1968).

Dies A/a

Afl1.88. Verulamium Museum, St Albans (SCBI 42, no. 746).* Lunettes A. 0.69 g, extensively chipped. 17.5 mm. Same dies as Afl1.87/SCBI 42, no. 745. Abbey Orchard, St Albans hoard (1968).

Dies A/a

Hildefreth

Afl1.89. Duddington hoard (1994–5), Lunettes A. wnr. 18 mm. *Obv. IA*, style i/2. *Rev. E-DMO*. Line of three pellets over *D* and *M/HILDERFR/.NETA*. line of three pellets under *NET*

Dies A/a

Afl1.90. CNG 29 (30 March 1994), 1593* (good VF, estimated at \$1500). Lunettes B. 1.11 g, 19 mm. *Obv. IIB/2*. *Rev. E-DMO/HILDEFR/NETA* For further analysis of Lunettes B to D reverses, including this coin, see Appendix 2, Table 2C.

Dies B/b

Gainford (1864) Lunettes B Obv: ?/2, Rev: E-DMO/..ILDESR/ETA See NC iv (1864) 225 but reading taken from Pagan 1967. However the reading of *MONETA* is most unusual. The editor of *Archeologia Aeliana*, Longstaffe, who transcribed it seems to either have failed to note a ligated *NE* or an *N* at the end of the first line. We note a similar mistranscription issue by him with the coin of Sigeric from the hoard (see Afl2.46). Noted in NC as in possession of Rev. Edelston, vicar of Gainford.

Liab?

Afl1.91. British Museum. Lunettes A. 0.81 g, 20% of coin missing. 18 mm. *Obv. IA*, style i/4. *Rev. .MON/TLIAB ::/.ETA*. A curious reverse with the 'A' of *LIABINC* inverted. Acquired by BM 1969. This coin shown at BNS meeting November 1966 by the then owner Mr F. Banks. See BNJ 36 (1967), 211 and Pl. 1.19.*

Dies: A/a

Liabinc

Afl1.92. Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, National Museum Copenhagen (SCBI 4, no. 672)* Lunettes A. 0.86 g, extensively chipped. 17 mm? *Obv. IIB/8*. *Rev. .M◊N/LIABINC* but could be *G/ETA* cluster of seven pellets. SCBI notes 'allegedly from Tolstrup, Denmark (1891) find' and purchased 1892.¹³²

Dies A/a

Afl1.93. EMC 1996.0200.* Lunettes A. 0.82 g, chipped. 17.5 mm. Same dies as Afl1.92. Found near Cambridge. See also BNJ Coin Register 1996 no. 200*, stated to be found on same site as a Coenwulf Tribach and an Ecgberht Dorob C type. Also NCirc Apr. 1992, 1772* offered at £350.

Dies A/a

Afl1.94. NCirc Oct. 1988, 6310* (offered at £575). Lunettes A. 0.71 g. 17.5 mm. *Obv. IA*, style i/2. *Rev. MON/LIABINC/ETA* ::. Ex NCirc Oct 1986, 6865* offered at £575; NCirc Dec. 1985, 8651,* fine to very fine offered at £650; NCirc Jun. 1985, 3823* (about very fine, offered at £650).

Dies B/b

Afl1.95. Duddington hoard (1994–5). Lunettes A. wnr. 18 mm. *Obv. IB*, style i/2. *Rev. MON* two pellets over *O/LIABINC/ETA* two pellets under *T*

Dies C/c

Montagu (1895) 551, bought Lincoln. Lunettes A. MON/LIABINC/ETA

Croydon No. 2 hoard (1862), listed Blunt and Dolley 1959, 230, no. 167, subsequently Evans.

Murchison (1866) 175 bought Lincoln.

Parsons (1929) 92 Obv: AELBRED Rev: LIALINC bought Seaby 14s.

Luhinc

See also Mercian-style coin.

Afl1.96. NCirc May 1923, 18613 (offered at £5). Lunettes A. wnr. Diameter not known. *Obv. IIA*, slightly dislocated bust/4. *Rev. .MON*. extra pellet above *O* and *M/LUHINC/ETA* ::. Ex NCirc Sep. 1919, 74707 'a perfect penny from the Evans collection, ex the Croydon Find' offered at £7; Evans (1908). Illustrated Corbet Anderson no. 8*, Croydon No. 2 hoard (1862), listed Blunt and Dolley 1959, 230 no. 168.

Dies A/a

¹³² If this attribution were correct this would be not only the sole Lunettes coin found outside the British Isles but also the only English coin from a hoard of predominantly German coins.

AfL1.97. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (*MEC* 1349).* Lunettes A. 0.68 g, broken and badly corroded. 17.5 mm. (?). *Obv.* II but very corroded bust so this attribution cannot be absolutely certain/4. Almost certainly same die as AfL1.96/Corbet Anderson. *Rev.* Same die as AfL1.96/Corbet Anderson. Lewis (1891), bought Tunbridge Wells, 2 Jul 1872. Croydon No. 2 hoard (1862), listed Blunt and Dolley 1959, 230, no. 169.

Dies A/a

Mann?

NCirc Mar. 1924, 28880 'much broken' (offered at 5s.). *Reading given, almost certainly incorrectly, as (D)ANN (M)ONETA* Ex Lower Dunsforth hoard (1861).

Manninc

See also Mercian-style coin.

AfL1.98. *BMC* 164. Lunettes A. 0.99 g, chipped and broken. 18.5 mm. *Obv.* IA, style i/2. *Rev.* CM◊/MANNI/NETA Ex Tyssen (1802) and Hodsoll (1794).

Dies A/a

AfL1.99. Spink auction 175 (29 Sep. 2005), 1320.* Lunettes A. 1.18 g. 18 mm. *Obv.* IA, style i/4. *Rev.* .MON./MANNINC/ETA. Previously *NCirc* Oct. 1994, 6468* offered at £1650 and Spink Auction, 101 (24 Nov. 1993), 63* (estimated £250–300).

Dies B/b

Osgard

See also Mercian-style coin.

AfL1.100. Lavertine (1998) 1669*, 'rough surfaces, almost very fine.' Lunettes A. 1.30 g. 18 mm. *Obv.* IA, style i/4. *Rev.* .DMO/OSGEAR/NETA. Ex Wells (1949) and noted as ex Waterloo Bridge (1884). Almost certainly Seaby Jul. 1951, 4764 offered at £10.

Dies A/a

Croydon No. 2 hoard (1862), listed Blunt and Dolley, 1959, 230, no. 170, subsequently Evans.

Murchison (1866) 179 bought Webster.

EMC 2001.1100 Lunettes not known. wnr. *Obv.* ?/2?. *Rev.* given as DMO/OSFEAR'NTA. This is almost certainly a misreading for DMO/OSGEAR/NETA Found Caistor-on-the-Wolds, Lincs.

Oshere

AfL1.101. *BMC* 165. Lunettes A. Wt. 0.94 g, slightly chipped. 19 mm. *Obv.* II A/4. *Rev.* .MON./OSHERE/ETA *.* Ex Tyssen (1802) and Hodsoll (1794). Illustrated Hawkins 1841, pl. XXIII no. 172.* (Pl. 1, 16)

Dies A/a

AfL1.102. Pheatt (1995) 480* (sold for £200). Lunettes A. 0.68 g, edge chipped. Diameter not known. *Obv.* IA, style i/2. *Rev.* MON/OSHERE/ETA Bought by Pheatt 1982.

Dies B/b

Sefreth

AfL1.103. *BMC* 166. Lunettes A. 1.19 g. 19 mm. *Obv.* IA, style i/4. *Rev.* .MON./SEFREÐ/ETA *.* Willett (1827) 19, sold for 3 gns.

Dies A/a

AfL1.104. UK Private collection. Lunettes A. 1.13 g. 18 mm. *Obv.* IA, style ii /4. Very similar to *BMC* 166 and very similar to Ethelwulf *SCBI* 42, no. 742. *Rev.* similar to *BMC* 166. Ex La Riviere, Spink auction, 160, Oct. 9–10, 2002, 996* (sold for £1725); Linzalone (1994) 2351,* 'choice extremely fine, a beautiful example of the first coinage.'

Dies B/b

AfL1.105. Fitzwilliam Museum (*SCBI* 1, no. 543).* Lunettes A. 1.18 g. 18.5 mm. *Obv.* IA, very similar to Ryan 712, a Lunettes B of Ethelmund. Style i/2. *Rev.* MON/SEFREÐ/-ETA *.* Ex Duncanson (1930); Smart (collection passed to Duncanson c. 1920).¹³³ Metcalf and Northover 1985 note this coin is 21.37% 'silver', an alloy of predominantly silver mixed with very small quantities of gold and lead. Coin is also illustrated at Pl. 27, no. 97*. Almost certainly Rashleigh (1909), 225a (bt Baldwin with a coin of Sigestef for £5 12s. 6d.) and therefore ex Shepherd (1885), 68 (sold for £5 15s.); Durrant (1847), 18 (bought Shepherd for 5gns); Dimsdale (1824), lot 473 (bought Durrant for £5 18s.). Very similar to Ryan (1952) 712, a Lunettes B of Ethelmund.

Dies C/c

Martin (1859) 11 bought Webster £1 5s., very fine. Rev. SEFRED MONETA

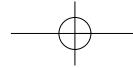
*Whitbourn (1869) 78 bought Johnstone £2. Rev. MON/SEFREÐ/ETA *.**

F Baldwin collection, no further details known.

*Richardson (1895) 34 bought Whelan. Rev. SEFRED/MON./ETA *.* Ex Doulton (1888) bought Whelan.*

*Carlyon Britton (1916) 928 Lunettes A. wnr. *Obv.* II? 'as last (a Group 2 coin) except that bust is smaller and only top of diadem is visible. *Rev.* similar or same as *BMC* 166. Bought Baldwin £2 6s.*

¹³³ *SCBI* 1, p. xi, gives details of Frank G. Smart's collecting history, which reinforces the connection with Rashleigh. The weight of the coin is also the same.

**Sigefreth**

AfL1.106. EMC 1970.1728.* Lunettes A. 0.78 g, fragment, 55% coin remains. Diameter not known. *Obv. IA*, square bust, style i/2. *Rev. .DMO* four pellets around./*SIGEFRE/[..]* Found Torksey, Lincs. Now Fitzwilliam CM 423.1995.

Dies A/a

Sigestef

See also Mercian-style coins.

AfL1.107. BMC 167. Lunettes A. 0.90 g, pierced at 6 o'clock. 19 mm. *Obv. IB*, style i/4. *Rev. .MON./SIGESTEF./ETA* • Ex Boyne (1843) 106.

Dies A/a

AfL1.108. Verulamium Museum, St Albans (SCBI 42, no. 747).* Lunettes A. 0.86 g. 17.5 mm. *Obv. IIa/2*. *Rev.* similar to BMC 168 but pellets at ends of first and third lines. Ex Abbey Orchard, St Albans hoard (1968).

Dies B/b

AfL1.109. Murawski 2003 (offered at £1150). Lunettes A. wnr. Diameter not known. *Obv. IB*, style i/4. *Rev. .MON./SIGESTEF./ETA*.

Dies C/c

Miller (1920) 65.

Rashleigh (1909) 225b, bought Baldwin with coin of Sefreth for £5 12s. 6d. Lunettes A. 1.23 g. Obv. ?. Rev. MON/SIGESTEF/ETA Stated as found near St Austell, Cornwall (i.e Trewhiddle hoard). Blunt and Dolley 1959 and Wilson and Blunt 1961, note this as a Trewhiddle Hoard coin but also see Pagan 2000 where he believes that the lack of early documentation of this coin when in the Rashleigh family's possession strongly suggests that it is not from this hoard.

Bank of England (1877), lot 87b, bought Lincoln. Lunettes nk. wnr. Obv.?/2, Rev. MON/SIEFSTEF/ETA

Tidbald

AfL1.110. BMC 169. Lunettes A. 1.03 g, broken with 40% of coin missing. Very corroded and coppery. Too incomplete to determine flan diameter. *Obv. IA*, but details of drapery not visible, style i/1. *Rev. .MON./TIDBAL(D)/ET(A)* (BMC catalogue gives a complete reading that cannot be verified from the coin in its present condition, as it looks as though a piece is now missing). Ex Tyssen (1802) and Hodsoll (1794).

Dies A/a

Tidbearht

AfL1.111. BMA 470. Lunettes B. 0.98 g. 20 mm. *Obv. IA*, style i/3. *Rev. HTMO/TIDBEAR/NETA* Ex Beeston Tor hoard (1924); Brooke 1924, no. 45. For further analysis of Lunettes B to D reverses, including this coin, see Appendix 2, Table 2C.

Dies A/a

EMC 2001.0942. Lunettes A. 0.85 g, small edge chip. Obv. nk/3. Rev. Similar to BMA 470. Found Godmersham Park, Kent.

Tirwald

See also Mercian-style coins.

AfL1.112. Duddington hoard (1994–5). Lunettes A. wnr. 19.5 mm. *Obv. IB*, style i/2. *Rev. DMO/TIRVAL/ETA*

Dies A/a

AfL1.113. Lincolnshire Museums Collections. Lunettes B. 1.03 g. Diameter not known. *Obv. IB*, style i/2? *Rev. DMO/TIRVAL/NETA* Ex Walmgate, Lincoln hoard (1985). For further analysis of Lunettes B to D reverses, including this coin, see Appendix 2, Table 2C.

Dies B/b

Tirwulf

See also Mercian-style coins.

AfL1.114. Spink auction 101, (24 Nov. 1993), 62* (estimate £300–400). Lunettes A. 1.27 g. 18.5 mm. *Obv. IB*, style i/2. *Rev. MON/TIRVLF/ETA*

Dies A/a

AfL1.115. Blunt Collection, Fitzwilliam Museum (Blunt 346) Lunettes B wnr, coin chipped. Diameter not known. *Obv. IIB/2*. *Rev. MON/TIRVLF/ETA*

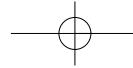
Dies B/b

SCBI 42, no. 750 stolen, ex Abbey Orchard, St Albans Find. No further details available.

Tithehelm (may be Tidehelm)

AfL1.116 Repton no. 1 (1982), 3386 (illustrated in Biddle *et al.* 1986, 115 no. 4*). Lunettes A. 0.82 g. 17.5 mm. *Obv. IB*, style i/4. *Rev. MON/TIÐHEHELM/ETA* formation of six pellets. Ex Repton mass burial excavations 1982. Pagan notes this coin as having a Canterbury obverse but with a reverse in London style and categorises it as a mule.¹³⁴ We note muling seems to have occurred for other Wessex-style obverse coins with Lunettes B and D reverses (see

¹³⁴ Pagan 1986b, 117.



Appendix 2, Table 2C). Also we would not absolutely categorise the reverse as London style. It is almost certainly not Canterbury but could be a locally-produced Wessex die. This coin is therefore placed in the Wessex group.

Metcalf and Northover 1985 note this coin is 30.17% 'silver', an alloy of predominantly silver mixed with very small quantities of gold and lead. Coin is also illustrated at Pl. 27, no. 104.* This is the highest silver content they record for a Lunettes coin of Alfred and may explain the light weight of the coin. It has a silver content equal to a normal weight coin of the more standard 15–20% fine group.

Dies A/a

Torthmund

AfL1.117. BMA 471. Lunettes A. 1.18 g. 19 mm. *Obv. IA*, style i/3. *Rev. NDMO··* over / TORHTMV/NETA Ex Morgan (1915) and Evans (1908). Croydon No. 2 hoard (1862). Illustrated Corbet Anderson no. 11.* Also listed Blunt and Dolley 1959, 230 no. 171.

Dies A/a

AfL1.118. BMA 472. Lunettes A. 1.03 g. 18.5 mm. *Obv. IA*, style i/3. *Rev. .NDM··* above O./TORHTMV/ .NETA. Ex Beeston Tor hoard (1924), Brooke 1924, no. 42.

Dies: B/b

Wine

See also Mercian-style coins.

AfL1.119. Duddington hoard (1994–5). Lunettes A. wnr. 18 mm. *Obv. IB*, style i /8. *Rev. .MON./VVINE/ETA.*

Dies A/a

AfL1.120. Lincolnshire Museum Collections (SCBI 27, no. 1946).* Lunettes B. 0.76 g. 17.5 mm. *Obv. IIB/2*, *Rev. MON./VVINE/ETA* Found at St Paul-in-the-Bail Church, Lincoln 1978. Also EMC 1983.9946. For further analysis of Lunettes B to D reverses, including this coin, see Appendix 2, Table 2C. EMC 2000.0299, based on Dr Blackburn's report in Blackburn 1993, 88 of St Paul-in-the-Bail church, Lincoln finds seems to be a duplicate entry.

Dies B/b

SCBI 6, no. 81 pierced twice and found Burghead, Moray; coin currently missing.

Wulfheard

See also Mercian-style coin. There is some debate whether the two coins below should be placed in this group rather than the Mercian style. The obverses clearly align to Group 1 and would be anomalous in Group 2 variant III. The reverses both show London influenced lettering but we are reluctant to assign these as Mercian style coins on these grounds alone.

AfL1.121. BMA 474. Lunettes A. 1.12 g. 18.5 mm. *Obv. IA*, style i/2. *Rev. .DMO··/VVLFEAR/.NETA.* Beeston Tor hoard (1924), Brooke 1924, no. 44.

Dies A/a

AfL1.122. BMA 475. Lunettes C. 1.27 g. 18.5 mm. *Obv. IA*, style i/2. *Rev. DMON/VVLFEAR/ETA* Ex Beeston Tor hoard (1924), no. 48. Although the obverse places this coin in the Wessex series the reverse is clearly in a very 'blocky' London style. For further analysis of Lunettes B to D reverses, including this coin, see Appendix 2, Table 2C.

Dies B/b

Group 2. Mercian-style Lunettes.

Biarnmod

AfL2.1. Arnot (1995), 62* (sold for £320). Lunettes A although the effect of the design on the upper lunette looks like a partial attempt at a Lunettes B. 0.92 g, but 'chipped rather severely.' 18 mm. *Obv. IIIC*, tall, thin bust, double-banded diadem, Wessex style drapery. Inscription 2. *Rev. OD – D* inserted at top right of O – M inverted trefoil of pellets over O/BIARNM/ETA This coin and AfL2.2 share stylistic affinities in bust design and lettering. The coins are cut in approximation of Canterbury style IIB but have double diademed bust and in the case of AfL2.2 anomalous drapery.

Dies A/a

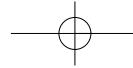
AfL2.2. Glendining (1 May 1985), 30.* Lunettes B. wnr, edges a little chipped. 18 mm. *Obv. IIIC*, double-banded diadem. Drapery comprises a central panel with three horizontal bars, panels are divided by curved double lines. Two or possibly one, two hooped horizontal bars in outer panels. Inscription 2. *Rev. .DMO··/BIARMO/ .NETA··* Ex NCirc May 1984, 2770* ('Dark tone and edges a little chipped, and otherwise very fine', offered at £1250). See also comments on coin AfL2.1. For further analysis of Lunettes B to D reverses, including this coin, see Appendix 2, Table 2C.

Dies B/b

Biarnred

AfL2.3. Hunterian Collection, University of Glasgow (SCBI 2, no. 560).* Lunettes A. 1.15 g, small chip at 11o'clock. 18 mm. *Obv. IVB*, double-banded diadem. Hair ends are pelleted. Wessex style drapery. Inscription 3. *Rev. .DMON./BIARNRE/ETA··* Hunterian Collection, acquired before 1783. Illustrated Ruding 1840 Pl. 15 Alfred no. 1.*

Dies A/a



AfL2.4. Verulamium Museum, St Albans (*SCBI* 42, no. 735).* Lunettes A. 0.69 g, chipped. 19 mm. *Obv:* IVB, similar to *SCBI* 2, no. 560. Drapery lines all straight, central panel has two vertical bars. Sub-variant B crudely executed. Inscription 2. *Rev.* DMON/BIARNRE/ETA and cluster of six pellets. St Albans Abbey Orchard hoard (1968).

Dies B/b

(Pl. 1, 36)

AfL2.5. *NCirc* March 1955, 13390 'extremely fine/FDC' offered at £11. Lunettes A. wnr. 18 mm. Same dies as AfL2.4/*SCBI* 42, no. 735. Ex Parsons (1954) 130* (bought Spink £8). Almost certainly *NCirc* Jul. 1921, 94756 'a perfect example' offered at £4; *NCirc* Mar. 1916, 39370 (offered at £3 10s); *NCirc* Mar. 1914, 24533 (offered at £3 10s); Carlyon Britton (1913), 336 (bought Spink for £2 18s.); Marsham Townshend (1888), 142. Possibly Murchison (1866), 180 (bought Lincoln) and Croydon No. 2 hoard (1862), listed Blunt and Dolley 1959, 229 no. 145.

Dies B/b

AfL2.6. BMA 454. Lunettes C. 1.29 g. 19 mm. *Obv.* IVA, double-banded diadem. Double vertical bars in central panel. Inscription 4. *Rev.* DMON/BIARNRE/ETA Beeston Tor hoard (1924), Brooke 1924, no. 46. Same *obv.* as AfL2.60/BMA 473 of moneyer Wine. For further analysis of Lunettes B to D reverses, including this coin, see Appendix 2, Table 2C.

(Pl. 1, 31)

Dies C (also links to Wine AfL2.60/BMA 473)/c

AfL2.7. EMC 1987.0122. Lunettes D. wnr. Diameter not known. *Obv.* Nk. Inscription 2? *Rev.* DMO/BIARNRE/N?ETA Found Torksey. Photo in BM, also noted *BNJ* 57, Coin Register 1987, 122. For further analysis on Lunettes B to D reverses, including this coin, see Appendix 2, Table 2C.

Dies not known

Biarnwulf

See also Wessex-style coins.

AfL2.8. Repton no. 2 (1985) (illustrated Pagan 1987, 34, no. 3*) Lunettes B. 0.39 g, fragment 19 mm. *Obv:* IIIC, double-banded diadem. Wessex-style drapery. Inscription 3. *Rev.* (L)FMON/BIARNV/ETA * Also EMC 1986.0403. Ex Repton excavations 1985, found grave 529 with AfL.Ir3 and AL.Ir5. For further analysis of Lunettes B to D reverses, including this coin, see Appendix 2, Table 2C.

(Pl. 1, 28)

Dies A/a

Bureel

AfL2.9. Mack Collection (*SCBI* 20, no. 727).* Lunettes A. 0.74 g, badly chipped. 18 mm? *Obv.* IIIA, single-banded diadem. Two verticals in central panel. Inscription 2. *Rev.* MON/BUREEL/ETA Mack bought Matthews (1970); *NCirc* Mar. 1924 item 28876 'considerably damaged' offered at 5s.; ex Lower Dunsforth hoard (1861). Not in Mack sales, probably sold privately to Spink. Subsequently almost certainly *NCirc* Sep. 1985, 5735 'very corroded and chipped', offered at £100. Coin, especially obverse, may have deteriorated since illustration in *SCBI*.

Dies A/a

Cialbred

AfL2.10. Somerset County Museum, Taunton (*SCBI* 24, no. 382).* Lunettes D. 1.29 g. 18.5 mm. *Obv.* IIIC. Thin bust with double-banded diadem. Double curved lines between panels of tunic. Outer panels two horizontal bars, central panel one horizontal and one vertical bar. Inscription 2. *Rev.* MON/CIALBRED/ETA group of four(?) pellets. Somerset County Museum first catalogued in 1962, provenance uncertain. Interestingly the only other Alfred Lunettes coin in the Somerset County Museum is a different interpretation of the double-banded diadem of variant IIIC (Ethered *SCBI* 24, no. 383) in similar state of preservation. Pagan proposes that this coin forms part of a small hoard that was possibly deposited c.875.¹³⁵ For further analysis of Lunettes B to D reverses, including this coin, see Appendix 2, Table 2C.

(Pl. 1, 26)

Dies A/a

Cialulf

AfL2.11. Lincolnshire Museums Collections. Lunettes B. 0.90 g. Diameter not known. *Obv.* IVA, double-banded diadem. Drapery in Wessex style. Inscription 2. *Rev.* MON/CIALVLF/ETA Ex Walmsgate, Lincoln hoard (1985). For further analysis of Lunettes B to D reverses, including this coin, see Appendix 2, Table 2C.

Dies A/a

AfL2.12. EMC 1997.0126.* Lunettes D. 0.95 g. Diameter not known. *Obv.* IIIB, bold facial features and bonnet. Drapery with signs of hooping in outer panels. Inscription 3. *Rev.* MON/CIALVLF/ETA Found Girton, Cambs. For further analysis of Lunettes B to D reverses, including this coin, see Appendix 2, Table 2C.

(Pl. 1, 25)

Dies B/b

AfL2.13. BMC 177. Lunettes D. 1.21 g. 20 mm. *Obv.* IVB, bold bust with double-banded diadem. Hair ends pelleted. Central panel of drapery comprise one horizontal and one vertical bar. Inscription 3. *Rev.* FMO/CIALVL/ETA Ex Tyssen (1802), perhaps via Miles (1820). Illustrated Ruding 1840, Pl. 15 Alfred no. 4*. Metcalf and Northover 1985 note this coin is 12.10% 'silver', an alloy of predominantly silver mixed with very small quantities of gold and lead. Coin is also illustrated at Pl. 27, no. 102.* For further analysis of Lunettes B to D reverses, including this coin, see Appendix 2, Table 2C.

(Pl. 1, 35)

Dies C/c

¹³⁵ Pagan 1986b, 118, 119.

Cuthwulf

AfL2.14. British Museum. Lunettes B. wnr. 20 mm. Obv: III sub-variant not known. Inscription not known. Rev. **.MON./CV·DVLF··ETA** inverted trefoil of pellets. North Yorkshire hoard 2004.

Dies A/a

AfL2.15. *NCirc* Oct 1988, 6309* (offered at £950). Lunettes D. 0.90 g, chipped. 19 mm. **IVB**, although major chip at 5 o'clock removes detail of any pellet design at end of king's name. Double-banded diadem and pelleted hair. Central panel of tunic has two horizontal bars surmounting two vertical. Inscription 2. Rev. **FMON/·CV·DVLF/ETA** ∙ pointing left. The coin is discussed in Pagan and Stewart 1989 where the Mercian element is noted. For further analysis of Lunettes B to D reverses, including this coin, see Appendix 2, Table 2C.

Dies B/b

Dealine

AfL2.16. National Museum of Ireland. Lunettes A. wnr, corroded. 18.5 mm. *Obv.* III, sub-variant not known. Inscription 4. Rev. **··M(O)N.·/DEALINC/··ETA·** Ex 'Burgred' Ireland hoard (c.1870).

Dies A/a

Deigmund

AfL2.17. *BMC* 162. Lunettes A. 1.35 g. 19.5 mm. *Obv.* **IVB**, double-banded diadem, hair short strokes at right angle to diadem. Poorly executed bust. Wessex-style drapery. Sub-variant B crudely executed. Inscription 2 but letters of REX very indistinct. Rev. **HDMO./DEIGMV./HETA**. Ex Gravesend hoard (1838). **(Pl. 1, 33)**

Dies A/a

Denewald

AfL2.18. British Museum, bought Seaby 1957. Lunettes A. 1.24 g, approximately 20% of coin missing from top left. 18.5 mm. *Obv.* **V**, 'vertical' bust, single-banded diadem. Central drapery panel an inverted **V** not quite closed at the top. Inscription 14. Rev. **(D)MON/DEHEPAL··ETA·** Thick 'blocky' lettering. **(Pl. 2, 41)**

Dies A/a

AfL2.19. *NCirc*, Mar. 1992, 864* offered at £850. Lunettes A. 1.41 g. 19 mm. *Obv.* **IVB**, double-banded diadem, pelleted hair. Central panel has two vertical lines. Inscription 3. Rev. **.DMON./DENEVAL/ETA·** Ex *NCirc* May 1978, 6343* ('choice' offered at £850); *NCirc*, Apr. 1927, 66997 (FDC offered at £4 5s.); *NCirc* Mar. 1925, 38445; *NCirc* Jan. 1924, 27248; *NCirc* Nov. 1918, 67293; Fitch (1918); Allen (1898), 185, described as 'leaden looking' in manuscript by Lincoln, a principal London dealer in the early 20th century, in a copy of the Allen catalogue in the possession of one of the authors (Lyons). Croydon 1862 (illustrated Corbet Anderson 9*, listed Blunt and Dolley 1959, 229 no. 148).

Dies B/b

Dudd

There is also a coin weight recorded with the same reverse die as AfL 2.22 and 2.23. See also irregular coins of Dudda.

AfL2.20. Carlyon Britton (1916), 927* (bought Daniels £3). Lunettes A. 1.36 g. 18.5 mm. *Obv.* **IVB**, double-banded diadem, pelleted hair. Wessex drapery. Inscription 9. Rev. **.MON./·DVDD/··ETA·** Ex Evans (1908). Croydon No. 2 hoard (1862) (Illustrated Corbet Anderson no. 1*, listed Blunt and Dolley 1959, 229 no. 150). Also possibly, in view of condition, Shand (1949), 315, sold for £9 5s., and *NCirc* May 1949, 12360 'extremely fine' offered at £11 5s.

Dies A/a

AfL2.21 Goldberg Auctions May 2008 212* (sold for \$5250). Lunettes A 1.17 g. diameter not known *Obv.* **IVB**, double-banded diadem, pelleted hair. Central panel of drapery has two horizontal over two vertical bars. Inscription 4. Rev. similar to AfL 2.20. Overall coin very similar in appearance to AfL 2.20. Ex Davissons Auction 3 (3 May 1994) 156 where noted, 'A small group of these appeared on the market last year. This piece is one of the best.' Possible coins are identified in the hoards section (Table 1A) under the Barkby Thorpe hoard (1987).

Dies: B/b

AfL2.22. CNG Triton V (16 Jan. 2002), 2436* sold for \$2300. Lunettes A. 1.15 g. 17 mm. *Obv.* **V**, 'vertical' bust, single-banded diadem. Central drapery panel an inverted **V** not quite closed at top, outer panels two hooped horizontals. Inscription 21. Rev. **··MON.·/·DVDD/··ETA·** Ex Lavertine (1998), 1668*; *SCMB* Jan. 1987, E66* offered at £900; Bird (1974), 91* (sold for £500); London collector (Glendining 19 Dec. 1934), 145 sold for £2 15s.; Parsons (1929), 91* (bought Spink 4 gns); Bearman (1922); Montagu (1895), 549; Addington (1883); Lewin-Sheppard (1861), 102 (bought Addington £9). Illustrated Ruding 1840 Pl. H, 43.* It is not clear from Ruding 1840 who is the owner of the coin, although Mr Cuff and Colonel Durrant are both acknowledged in the preface for the plate on which the coin appears.

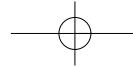
Dies C/c

AfL2.23. Duddington hoard (1994–5). Lunettes A. wnr. 17 mm. Die duplicate of AfL2.22.

Dies C/c

Murchison (1866) 182 ·DVDD/MON/ETA trefoil of pellets.

Croydon No. 2 hoard (1862), listed Blunt and Dolley 1959, 229 no. 151. Lunettes A. Obv: ?/ 2, Rev: MON/·DVDD·ETA·. Similar to Carlyon Britton (1916) 927.

**Dudin(c)**

AfL2.24. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (MEC 1346). Lunettes A. 1.03 g, slightly chipped. 18 mm. *Obv. IVB*, double-banded diadem and pelleted hair. Wessex pattern drapery. Inscription 2. *Rev. MON+DVDIN/ETA.** Lewis (1891), bought Tunbridge Wells, 2 Jul. 1872. Croydon No. 2 hoard (1862), listed Blunt and Dolley 1959, 229 no. 152.
Dies A/a

Dudwine

See also Irregular coin.

AfL2.25. William Salt Library, Stafford (SCBI 17, no. 117).* Lunettes A. 1.11 g. 17.5 mm. *Obv. IIIB*, single-banded diadem. Wessex pattern drapery. Inscription 3. *Rev. MOH./DVDLINE/ETA* inverted trefoil of pellets. Ex Beeston Tor. Gift of W.H. Bowers 1958 who bought it in Grindon, Staffs., 1925. Stated to be ex Beeston Tor hoard (1924). Not in Brooke 1924.
Dies A/a

EMC 1983.0010. Lunettes C. Barrow-on-Humber excavations. Also Blackburn, Collyer, Dolley 1983, table 2:13 and Pagan 1986b 19 (where stated to be Barton-on-Humber).

Duinc (possibly Dunninc)

AfL2.26. BMC 178. Lunettes D. 1.02 g. 21 mm. *Obv. IIIB*, single-banded diadem. Two verticals in central drapery panel. Inscription 2. *Rev. MON+DVINC/ETA.** Provenance not known. BMC catalogue omits initial cross in second line of inscription. For further analysis of Lunettes B to D reverses, including this coin, see Appendix 2, Table 2C.
(Pl. 1, 23)

Dies A/a

Dunn

See also Wessex-style coins.

AfL2.27. NCirc Jul. 1992 item 4164.* (offered at £800). Lunettes A. 1.25 g. 18 mm. *Obv. IVB*, double-banded diadem and pelleted hair. Wessex pattern drapery but straight shoulders and second vertical in central panel. Inscription 2. *Rev. MON+DVNN/ETA.** Ex NCirc Oct. 1991, 6462* (very fine, offered at £1250).
Dies A/a

Ealhere

See also Wessex-style coin.

AfL2.28. Verulamium Museum, St Albans (SCBI 42, no. 737).* Lunettes A. 0.64 g, chipped. 18 mm. *Obv. IVB*, double-banded diadem, bust reminiscent of Group 1 variant IIIB coins. Drapery not visible. Sub-variant B crude style. Inscription 4. *Rev. MON/EALHERE/ETA* Ex Abbey Orchard, St Albans hoard (1968).
Dies A/a

Ealmeit

AfL2.29. NCirc Oct. 1995, 5515* (Very fine, offered at £600). Lunettes C. 1.21 g. 19 mm. *Obv. IVB*, double-banded diadem bent towards top distorting profile. Central panel of drapery two vertical bars surmounted by two horizontal bars, right panel two bars, left panel blank. Sub variant B crude style. Inscription 22. *Rev. MON/EALMET/ETA* For further analysis of Lunettes B to D reverses, including this coin, see Appendix 2, Table 2C.
Dies A/a

Elelaf

AfL2.30. BMA 462. Lunettes A. 1.16 g. 20 mm. *Obv. V*, 'vertical' bust and single banded diadem. Central panel of drapery has 'T' with two pellets below. Inscription 23. *Rev. MON/ELELAF/ETA*. Ex Beeston Tor hoard (1924), Brooke 1924, no. 36.
Dies A/a

Ealmund

AfL2.31. Ebay 4 Sep. 2006 seller Hidden History. Lunettes D. wnr, coin chipped. Diameter not known. *Obv. IVD*, distinctive Wessex features in bust cut to a similar pattern as a variant I but somewhat coarser, with no bonnet and a double-banded diadem. Wessex pattern drapery. Inscription 24. *Rev. NDMO/EALM* in East Anglian style *V/NETA* Too distinctive to be a forgery, use of East Anglian M on rev. may indicate east Mercian mint location. This moneyer, transcribed Ealhmund, also known for an irregular Lunettes D of Æthelred I (Lyons and MacKay 2007 Corpus Ae3.13). Stated by seller to be found Norfolk c.2006.
Dies A/a

Etheleah

See also Wessex-style coins.

AfL2.32. British Museum, T.G. Barnett bequest 1935. Lunettes C. 1.34 g. 20 mm. *Obv. IIIA*, single banded diadem. Wessex style drapery but with single horizontal bar in central panel. Inscription 2. *Rev. HMO/EÐELEA/ETA* Almost certainly NCirc Mar. 1919 item 70755 offered at £5 'in perfect preservation and one of a series of coins from important collections.' Thorburn (1918), 52 and Montagu (1895), 547. For further analysis of Lunettes B to D reverses, including this coin, see Appendix 2, Table 2C.
Dies A/a

Ethelgar

Afl2.33. Lyons Lunettes D 0.55 g, only 50% of coin extant. 20 mm (coin is on same size flan as the Luhinc Afl2.43). *Obv. IVD*, thin bust with pelleted hair, no bonnet and a double-banded diadem. Central panel of drapery has one vertical bar with single horizontal bars top and bottom. Inscription 11. *Rev. RM(O)E-DEL(GA)/NETA* Ex Suffolk find 2008. (Pl. 2, 40)

Dies A/a

Ethelhere

Afl2.34. BMA 459. Lunettes A. 1.57 g. 19 mm. *Obv. IVB*, double-banded diadem, pelleted hair. Central panel of drapery two vertical bars below two horizontal bars. Sub-variant B crude style. Inscription 3. *Rev. .MON/E-DELERE/ETA* inverted trefoil of pellets. Beeston Tor hoard (1924), Brooke 1924, no. 34. (Pl. 2, 37)

Dies A/a

Afl2.35. BMA 460. Lunettes C. 1.11 g. 19.5 mm. *Obv. V*, loosely drawn face but essentially 'vertical' bust, single-banded diadem. Central drapery panel an inverted V not quite closed at the top, hooped bars in side panel. Inscription 7. *Rev. MON/EDELERE/ETA* Ex Beeston Tor hoard (1924): Brooke 1924: no. 47. For further analysis of Lunettes B to D reverses, including this coin, see Appendix 2, Table 2C. (Pl. 2, 42)

Dies B/b

Ethelstan

Afl2.36. Duddington hoard (1994-5). Lunettes D. wnr. 20 mm. *Obv. IVC*, head in 'Wessex' style, double-banded diadem surmounted by small crescent. Hair in two rows of dots and hoops. Wessex style drapery. Inscription 24. *Rev. NMO/E-DELSTA/NETA* For further analysis of Lunettes B to D reverses, including this coin, see Appendix 2, Table 2C.

Dies A/a

Ethelwulf

See also Wessex-style coins.

Afl2.37. Rose (1974), 80* (sold for £400). Lunettes D. wnr, coin a little chipped. 18 mm. *Obv. IIIC*, double-banded diadem. Drapery in Wessex style but panel dividers between central and outer panels hooped inwards. Inscription 2. *Rev. MON .: ' above 'O/E-DELVLF/ETA* The Rose auction catalogue hints that the reverse is die-linked to a coin of this moneyer in the name of Burgred in the same sale (lot 67). Unfortunately the Burgred coin is not illustrated. For further analysis of Lunettes B to D reverses, including this coin, see Appendix 2, Table 2C.

Dies A/a

Afl2.38. Duddington hoard (1994-5). Lunettes D. wnr. 20 mm. *Obv. IVC*, head in 'Wessex' style, double banded diadem surmounted by small crescent, tuft of hair before. Hair in two rows of dots and hoops. Wessex style drapery. Inscription 24. *Rev. MON/E-DELVLF/ETA* For further analysis of Lunettes B to D reverses, including this coin, see Appendix 2, Table 2C.

Dies B/b

Ethered

See also Wessex-style coins.

Afl2.39. Somerset County Museum, Taunton (SCBI 24, no. 383).* Lunettes B. 1.06 g. 18.5 mm. *Obv. IIIC*, double-banded diadem with elongated bust on spindly thin neck. Central panel comes to a point and has one horizontal and two vertical bars. Inscription 2. *Rev. MON/E-DERED/ETA* Somerset County Museum first catalogued in 1962, provenance uncertain. Interestingly the only other Alfred Lunettes coin in the Somerset County Museum (Cialbred, SCBI 24, no. 382) is a different interpretation of the double-banded diadem variant IIIC in similar state of preservation. Pagan proposes that this coin forms part of a small hoard that was possibly deposited c.875.¹³⁶ For further analysis of Lunettes B to D reverses, including this coin, see Appendix 2, Table 2C. (Pl. 1, 27)

Dies A/a

Afl2.40. Coats Collection, University of Glasgow (SCBI 2, no. 562).* Lunettes D. 1.09 g. 18 mm. *Obv. IIIC*, double-banded diadem. Although in Wessex pattern, drapery dividers between central and outer panels curve inwards. Inscription 3. *Rev: MON/E-DERED/ETA* Coats collection, bought in 1870s. For further analysis of Lunettes B to D reverses, including this coin, see Appendix 2, Table 2C.

Dies B/b

Heafreth

See also Wessex-style coin.

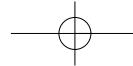
Afl2.41. Duddington hoard (1994-5). Lunettes A. wnr. 17 mm. *Obv. IVB*, double-banded diadem. Drapery Wessex pattern but two vertical bars in central panel. Inscription 2. *Rev. ÐMON/HEAFRE/ETA .: ' above 'A* Dies A/a

Healf?

*Croydon No. 2 hoard (1862) bought Allen. 'This coin (reading HEALF MONETA) has unluckily crumbled to pieces; Mr Allen still retains the fragments.'*¹³⁷ Listed as Hea(wu)lf in Blunt and Dolley 1959, 229 no. 160.

¹³⁶ Pagan 1986b, 118, 119.

¹³⁷ Corbet Anderson 1877, 144.



Herebald

See also Wessex-style coins.

AfL2.42. Herriot (2004) 16* sold for £360. Lunettes B. 0.96 g, chipped. 18 mm. *Obv. IIIC*, double-banded diadem with colander shaped helmet. Wessex style drapery. Inscription 4. *Rev. LDMO/HEREB(A?)/NETA* Chipped and extensively corroded. 'Recent find Thames Exchange', offered at £275. Ex NCirc May 1989, 2501.* For further analysis of Lunettes B to D reverses, including this coin, see Appendix 2, Table 2C.

Dies A/a

Gainford, Durham hoard (1864). Lunettes D. Obv. ?/9 Rev: DMO/()REBALD/NETA coin damaged. Noted Pagan 1967 and 1987 as Lunettes C. Thompson 1956 suggests this coin is Lunettes A but he is consistently wrong on identifying the reverses of this hoard. To cause further confusion NC iv (1864) 225 states coin is similar to Ruding 1840 pl. XV no. 4, a Lunettes D (the coin illustrated in Ruding is AfL2.13/BMC 177 of Cialulf above). In view of the fact that a coin of Sigeric, undoubtedly from Gainford, is identified by reverse type from Ruding 1840, we favour Lunettes D. Noted in NC iv (1864) as in possession of Revd Edelston, vicar of Gainford.

Luhinc

See also Wessex-style coins.

AfL2.43. Lyons. Lunettes D. 1.02 g. 20 mm. *Obv. IVD*, thin bust, pelleted hair, no bonnet and a double-banded diadem. Central panel of drapery contains a rectangle with a vertical pellet inside. Inscription 24. *Rev. MON/LVHINC/ETA*: Ex DNW (20 Jun. 2007) 858* sold for £1300; ex NCirc May 1994, 3201* offered at £495.

(Pl. 2, 39)

Dies A/a

Manninc

See also Wessex-style coins.

AfL2.44. BMC 176. Lunettes C but not indented at top right. 0.99 g, small chip at 6 o'clock. 19 mm. *Obv. IIIB*, single-banded diadem. Central panel of drapery with single vertical bar and single horizontal bar, outer panels three horizontal bars. Inscription 2. *Rev. MOfour pellets aroundN/MANNINC/ETA* Reverse only illustrated in Keary and Greuber (1887) Pl. VI no. 4*. Ex Hook Norton hoard (1848). Metcalf and Northover 1985 note this coin is 18.50% 'silver', an alloy of predominantly silver mixed with very small quantities of gold and lead. Coin is also illustrated at Pl. 27, no. 99.* For further analysis of Lunettes B to D reverses, including this coin, see Appendix 2, Table 2C.

(Pl. 1, 24)

Dies A/a

Osgeard

See also Wessex-style coin.

AfL2.45. Duddington hoard (1994–5). Lunettes D. wnr. 19.5 mm. *Obv. IVC*, head in 'Wessex' style, double-banded diadem surmounted by crescent. Hair in two rows of dots and hoops. Wessex-style drapery. Inscription 2. *Rev. DMON pellet over O/OSGEAR/ETA* For further analysis of Lunettes B to D reverses, including this coin, see Appendix 2, Table 2C.

Dies A/a

Sigeric

AfL2.46. Spink auction 183 (26 Sep. 2006), 10.* Lunettes B. 1.09 g. 19 mm. *Obv. IVB*, double-banded diadem and pelleted hair. Drapery in Wessex style but two vertical bars in central panel. Inscription 12. *Rev. MON/SIGERIC/ETA.*: Ex NCirc Aug. 2005, HS2146* (offered at £1050). Almost certainly Gainford (1864) and ex Rev. Edelstone, vicar of Gainford.

The editor of *Archeologia Aeliana*, Longstaffe, who looked at the coins recorded two pellets instead of a trefoil which is unmistakeable on this coin.¹³⁸ Although Longstaffe was a careful observer and noted numismatist it must be noted that a two-pellet formation is not encountered on Lunettes coins and may just be a mis-transcription. Interestingly there are parallel problems with the description of the coin of Hildefrith from the hoard that is currently not located (see note above AfL1.90).

Spink sale catalogue notes that the coin is of uneven coppery tone reflecting original surface enrichment. For further analysis of Lunettes B to D reverses, including this coin, see Appendix 2, Table 2C.

Dies A/a

Sigestef

See also Wessex-style coins.

AfL2.47. BMC 168. Lunettes A. 1.01 g. 19 mm. *Obv. IIIA*, single-banded diadem one tuft of hair in front. Central drapery panel one horizontal over two vertical bars, outer panels two hooped bars. Inscription 10. *Rev. FMO/SIGE2 TE/NETA*.*: Ex Hook Norton hoard (1848).

(Pl. 1, 20)

Dies A/a

¹³⁸ See Pagan 1967.

AfL2.48. Clonterbrook Trust (1974), 30*. Lunettes B. 1.19 g (wt derived from Clonterbrook). 19 mm. *Obv. IIIA*, single-banded diadem, two tufts of hair in front. Wessex style drapery but only one horizontal bar in central panel. Inscription 2. *Rev. MON/SIEGSTEF/ETA* Ex Lockett (1960), 3630*; Grantley (1944), 998 (sold for £11 10s.); Montagu (1895), 546 ('very fine and extremely rare'); Archdeacon Pownall (1887) 38. Possibly Bank of England (1877) 30 and Austen (died 1797). Pagan 1987 queries that this coin might be a cast but if so it cannot be taken from AfL2.49/BMC 175. Although this comment may have been as a consequence of this coin being somewhat coarser in appearance than AfL2.49/BMC 175 this is almost certainly due to the fact that this coin is struck from dies that are more worn. Key differences are that the damage to the inner rings of the obverse is completely different and the Lockett obverse is double struck at 4 o'clock (AfL2.49/BMC 175 is not). For further analysis of Lunettes B to D reverses, including this coin, see Appendix 2, Table 2C.

Dies B/b.

AfL2.49. *BMC* 175. Lunettes B. 1.37 g. 19 mm. Same dies as AfL2.48/Lockett (1960) 3630. Ex Tyssen (1802); Southgate (1795). Illustrated Ruding (1840) Pl. 15, Alfred no. 5.* Metcalf and Northover 1985 note this coin is 15.90% 'silver', an alloy of predominantly silver mixed with very small quantities of gold and lead. Coin is also illustrated at pl. 27, no. 100.* For further analysis of Lunettes B to D reverses, including this coin, see Appendix 2, Table 2C. (Pl. 1, 21)

Dies B/b

Tata¹³⁹

AfL2.50. *BMC* 172 (obverse illustrated Greuber and Keary 1887 Pl. VI, 2*). Lunettes A. 1.23 g. 19 mm. *Obv. V*, 'vertical' bust with single banded diadem, hair represented by two rows of hoops. Central panel of drapery has one vertical bar leaning right, outer panels each two hooped bars. Inscription 19. *Rev. .MON. .+TATA. .+ETA.* The whole in very thick block lettering. Higgs (1830) 124. Illustrated in Hawkins 1841, pl. XXIII no. 171.* (Pl. 2, 43)

Dies A/a

AfL2.51. Verulamium Museum, St Albans (*SCBI* 42, no. 748).* Lunettes A. 0.73 g, chipped. 18 mm. *Obv. V*, 'vertical' bust with single-banded diadem, hair represented by single row of curls. Drapery design difficult to assess but central panel seems to comprise two verticals only. Inscription 13. *Rev.* similar to AfL2.50/BMC 172 and again rendered in thick block lettering. Ex Abbey Orchard, St Albans hoard (1968).

Dies B/b

AfL2.52. *NCirc* Nov. 1990, 6820.* Lunettes B. wnr, but chipped. 18.5 mm. *Obv. IIIC*, double-banded diadem. Drapery has some reference to Wessex pattern but central panel of two horizontal and one vertical bars merged together, outer panels two bars. Inscription 2. *Rev. .MON./+TATA. .+ETA.* For further analysis of Lunettes B to D reverses, including this coin, see Appendix 2, Table 2C.

Dies C/c

AfL2.53. MacKay (collection reference 08/02). Lunettes C. 1.17 g. 18 mm. *Obv. IIIA*, single-banded diadem. Wessex-style drapery. Inscription 27. *Rev. MON/TATA/ETA* Ex CNG, 14 May 2008, 2136, \$2750; ex CNG (8 Dec 1993), 662* (good very fine, estimated at \$1250). For further analysis of Lunettes B to D reverses, including this coin, see Appendix 2, Table 2C. (Pl. 1, 22)

Dies D/d

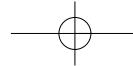
Tilefein

Greuber and Keary 1887 also suggest Tileuine, but this is probably Tilewine, a moneyer for the London Monogram type.

¹³⁹ There are also five forgeries (see Blunt and Thompson 1958 and Pagan 1972) that seem to have been inspired by AfL2.50/BMC 172. All use the same dies based on a crude interpretation of the 'Vertical' bust Variant V with a Lunettes A reverse. All have inscription 28 and a complex reverse reading of: .MON. .+TATA. .+ETA. The obverse is linked to additional forgeries in the names of moneyers Lude, Oeamer and Osric (further details in Pagan 1972).

1. Fitzwilliam Museum (*SCBI* 1, no. 992 and *MEC* 1496)* 1.15 g. 19 mm. Ex Henderson (1933), possibly *NCirc* Nov. 22 item 11968 (FDC offered at £6 10s.), Murdoch (1903) 83 bought Rollin £8, Montagu (1895) 548 'extremely fine and rare with this title of king', Shepherd (1885) 69 (bought Rollin £14 10s.). The Shepherd cataloguer presumed that the M-X represented the epithet *maximus*. This coin also illustrated in Blunt and Thompson (1958) at Pl. 1, 9*.
2. *SCBI* 2, no. 1237* Bought through Burns (1879), ex Yorke Moore (1879) 70.
3. Grantley (1944) 996* sold for £12 10s. stating the same Murdoch and Montagu provenance as *SCBI* 1, no. 992. Subsequently *NCirc* Aug.–Sep. 1947 item 51738 offered at £15 15s.
4. Drabble (1943) 837* (1.16 g weight derived from *NCirc*) This coin was auctioned after Grantley's death. It seems to be an identical coin and claims the same Murdoch and Montagu provenance as the coins above. Subsequently *NCirc* Dec. 1947 'extremely fine/FDC' offered at £16 10s.
5. Lockett (withdrawn and not in Lockett sales) whose manuscript notes records a provenance Watters (1917) 47 (obverse illustrated*) 49, Murdoch (1903) 84 (bought Watters £8), Richardson (1895) 33 (sold for £4 15s.), Marsham-Townsend (1888) 144 (sold for £8 15s.).

Finally there is a coin in *NCirc* May 1920 (Crompton Roberts. FDC and offered at £7 10s.) 81341, giving an unlikely provenance of Cotton (1889), Brice, Montagu (1895) and Nunn (1896). This coin could be either 3 or 4.



AfL2.54. *BMC* 170*. Lunettes A. 1.26 g. 19 mm. *Obv. IVB*, a very poorly constructed bust with two bands of diadem not even in parallel. Drapery in Wessex pattern but engraved in crude Mercian style. Sub-variant B crude style. Inscription 16. *Rev. EMONT/TILEFEIN/ETA* :: Illustrated Grueber and Keary 1887 Pl. VI.* Dolley and Strudwick, 1958 state provenance as Miscellaneous, presumably Sotheby, sale (1842) 50.

Dies A/a

(Pl. 1, 32)

Tirwald

See also Wessex-style coins.

AfL2.55. Verulamium Museum, St Albans (*SCBI* 42, no. 749).* Lunettes A. 0.96 g, chipped. *Obv. IVB*, double-banded diadem, pelleted hair. Drapery would appear to be a separate central panel with one vertical bar below to horizontal drapery, outer panels two bars. Sub-variant B crude style. Inscription 7. *Rev. .DMO/TIRVAL/.NETA*. Ex Abbey Orchard, St Albans hoard (1968).

Dies A/a

AfL2.56. Bonhams (22 May 2005) 82.* Lunettes A. wnr. Diameter not known. *Obv. IVB*, double banded diadem, pelleted hair. Central panel of drapery two horizontal and two vertical bars. Inscription 2. *Rev. .MON/TIRVAL/ETA*.

Dies B/b

Tirwulf

See also Wessex-style coin.

AfL2.57. Verulamium Museum, St Albans (*SCBI* 42, no. 751)* Lunettes A. 0.78 g, extensively chipped. 18 mm. *Obv. IVB*, big bust with double-banded diadem, drapery clearly anomalous but difficult to identify from *SCBI*. Sub-variant B crude style. Inscription 4. *Rev. .MON/TIRVVLF/ETA* inverted cone of six pellets. Ex Abbey Orchard, St Albans hoard (1968).

Dies A/a

AfL2.58 Barratt (c.1820s) Lunettes D. wnr. Diameter not known. *Obv. IVA*, central panel of drapery one horizontal above two vertical bars. Inscription 25. *Rev. .MON/TIRVULF/ETA*. Mr. Barratt's copy of Ruding owned by Dr Lyon has a hand-drawn, but self-evidently accurate, illustration of this coin on an inserted sheet headed 'Specimens in the collection of Joseph Barratt.'

(Pl. 1, 29)

Dies B/b

Winberht

AfL2.59. Verulamium Museum, St Albans (*SCBI* 42, no. 752).* Lunettes A. 0.88 g, extensively chipped. 18.5 mm. *Obv. IVB*, big bust with double-banded diadem. Drapery central panel has two horizontals and two verticals. Sub-variant B crude style. Inscription 2. *Rev. .MON/VINBERT/ETA* ::. Ex Abbey Orchard, St Albans hoard (1968).

(Pl. 1, 34)

Wine

See also Wessex-style coins.

AfL2.60. BMA 473. Lunettes A. 1.28 g. 20 mm. *Obv. IVA*, double-banded diadem, hair without pellets. Double vertical pellets in central panel of drapery. Inscription 5. *Obv. as BMA 434. Rev. .MON/VV.IHE/ETA* :: Ex Beeston Tor hoard (1924), Brooke 1924, no. 43.

(Pl. 1, 30)

Dies A (also links to Biarnred AfL2.6/BMA 454)/a

AfL2.61. Duddington hoard (1994-5). Lunettes B. wnr. 18 mm. *Obv. IIIC*, double-banded diadem surmounted by very small crescent. Central panel two horizontal and two vertical bars, outer panels two hoops. Inscription 2. *Rev. MON/VVINE.:/ETA* For further analysis of Lunettes B to D reverses, including this coin, see Appendix 2, Table 2C.

Dies B/b

Wulfheard

See also Wessex-style and Irregular coins.

AfL2.62. *BMC* 171. Lunettes A. 1.12 g, broken. 19 mm. *Obv. IVB*, double-banded diadem with straight pelleted hair, one tuft of hair in front of diadem. Two horizontal surmounting two vertical bars in central panel of drapery. Inscription 4. *Rev. .MOH.:/VVLFARD.:/ETA* :: Ex Tyssen (1802). Illustrated Ruding Pl. 15, Alfred 3.* Pl. 2, 38)

Dies A/a

AfL2.63. Verulamium Museum, St Albans (*SCBI* 42, no. 753)* Lunettes A. 0.82 g, broken in two pieces with substantial sections missing. Diameter cannot be ascertained. *Obv. IVB*, double-banded diadem. Drapery central panel three(?) vertical lines, outer panel (only one remains) two horizontals. Sub-variant B crude style. Inscription 22. *Rev. similar to BMC 171 but single pellet in place of trefoil at end of first line*. Ex Abbey Orchard, St Albans hoard (1968).

Dies B/b

AfL2.64. Blunt collection, Fitzwilliam Museum (Blunt 345).* Lunettes A. wnr, extensively chipped, so much so that original size of coin difficult to ascertain. Diameter is small in 17 mm range. *Obv. V*, 'vertical' bust, single-banded diadem, two tufts of hair. A vertical bar in central panel of drapery. Side panels have hooped bars. Inscription 20. *Rev. DMON/VVLFER.:/ETA* ::. Ex Grantley (1944) 999c, sold with Group 1 coins of Dariel and

Hebeca, also to Blunt, for £4; Briggs (1893) 195; almost certainly Lindsay (1867), 45 bought Lincoln and described as 'fractured'.

Dies C/c

AfL2.65. *NCirc* Apr. 1992, 1771* (very fine, offered at £975). Lunettes A. 1.28 g. 18.5 mm. *Obv.* V, 'vertical' bust, single banded diadem, hair without pellets. Drapery similar to AfL2.64/Blunt 345. Inscription 20. *Rev.* .DMON/VVLFEAR/ETA inverted cone of six pellets. Coin discussed in Pagan 1991.

Dies D/d

Irregular coins

Denemund

AfL.Ir1. National Museum of Wales. Lunettes B. wnr. 18.5 mm. *Obv.* Group 2, irregular (c). Very small head and overlarge drapery. Outer panels of drapery have a distinctive three hoops pattern. Inscription 2. *Rev.* NDMON/DENEMV/NETA Ex Drabble (1939), 383 coin stated to be chipped; ex Ready (1920) 82. Could possibly be Sotheby (23 May 1849) 101 'From the Oxford *trouvaile* of 1848, very rare and well preserved' and thus Hook Norton hoard (1848).¹⁴⁰ Could also possibly be Sotheby (19 Oct. 1878) 457 'edge chipped but very fine, dark toned.' Metcalf and Northover 1985 note this coin is 10.70% 'silver', an alloy of predominantly silver mixed with very small quantities of gold and lead. Coin is also illustrated at Pl. 27, no. 101*. (Pl. 2, 46)

Dies A/a

Diara

See also Wessex-style coin.

AfL.Ir2 EMC 1998.0092.* Lunettes D. wnr. Diameter not known. *Obv.* Group 1, irregular (b). The lettering is distinctive, for example the A of AELBRED is not standard, and the bust, notably the eye, which on most Wessex coins is circled, is rendered as a dot and there is only a point for the mouth rather than two lips. Inscription 2. *Rev.* MON/DIARA . /ETA Although cut in an approximation of Wessex style this coin is considered a Mercian-produced coin almost certainly produced outside London. Found Riby, Lincs. with a coin of Elbere (EMC 1998.0093) (Pl. 2, 45)

Dies A/a

Diarelm

See also Wessex-style coins of Diara.

AfL.Ir3. Repton no. 2 (1985) (illustrated Pagan 1987, 34, no. 5*). Lunettes D. 0.59 g, chipped and broken in two. 19 mm. *Obv.* Group 2, irregular (f), very distorted bust reminiscent of Burgred types with the large 'fish eyes'. Double-banded diadem, short hair at right angles to diadem. Very large eye and mouth pointing downwards. Tunic central panel has two horizontal bars with vertical between, outer panels two hooped bars. Inscription 18. *Rev.* MMON/DIAREL/ETA Ex Repton excavations 1985, found grave 529 with AfL2.8 and AfL.Ir5. (Pl. 2, 49)

Dies A/a

Dudda

See also Mercian-style coins of Dudda.

AfL.Ir4. Fitzwilliam Museum (SCBI 1, no. 542)* Lunettes C. 0.87 g, chipped. 17 mm. *Obv.* Group 1, irregular (a), a very barbarous bust. Single diadem, spiky hair. No mouth. Wessex drapery in coarse style. Inscription 15. *Rev.* MON/DDVDA/ETA Bought from Sadd (Cambridge dealer), date not known. MEC notes this coin as, 'Barbarous work, contemporary imitation?' (Pl. 2, 51)

Dies A/a

AfL.Ir5. Repton no. 2 (1985) (illustrated Pagan 1987, 34, no. 4*). Lunettes C. 0.48 g, chipped. 17 mm. Group 1, irregular (a). Same dies AfL.Ir4/SCBI 1, no. 542. Ex Repton excavations 1985, found grave 529 with AfL2.8 and AfL.Ir3. (Pl. 2, 52)

Dies A/a

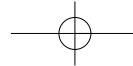
Dudwine

See also Mercian-style coin.

AfL.Ir6. Repton no. 1 (1982) 3381 (illustrated in Blackburn 1986, 115 no. 5*). Lunettes D. 0.71 g, chipped and obverse corroded. 20 mm. *Obv.* Group 2, irregular (e), 'vertical' bust with single banded diadem. Hair indistinct. Central panel of tunic is highly irregular, a St Andrew's cross with pellets in each angle surmounted by a horizontal line of three pellets. Outer panels two hooped bars. Inscription 26. *Rev.* NEMON, horizontal line of three pellets over MO and a crescent(?) over the M (but this may just be poor die-cutting or a die occlusion)/DVDVI. . /ETA (assumed . ., as chip obscures). Trefoil of pellets pointing upwards between T and A. Metcalf and Northover 1985 note this coin is 18.42% 'silver', an alloy of predominantly silver mixed with very small quantities of gold and lead. Coin is also illustrated at Pl. 27, no. 103*. Ex Repton mass-burial site. (Pl. 2, 48)

Dies A/a

¹⁴⁰ This coin is an addition to the list in Blunt and Dolley 1959; see Biddle *et al.* 1987, 26 n.39.

**Duni**

AfLIr7. CNG Mail Bid 69 (8 June 2005), 2107* (sold for \$1000). Lunettes A. 1.24 g, slightly ragged flan. Diameter not known. *Obv.* Group 2, irregular (d), single-banded diadem. Drapery has three horizontal bars in central panel, two hooped bars in outer panels. Very thick cut letters. Inscription 11. *Rev.* MON/DVNI inverted/ETA in very thick cut letters. (Pl. 2, 47)

Dies A/a

Eadred

AfLIr8. EMC 2000.0317.* Lunettes C. 0.90 g, corroded and cracked. 18 mm. *Obv.* Group 2, irregular (g). Highly irregular, very coarse thick cut style. Over-large nose and spiky hair. Wessex-pattern drapery. Inscription 17. *Rev.* MON/EADRE/ETA Found Southwell, Notts. Also recorded BNJ Coin Register 2003, no.153*. (Pl. 2, 50)

Dies A/a

Herewulf

See also Wessex-style coins.

AfLIr9. Ashmolean Museum (SCBI 9, no. 246).* Lunettes A. 0.93 g, chipped and creased. 18 mm. *Obv.* Group I, irregular (a). SCBI image seems to lack any bonnet. However illustration in Metcalf and Northover clearly shows a bonnet. Inscription 2. *Rev.* MO line of three pellets above N/HEREVLF/ETA Gift of Dr East, 1948, found Princeethorpe, Warwickshire (no date given). Metcalf and Northover 1985 note this coin is 24.00% 'silver', an alloy of predominantly silver mixed with very small quantities of gold and lead. Coin is also illustrated at Pl. 27, no. 96*. (Pl. 2, 44)

Dies A/a

Wulfheard

See also Mercian and Wessex-style coins.

AfLIr10. Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg (SCBI 50, no. 194).* Lunettes A. 0.91 g, with very small chip. 17.5 mm. *Obv.* Group 1, irregular (a), single-banded diadem. Wessex-pattern drapery but with only one horizontal in central panel. Inscription 2, bold lettering. *Rev.* DMON/VVELFEAR/ETA Looks to be base metal, also coin is unusually worn. Ex Reichel (1858), coin is a manuscript addition in 1843 catalogue.

Dies A/a

Unidentified or Uncertain Moneyers

AfLU1. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (MEC 1351).* Lunettes A. 0.36 g, coin in two parts possibly of two coins. Diameter not known. *Obv.* III?/5. *Rev.* []ON/[]/[]ETA Ex Lewis (1891), bought Tunbridge Wells 2 Jul. 1872. Croydon No. 2 hoard (1862). The drapery of the neck of the bust has two vertical bars and there is evidence of a bonnet. This points to a coin of Variant III, Sub-variant C.

AfLU2. Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge (MEC 1350A).* Lunettes D. 0.40 g, coin less than 50% complete. Diameter not known. *Obv.* Head missing. III?/nk. The obverse has the characteristic layout of a Variant III coin, see Bureel (SCBI 20, no. 727) for similar. *Rev.* []DMO/[]MV/NETA. Could quite plausibly be Denemund who is known for Variant III or possibly Deigmund, Ealmund or less likely Ethelmund who is only known for Wessex-style coins. From excavations at Great Shelford, Cambs. 1980, now Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

AfLU3. Lincolnshire Archaeological Trust (SCBI 27, no. 1945).* Lunettes A. 0.40 g, fragment. Diameter not known. *Obv.* I or II/inscription appears to be of Group I standard. *Rev.* [-]/[-]RC or E E/[-]. This could be Bureel or an unknown moneyer Burcel. Although listed as a coin of Æthelred I the single-banded diadem which is clearly visible indicates it must be a coin of Alfred. Excavated at St Paul-in-the-Bail, Lincoln, 1975.

AfLU4. EMC 2001.0708.* Lunettes A fragment wnr. Diameter not known. *Obv.* I?/not known. *Rev.* Possibly Heabearht or Tidbearht, only 'ear' visible. Findspot, Lincolnshire (south).

Lockdales (19 Nov 2006) 433 unknown moneyer.

EMC 2000.0264 unknown moneyer, unknown findspot.

EMC 2000.1151 unknown moneyer, Torksey.

Bonser 1998 unknown moneyer, Flixborough, Lincs.

Coin Weights**Bernred**

AfL.W1. DNW (19 Jun. 2002), 131 (sold for £820) with coin weight Lunettes? Total weight 44.51 g. Coin secured reverse side up. Found Northern Ireland c.1987. This moneyer not known for Lunettes coinage but on grounds that he is known for Alfred's Third Coinage assumed to be a coin of Alfred.

Biarnwulf

AfL.W2. British Museum. Lunettes D. Total weight 71.44 g. Coin missing but rev. impression remains. *Obv.* not known. *Rev.* FMO/BIARNVL/ETA Found Kingston, Isle of Purbeck, Dorset. For further details see Williams 1999, Item 20, not confirmed as Alfred but moneyer only known for this king.

Dudd

AfL.W3. British Museum. Lunettes A. Total weight 10.60 g. *Obv.* not known. *Rev. •.MON./DVDD.ETA.•* (same die as AfL2.22 and 2.23). Found near Malton, Yorkshire. For further details see Williams 1999, item 21.

Eadwulf

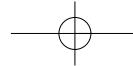
See AfL.1.26.

(Pl. 2, 53)

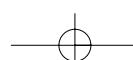
AUCTIONS AND OTHER REFERENCES

For auctions, only 'named' sales are included; general sales at Glendining, Sotheby etc. are referred to by date in the corpus and elsewhere.

Addington (1883): collection bought *en bloc* by Montagu 1883
 Airlie (1897): Sotheby 30 Jun 1897
 Allen (1898): Sotheby 14 Mar 1898
 Arnot (1995): Dix Noonan Webb 21 Mar 1995
 Austen (1797): Collection obtained by act of Parliament for Bank of England
 Bagnall (1964): Portion of collection bought by Spink 1964
 Bank of England (1877): Sotheby 13 Jul 1877
 Barclay (1831): Sotheby 21 Mar 1831
 Baron (1854): Donation to Yorkshire Philosophical Society now in Leeds Museum
 Barratt: Collector c.1820s, his personal illustrations of his collection are in the possession of Dr Lyon (q.v.)
 Bearman (1922): Collection purchased Baldwin c.1922
 Bennington: J. Bennington of Croydon, one of the initial purchasers of the Croydon No. 2 hoard (1862)
 Bergne (1873): Sotheby 20 May 1873
 Bird (1974): Glendining 20 Nov 1974
 Bliss (1916): Sotheby 22 Mar 1916
 Blunt: Blunt Collection of British Medieval Coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum
 Boyd (2005): Baldwin 26 Sep 2005
 Boyne (1896): Sotheby 21 Jan 1896
 Brand: series of Sotheby sales 1983-4
 Brice: various sales from 1853 but bulk of collection purchased *en bloc* by Montagu in 1887
 Briggs (1893): Sotheby 22 Mar 1893
 Brown (1868): Sotheby 26 Jul 1869
 Brushfield (1929): Glendining 2 May 1929
 Burns (1879): agent for Thomas Coats, whose collection now forms part of the University of Glasgow collections
 Burstable (1912): Sotheby 6 Nov 1912
 Carlyon Britton (1913): Sotheby 17 Nov 1913, first portion.
 Carlyon Britton (1916): Sotheby 20 Nov 1916, second portion
 Carlyon Britton (1918): Sotheby 11 Nov 1918, third portion
 Chaffers (1857): Sotheby 9 Feb 1857
 Christmas (1864): Dowell 27 Apr 1864
 Clark (1898): Sotheby 23 May 1898
 Clonterbrook Trust (1974): Glendining 7 Jun 1974
 Cooper: Dr Cooper, one of the initial purchasers of the Croydon No. 2 hoard (1862)
 Cotton (1889): Sotheby 27 May 1889
 Crompton Roberts (1920): collection sold to Spink with part appearing in *NCirc* May 1920
 Cuff (1854): Sotheby 8 Jun 1854
 Devonshire: Christie 18 Mar 1844
 Dimsdale (1824): Sotheby 6 Jul 1824
 Doulton (1888): Christie 17 Jun 1888
 Drabble (1939): Glendining 4 Jul 1939
 Drabble (1943): Glendining 13 Dec 1943
 Duncanson (1930): Bequest to Fitzwilliam 1930
 Durrant (1847): Sotheby 19 Apr 1847
 Dymock (1858): Sotheby 1 Jun 1858
 Elmore Jones (1971): Glendining 12 May 1971
 Evans (1908): Purchased *en bloc* by Spink c.1908 and much purchased by Morgan (1915)
 Fitch (1918): collection purchased by Spink c.1918
 Grantley (1944): Glendining 22 Mar 1944
 Hall (2006): Dix Noonan Webb 28 Sep 2006
 Higgs (1830): Sotheby 29 Apr 1830
 Hill (1879): Christies 8 Apr 1879



Henderson (1818): Sotheby 24 Jun 1818
 Henderson (1933): bequest to the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge
 Herriot (2004): Dix Noonan Webb 30 Jun 2004
 Hodson (1794): Collection purchased *en bloc* by Tyssen
 LaRiviere (2002): Spink auction, 9 Oct 2002
 Lavertine (1998): Baldwin 13 Oct 1998
 Lewin-Sheppard (1861): Sotheby 14 Jan 1861
 Lewis (1891): Rev Lewis, bequest to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge 1891
 Lindsay (1867): Sotheby 14 Aug 1867
 Linzalone (1994): Stack 7 Dec 1994 (see also Wolfshead Gallery)
 Lockett (1955): Glendining 6 Jun 1955, English Part I.
 Lockett (1958): Glendining 4 Nov 1958, English Part III
 Lockett (1960): Glendining 26 Apr 1960, English Part IV
 Longbottom (1934): Sotheby 14 May 1934
 Loscombe (1855): Sotheby 30 Mar 1855
 Lyon: Dr Lyon, current collector, collection held at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge
 Lyons: current collector
 Mack (1975): Glendining 18 Nov 1975
 Mack (1977): Glendining 23 Mar 1977
 MacKay: current collector
 Maish (1918): Sotheby 25 Mar 1918
 Mann (1917): Sotheby 29 Oct 1917
 Marsham Townshend (1888): Sotheby 19 Nov 1888
 Martin (1859): Sotheby 23 May 1859
 Matthews (1970): Collection bought by Spink Mar 1970
 Miles (1820): Sotheby 14 Mar 1820
 Miller (1920): Elder Coin and Curio Company, New York 26 May 1920
 Montagu (1888): Sotheby 7 May 1888
 Montagu (1895): Sotheby 18 Nov 1895
 Morgan (1915): dispersed to British Museum and others, including Lockett, c. 1915
 Murawski: current dealer
 Murchison (1866): Sotheby 28 May 1866
 Murdoch (1903): Sotheby 15 March 1903
 Napier (1916): Sotheby 3 Aug 1916
 Neligan (1881): Sotheby 10 Nov 1881
 Norweb (1986): Spink 19 Nov 1986
 Nott (1842): Sotheby 30 May 1842
 Nunn (1896): Sotheby 20 Nov 1896
 O'Hagan (1907): Sotheby 16 Dec 1907
 Parsons (1929): Sotheby 28 Oct 1929
 Parsons (1953): Glendining 11 May 1954
 Peace (1894): Sotheby 18 Jun 1894
 Peckover (1920): Sotheby 12 Jul 1920
 Pegg (1980): Spink 8 Oct 1980
 Pheatt (1995): Dix Noonan Webb 21 Mar 1995
 Pownall (1887): Sotheby 20 Jun 1887
 Rashleigh (1909): Sotheby 21 Jun 1909
 Ready (1920): Sotheby 15 Nov 1920
 Reichel (1858): collection bought *en bloc* by Hermitage Museum 1858.
 Reynolds (1954): Glendining 6 Apr 1954
 Richardson (1895): Sotheby 22 May 1895
 'Ridgemount' (1989): Spink 20 April 1989
 Rose (1974): Glendining 13 Mar 1974
 Ryan (1952): Glendining 22 Jan 1952
 Shand (1949): Glendining 8 Mar 1949
 Shepherd (1885): Sotheby 22 Jul 1885
 Shortt: Collector and curator, bequest to Ashmolean c.1976
 Smith (1895): Samuel Smith, Sotheby 11 Jul 1895
 Southgate (1795): Collection bought *en bloc* by Tyssen before intended Sotheby sale of 1 Jul 1795
 Stack (1999): Sotheby 22 Apr 1999
 Stewartby: Lord Stewartby current collector
 Thane (1819): Sotheby 1 Dec 1819
 Thorburn (1918): Sotheby 27 Nov 1918
 Tyssen (1802): Sotheby 12 Apr and 6 Dec 1802



Walters (1913): Sotheby 26 May 1913
 Walters (1932): Sotheby 24 October 1932
 Watters (1917): Glendining 21 May 1917
 Wells (1949): Sold *en bloc* to Baldwin 1949
 Whitbourn (1869): Sotheby 2 Feb 1869
 Wilcox (1908): Glendining 29 Jan 1908
 Willett (1827): Sotheby 15 Mar 1827
 Wolfshead Gallery: US dealership of Linzalone (q.v.)
 Wyllie (1882): Sotheby 10 Jan 1882
 York Coins: Anthony Wilson, New York numismatic dealer
 Yorke Moore (1879): Sotheby 21 Apr 1879
 Young: Matthew Young dealer active in 1820s

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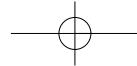
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PLATE IMAGE ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

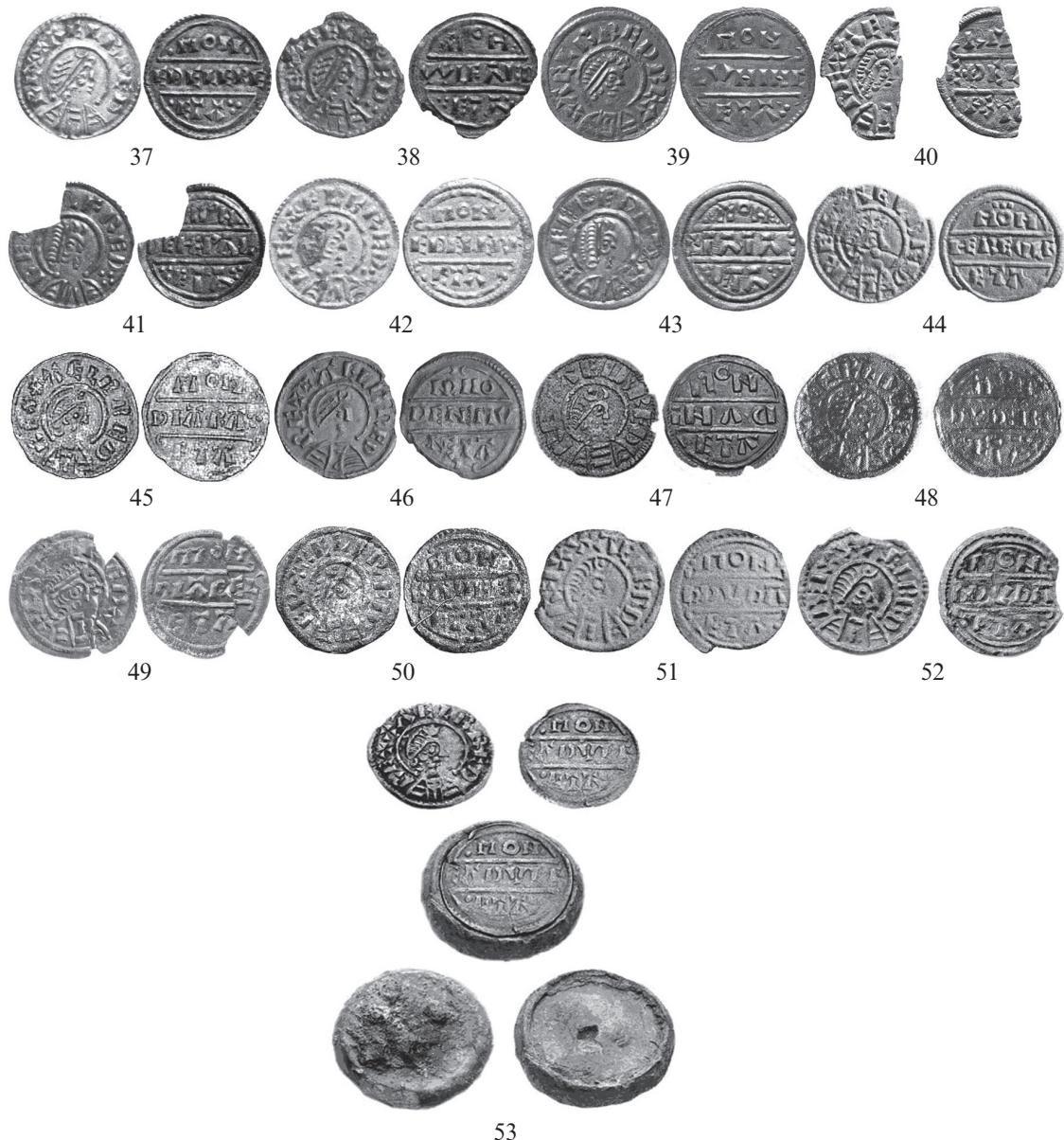
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PLATE 1

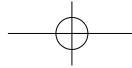


LYONS AND MACKAY: THE LUNETTES COINAGE OF ALFRED THE GREAT (1)

PLATE 2



LYONS AND MACKAY: THE LUNETTES COINAGE OF ALFRED THE GREAT (2)



PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS 2007

CURRENCY UNDER THE VIKINGS. PART 4: THE DUBLIN COINAGE *c.995–1050*

MARK BLACKBURN

IN last year's address I looked at the circulation of coinage among the Scandinavians in the Celtic areas to the west and north of the British Isles during the ninth and tenth centuries. I suggested that their monetary economies were closer to those of Scandinavia than that of the Danelaw, largely because there was no strong pre-existing tradition of local coinages on which the Scandinavians could build. It may be no coincidence, then, that at the end of the tenth century, just when national coinages commenced in Denmark, Sweden and Norway, the Scandinavians in Dublin also inaugurated their own independent coinage – the most enduring of those that would be issued by Scandinavians in the British Isles.¹

We are fortunate that numismatics is a dynamic subject in which new evidence often occurs to extend or challenge our knowledge. Four years ago, in March 2003, to mark the twentieth anniversary of Michael Dolley's death, I gave a lecture here to the Society about the nature of the Hiberno-Scandinavian currency reforms, and discussed in particular the three new hoards found during excavations in Dublin in the early 1990s.² By chance, on that same day, 25 March 2003, a new hoard was discovered in Glenfaba sheading on the Isle of Man, which was to be the largest and most important hoard of Hiberno-Scandinavian coins found since 1836, when the Dunbrody hoard was discovered. This new Glenfaba hoard contains 464 coins and is especially important for the study of Dolley's Phase II and the beginning of the Hiberno-Manx coinage.³ It addresses, for example, an outstanding question about the date of the introduction of Phase II that I discussed on that evening. In this paper, after considering the general characteristics of the Dublin coinage over its 150-year history, I will concentrate on the first half century from its introduction in *c.995* to the mid-eleventh century, and new perspectives cast by recent finds.

Historical background

Some of the defensive camps or *Longphorts* established by the Vikings in the mid-ninth century turned into permanent settlements during the later ninth century and into towns in the tenth century. Dublin was the most substantial of these and the centre of the most dominant Scandinavian kingdom in the Western part of the British Isles.⁴

The Vikings came as aggressors, became settlers, but then the tables were turned. The Scandinavians had been driven out of Dublin in 902 and returned in 917, but the town was attacked by the Irish thirteen times between 936 and 1015, and on many of these occasions taken by them. Increasingly, the Scandinavians interacted politically rather than militarily in

¹ This is a revised and extended version of the paper read at the Anniversary Meeting in November 2007. I wish to thank Dr Kristin Bornholdt Collins for advice on Manx and Irish finds and comments on this paper in draft, and Dr Stewart Lyon for stimulating correspondence and discussions on the Dublin coinage over many years. Dr Elina Screen has also made helpful suggestions while editing this.

² Michael Dolley died 29 March 1983; the lecture was given on 25 March 2003. The lecture was not published, but the present article has been revised and extended to incorporate elements from it and from another lecture that I gave to the Fifteenth International Viking Congress in Cork in 2005.

³ A full report on the coins is in preparation by Dr Bornholdt Collins, and I am grateful to her for allowing me to draw upon the evidence of the hoard in advance of her publication.

⁴ Wallace 2001.

Irish affairs. The king of Dublin, Anlaf Sihtricsson, who had ruled at York in the 940s, married an Irish princess, Gormlaith, daughter of the king of Leinster, and it was their son Sihtric 'Silkbeard' (989–1036), who ruled over Dublin for more than 45 years, and who initiated the coinage.⁵ His family was intimately woven into several of the Irish royal lines, for after Anlaf's death his mother married no less a figure than Brian Boru, high-king of Ireland, and after his death at the battle of Clontarf in 1014, she married his successor as high-king, Mael Sechnaill.⁶ But this latter had already had a wife who was a daughter of Anlaf Sihtricsson, and a half-sister of Sihtric. Thus Mael Sechnaill was both stepfather and brother-in-law to Sihtric. Sihtric encouraged the conversion of his people to Christianity, and by the end of his reign he had established a cathedral in Dublin at Christ Church.

The late tenth and earlier eleventh centuries was a period of flux for Dublin and its neighbours.⁷ The on-going feud between the Scandinavians of Dublin and those of Waterford, brought to a head over the disputed succession following the death in 989 of Gluniairn, king of Dublin, was exploited by the Irish kings. In 989 Mael Sechnaill, overking of the Southern Uí Néill, attacked Dublin and levied a tax on the inhabitants. Twice before 995 Ivar, king of Waterford, seized control of Dublin, but was expelled by Sihtric with the support of the king of Leinster, and in 995 Mael Sechnaill captured the regalia of the Dublin kings, the 'Sword of Carlus' and the 'Ring of Thorir'. In 997 and 998, Mael Sechnaill and Brian Boru, having divided Ireland between them, took hostages from Dublin and Leinster. In 999, Dublin and Leinster led by Sihtric revolted against the domination that this act represented, but they were heavily defeated at the battle of Glen Máma, Dublin was sacked and burnt, and Sihtric was forced to recognise Brian Boru's overlordship. For the next decade that status quo was accepted, and Brian mobilised Dubliners in support of his campaigns elsewhere in Ireland. In 1012 Dublin and Leinster once again wanted to flex their muscles and throw off the domination of the overkings. There were skirmishes during the following two years leading up to a spectacular battle on Good Friday 1014 at Clontarf a few miles south of Dublin. Although Brian Boru was killed, it was a massive defeat for the Scandinavians and men of Leinster. Dublin had become and remained a pawn passing between rulers eager to demonstrate their supremacy over all Ireland, and, more than that, its taxes, troops and fleet were a practical aid towards achieving that goal. It is against this turbulent background that Sihtric established and developed what in the circumstances was a surprisingly coherent coinage.

Although still a town with a distinct Scandinavian culture, increasingly Dublin became an integral part of the fabric of Ireland. One can understand, then, why historians and archaeologists refer to Dublin as 'Viking' or 'Scandinavian' until c.980, but thereafter, as a distinctive local culture emerged, to 'Hiberno-Norse' or, more commonly now, to 'Hiberno-Scandinavian' Dublin, for the blending of people of Norwegian, Danish, Danelaw and Irish origin was considerable.

Numismatic literature

The recognition that there was a coinage of the Scandinavians in Ireland dates back to the mid-seventeenth century in the work of Sir James Ware; however the first substantial discussion of the coinage was that of James Simon in 1749, which illustrated some thirty-seven coins he considered Irish, several of which were correctly attributed to Sihtric 'Silkbeard'.⁸ The next advance in the subject came in 1839 with the publication of John Lindsay's *View of the Coinage of Ireland*, but although this lists much more material and refers to several hoards, the interpretation is seriously flawed due to Lindsay's zeal for attributing, or misattributing, coins to a range of kings from the ninth to eleventh centuries.⁹ In the later

⁵ Dolley argued for a succession date of 994 for Sihtric (Dolley 1973, 148–9, 152; citing Curtis 1950, 27) but this has not been followed by most historians, who see Sihtric as the direct successor of Gluniairn (d. 989); see most recently Downham 2007, 57.

⁶ Ó Corráin 2001, 26.

⁷ Byrne 1987; Ó Corráin 2001, 24–6; Downham 2007, 56–62.

⁸ Ware 1654; Simon 1749.

⁹ Lindsay 1839.

nineteenth century, articles by Aquilla Smith and the Finnish scholar, Otto Alcenius, made useful contributions, the latter, for example, recognising that the coins of Dublin in the name of Æthelred II were merely imitations.¹⁰ Moving into the twentieth century, the bumper ninety-page article by Bernard Roth, 'The coins of the Danish kings of Ireland', in *BNJ* 1909, is an immense disappointment, for although he illustrates some 240 coins photographically, a substantial number are Scandinavian (which he admits he had been warned about by L.E. Bruun), while their order is rather chaotic, and the text makes little attempt to discuss the nature, structure or chronology of the coinage.¹¹ By contrast William O'Sullivan's 1949 paper on 'The Earliest Irish Coinage' is more scholarly, but its aim was limited to producing essentially a catalogue of types, without putting them into chronological order.¹²

Thus when in the early 1960s Michael Dolley turned his attention to this series, he had almost a blank canvas, with a wealth of material that was ripe for study, particularly in the light of the advances recently made in the late Anglo-Saxon coinage. The result of just a few years' work was his magisterial 1966 *Sylloge of the Hiberno-Norse Coins in the British Museum*.¹³ Its scope is wider than its title implies, for it surveys all hoards from the entire British Isles from the ninth to early twelfth centuries, and then looks in greater detail at the twenty-six that contain Hiberno-Scandinavian coins. Their analysis forms the basis for the chronological structure that Dolley places on the coinage, which he divides into seven fundamental phases. The book is admittedly difficult to use, for he was too deferential to O'Sullivan, discussing the coinage in O'Sullivan's type order, but the work is enormously original and his judgements have by and large stood the test of time.

Since 1966 there have been further advances, most notably by Dolley himself who continued to produce articles and short notes clarifying the attribution of certain coins as between England, Scandinavia and Dublin, compiling virtually a corpus of the first Dublin issue (Crux type), identifying an independent Hiberno-Manx coinage, and publishing additional material from hoards, notably those from the Isle of Man.¹⁴ Kristin Bornholdt Collins built upon this latter work, making the Manx finds and coinage the subject of her doctoral thesis.¹⁵ Michael Kenny has published a number of new hoards, including Dundalk, Collinstown, Tonyowen and Clonmacnoise, but his most significant contribution has been his Royal Irish Academy paper on the pattern of coin hoards as evidence of coin use among the Irish.¹⁶ The same topic was also discussed by Margaret Gerriets.¹⁷ Together they have convincingly overturned one of the long-held assumptions – which Dolley also followed – that the Irish did not use coinage and that coin hoards could be taken as evidence of a local Viking presence. Gerriets also published an interesting assessment of the use of money in pre-Viking Ireland based on the evidence of the plentiful Irish law tracts, from which she concluded that goods and wealth were exchanged by social means rather than in market transactions.¹⁸ Work on the non-coin element of the Viking-Age silver hoards by James Graham-Campbell and John Sheehan has given us a more balanced view of the economy, which was considered in more detail in my last Address.¹⁹

Since Dolley's death in 1983 there has been little research on the Dublin coinage itself. Robert Heslip produced an historiographic survey of the Hiberno-Scandinavian coinage, and in collaboration with Peter Northover he organised a programme of metallic analyses of Hiberno-Scandinavian coins in the Ulster Museum, showing that a high silver content was

¹⁰ Smith 1882 and 1883; Alcenius 1901, 23–6.

¹¹ Roth 1909.

¹² O'Sullivan 1949.

¹³ Dolley 1966.

¹⁴ Dolley 1972, 1973b, 1975a, 1976a; and other articles listed in Dolley's bibliography (Thompson 1986).

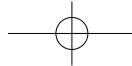
¹⁵ Bornholdt Collins 2003; preceded by a preliminary study of the Manx coinage, Bornholdt 1999. A general survey of Manx Viking-Age and medieval coinage with Appendices listing the hoards and single-finds will shortly appear in the third volume of the *New History of the Isle of Man* (Bornholdt Collins forthcoming).

¹⁶ Kenny 1987.

¹⁷ Gerriets 1985a.

¹⁸ Gerriets 1985b.

¹⁹ Graham-Campbell 1976; Sheehan 1998; Blackburn 2007, 126–30.



maintained throughout the coinage.²⁰ Bill Seaby's Sylloge of the Ulster Museum collection substantially increased the number of published coins available for study.²¹ He had undertaken with great labour a die-study of virtually the whole of the Hiberno-Scandinavian series, and relevant die-links are recorded in the Belfast Sylloge and some hoard reports,²² but unfortunately since his death in 1991 the notes on his die-study have not been located. Lastly, I have contributed die-studies of two of the issues in Phase I – the Helmet and Quatrefoil types – while distinguishing a separate imitative series associated with the Irish Sea area.²³ The most important new evidence to have come to light are the finds from the Dublin excavations from the 1960s onwards – almost a hundred single-finds and three large hoards – but they are still essentially unpublished apart from a summary listing of the single-finds in Patrick Wallace's contribution to the Dolley Memorial volume.²⁴

With three major collections, London, Copenhagen and Belfast, already published in the *SCBI* series,²⁵ and those of the Manx Museum and the National Museum of Ireland in preparation by Bornholdt Collins, and Stockholm by myself, before long the source material for the Hiberno-Scandinavian coinage will have been exceptionally well published – better perhaps than any other comparable coinage of medieval Europe. The time will then truly be ripe for a detailed study and reassessment of the entire series, set in its historical and economic context.

The nature of the coinage and its seven phases

The Hiberno-Scandinavian coinage consists exclusively of silver pennies, typical of the currency of north-west Europe at that time. No struck halfpennies have been identified in the series, but none were produced in England either, except for a brief issue during the reign of Henry I (1100–35). The great majority of the coins are uninscribed, or at least have meaningless pseudo-epigraphy. Only in the very earliest issues are there legible inscriptions, and some of those are copied directly from Anglo-Saxon coins. Where the inscriptions are purposeful, they name Sihtric as king of the Dubliners, and on the reverse the mint name of Dublin and a handful of what we may take to be local moneymasters. In the earliest issue, Crux, the obverse legend takes the form **SITI RX DIFLINME**, variously abbreviated,²⁶ while in the Long Cross and later issues the inscription reads **SIHTRC RE+ DYFLMNI**, or versions of it.²⁷ Two of the most interesting forms of obverse inscription occur on rare instances where an English die-cutter had been commissioned to make dies for use in Dublin, in one case reading **SIHTRIC CVNVNG DYFL**, using the Old Norse *cununc* for 'king', and in the other **SITERIC REX IRVM**, 'king among the Irish'.²⁸ In the 1020s the inscriptions become garbled through repeated copying and soon become just meaningless strokes. It is somewhat surprising that none of the rulers of Dublin attempted to restore the literacy of the coinage at any stage in the remaining century and a half, when the neighbouring English coinage was thoroughly literate.

²⁰ Heslip 1985; Heslip and Northover 1990.

²¹ Seaby 1984.

²² Seaby 1984 and 2002; Blackburn and Seaby 1976.

²³ Blackburn 1990a and 1996.

²⁴ Wallace 1986.

²⁵ Galster, Dolley and Steen Jensen 1975; Seaby 1984.

²⁶ Dolley 1973b, 50–1.

²⁷ Hildebrand 1886, 484–5.

²⁸ Dolley 1966, 126 and no. 28; Blackburn 1996, 4–5.

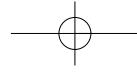
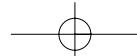


Fig. 1. Typical coins of the seven phases of Hiberno-Scandinavian coinage (enlarged images courtesy National Museum of Ireland).

Dolley's division of the coinage into seven Phases was inspired, for it not only groups the hundreds of different types and varieties according to their date of issue, but it also draws attention to significant changes in the monetary system.²⁹ Illustrations of representative coins of the various phases are shown in Fig. 1, and Dolley's original chronology and his revised version of 1975 are set out in Table 1. Phase I was a period in which contemporary Anglo-Saxon issues were copied, but in an organised way, for the five types seem to have been used sequentially at Dublin and there is no muling of obverse and reverse types between them. By contrast, in Scandinavia there was considerable mixing of designs among the imitations.³⁰ Phases II and III, however, are based on the by then old, anachronistic Long Cross design,

²⁹ Dolley 1966, 119–45.

³⁰ Malmer 1997.



but deliberately distinguished with additional marks, coins of Phase II having a small pellet added to each quarter of the reverse cross, and those of Phase III a stylised branch-like hand in two reverse quarters. Phase IV is the smallest and least satisfactory of the groups, for it comprises coins that appear to be transitional between Phases III and V, but their absence from certain Irish and Manx hoards spanning these Phases prompted Dolley to suggest that they come from another mint, possibly Waterford.³¹ Following recognition of a group of coins from a Northern Italian hoard, Dolley enlarged the scope of Phase IV to include several types originally designated Phase V.³²

Phase V is by far the most complex and enigmatic group, for although it also copies various contemporary English types, it does so in a much less organised way, mixing and muling designs to an extent that makes it hard to place any internal structure on the phase. It spans a long period, and if we had just one contemporary hoard from Dublin itself, we might be able to see if there was a system of *renovatio monetae* in operation. Phases VI and VII belong to the late eleventh and twelfth centuries. Phase VI marks a reversion to a single design, based on the traditional Long Cross type but with a crosier before the face. It is reasonably plentiful today, most specimens deriving from a single hoard found at Donough Henry, Co. Tyrone, 1823. Phase VII is another large group embracing a variety of types struck as bracteates or semi-bracteates on which very little has been published. Dolley has suggested that they may be the product of several mints.³³

TABLE 1. Chronology for the Phases.

	Dolley 1966	Galster, Dolley and Steen Jensen 1975
Phase I	c.995–c.1020	c.997–c.1020
Phase II	c.1015–c.1035	c.1020–c.1035
Phase III	c.1035–c.1055	c.1035–c.1055
Phase IV	c.1055–c.1065	c.1055–c.1065 or a little later?
Phase V	c.1065–c.1095	c.1065–c.1095
Phase VI	c.1095–c.1110	First half of 12th cent.?
Phase VII	c.1110–c.1150	Mid-12th cent.?

Although the Dublin coinage was extensive and lasted for a century and a half, the monetary system has had the reputation for being unsophisticated and rather chaotic, at least compared with that in operation in Anglo-Saxon England.³⁴ This impression comes in part from the language used by Dolley and Seaby to describe the coins: in Phase I ‘Imitations of Æthelred II’s Long Cross type’, in Phase II ‘Reduced-weight imitations of Æthelred’s Long Cross type’, and in Phase III ‘Further-reduced-weight imitations of Æthelred’s Long Cross type’ etc.³⁵ Many of the hoards in which these coins occur, whether in Ireland or on the Isle of Man, are of mixed character, with coins from a range of different Hiberno-Scandinavian types often combined with Anglo-Saxon coins and even some Continental issues.

The implication that this was a light-weight, illiterate, derivative coinage within a bullion economy is not flattering. In this lecture I hope to demonstrate that such a charge is misplaced. In many aspects the coinage conformed to those of other contemporary states. It is wrong to call them imitations, for the designs were purposefully chosen and in many cases deliberately differentiated from the English prototype. The standards of production, including the fineness and weight, were well controlled. The weights compare favourably with contemporary English issues, although that may not have been intentional, for the Dublin coinage was not primarily produced for international trade, but for the local economy in and

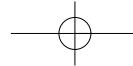
³¹ Dolley 1983; Dolley 1987, 826.

³² Dolley and Lane 1968 discusses the hoard, while the types are silently redesignated in Galster, Dolley and Jensen 1975, pls 10–11. The revised classification was followed in Seaby 1984, pl. 13.

³³ Dolley 1983, 124, briefly suggesting that the true bracteates were struck at Dublin and Ferns, and the semi-bracteates at Clonmacnoise. I understand that there is a substantial discussion of the coinage of Phase VII and its mints in Dolley’s unpublished report on the Dublin excavation finds, which is still intended to form part of the final publication of the excavations.

³⁴ Dolley 1987, 817–18, gives a brief survey of the Hiberno-Scandinavian coinage that is somewhat disparaging, laying emphasis on the light weight of many issues and the repeated recurrence of the Long Cross design of Æthelred II.

³⁵ These are the terms used in cataloguing the coins in various volumes of the *SCBI*.



around Dublin. Hiberno-Scandinavian coins are rarely found in England, which is perhaps surprising given the ease with which one might think Phase I coins could be passed off as Anglo-Saxon. Of the seven Dublin coins now recorded as finds from England (below, Appendix), four of them are indeed Phase I types.

From the end of the tenth century the kings of Dublin appear to have imposed a regulated monetary system there based on the Hiberno-Scandinavian coinage and from which foreign coin was excluded. Such an arrangement was the paradigm of an effective monetary system operated by powerful states, such as Carolingian Francia and Anglo-Saxon England, though less familiar in kingdoms the size of Dublin. Yet there were good precedents, for in both York and Hedeby the Scandinavians established their own controlled monetary economies in the tenth century.³⁶ The evidence for the Dublin economy comes partly from hoards: none of the four hoards found in or close to Dublin after the commencement of the Hiberno-Scandinavian coinage contained any Anglo-Saxon or other foreign coins.³⁷ More telling, however, are the finds from the Dublin excavations. Rich though this material is, it has still to be adequately published, but a survey by Pat Wallace of the finds from the 1960s and 1970s excavations is sufficient to show how dominant the Dublin coinage was (Fig. 2).³⁸ From the late ninth and tenth centuries the coins are all Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Scandinavian, but after 1000 of the sixty-six coins found only four are Anglo-Saxon, and those are from the early eleventh century, as the system was becoming established. Thus from the first two decades of the century, during Phase I, half the finds are English, and although the sample is very small (just four coins) this suggests that contemporary Anglo-Saxon coins may have circulated alongside their Dublin counterparts. With the introduction of Phase II, in the period 1020–40, the proportions change radically, for the English element has fallen to less than 20%, and thereafter it is eliminated. On this evidence, the effective policy of exclusion of foreign coinage within Dublin seems to date from *c.* 1020.

However, this is jumping ahead, for I would like to look in more detail at the introduction of the coinage and the individual phases, to see what light these shed on the monetary policy of the Dublin kings. In order to do this it is necessary to consider the currency into which the new coins were introduced.

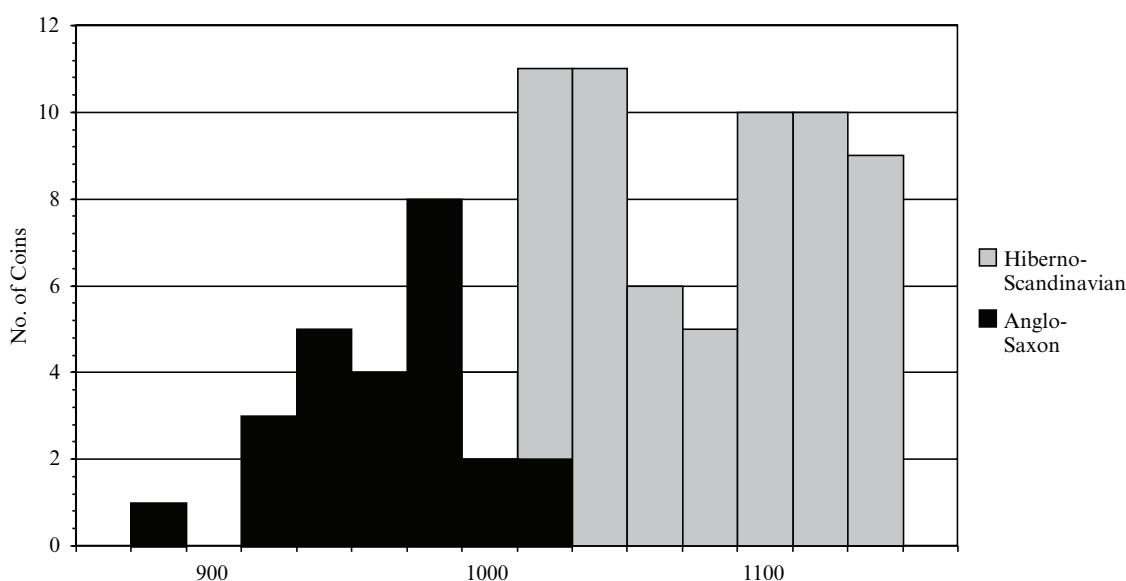


Fig. 2. Finds from Dublin Excavations 1962–81 (87 coins, of which 25 are Anglo-Saxon and 62 Hiberno-Scandinavian; source Wallace 1986).

³⁶ For York see Blackburn 2004, 344–6; for Hedeby see Wiechmann 1996, 190–3.

³⁷ The hoards are Clondalkin (no. 2), Co. Dublin, *c.* 1830 (dep. *c.* 997); River Liffey, Co. Dublin, *c.* 1940 (dep. *c.* 1040); Clondalkin (no. 1), Co. Dublin, 1816 (dep. *c.* 1065); Dublin (Christchurch Cathedral), *c.* 1870 (dep. *c.* 1100 or later).

³⁸ Wallace 1986, 208–13.

Currency in Dublin in the later tenth century

The nature of the economy in tenth-century Ireland varied from region to region, and developed during the course of the century.³⁹ There is a range of hoard compositions, from ones containing only whole silver ornaments, or whole ornaments, ingots and hack-silver, or a mixture of such silver and coins, to hoards containing only coins. The coin element may be whole or fragmented. Whole ornaments dominate in the far west of Ireland, while the coin hoards are concentrated in the Midlands with Dublin at the centre of the distribution, and the mixed hoards lie on the outer fringe of this group. In Dublin and its close hinterland the five recorded hoards from the second half of the tenth century contained just coins, and those all Anglo-Saxon.⁴⁰ It seems as if a *de facto* coin economy developed there, albeit one based on imported coins which were probably valued according to their intrinsic silver content with perhaps some premium. Silver bullion may also have been used for certain transactions, as hacksilver and weights were plentiful in the Dublin excavations, if often difficult to date. Yet coins must have been prized more highly for they were hoarded separately and, we may suppose, preferred for some purposes or by certain groups in society. The evidence for a coin economy in Dublin in the early 990s is particularly persuasive, for we are enormously fortunate to have three substantial hoards recovered during archaeological excavations in 1993–4.

These hoards were found in the same general area in the southern part of the Anglo-Norman walled town, two in tenements at 26–29 Castle Street in 1993 and the third on nearby Werburgh Street in 1994.⁴¹ They each contained only Anglo-Saxon coins, and virtually all of these were whole pennies.⁴² A third hoard from Castle Street from the same late tenth-century contexts consisted of only hack-silver – fragments of two arm-rings – suggesting the coexistence of a bullion economy as well as a coin economy in the 990s.⁴³ The two Castle Street coin hoards were distinctly different from one another (Table 2), for No. 1 terminates in Second Hand and Benediction Hand coins of Æthelred II and so has a *tpq* of c. 990, while No. 2 contains a substantial number of coins of the succeeding Crux issue and its *tpq* is thus a few years later. If the two hoards were assembled on different occasions, it is nonetheless possible that their non-recovery by their owner or owners was prompted by the same event. The same applies to the Werburgh Street hoard, which like Castle Street (No. 2) ends with Crux coins of Æthelred. In the case of the Castle Street (No. 2) hoard one can narrow down the date the coins were assembled by looking at their weights and comparing these with the normal distribution of Crux coins generally. As part of the system of periodic recoinages after Edgar's coinage reform the weight standard was reduced during the course of an issue and raised again at the beginning of the next issue, though not always to the original level set by Edgar. There were exceptions and local variations at some mints which complicate the pattern, but as a general principle this holds good and provides a means of establishing whether a sample of coins belongs to the beginning, middle or end of an issue.⁴⁴ Comparing the weights of the Crux coins in the Castle Street (No. 2) hoard with the distribution of all Crux coins recorded by Peterson (Fig. 3), it is clear that the Castle Street coins belong to the heavier end of the distribution and this is confirmed by the average weights which for Castle Street coins is 1.60 g

³⁹ See the discussion in my previous address; Blackburn 2007, 126–30.

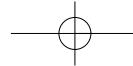
⁴⁰ Bullock (No. 2), Co. Dublin, 1840?, dep. c.970; Dalkey, Co. Dublin, c.1840, dep. c.970; Dublin (Castle St, No. 1), 1993, dep. c.990; Dublin (Castle St, No. 2), 1993, dep. c.995; Dublin (Werburgh St), 1994, dep. c.995.

⁴¹ These hoards were initially listed by Michael Kenny and Bill Lean and commented upon by Stewart Lyon, and they will be published by Kristin Bornholdt Collins in *SCBI* Dublin. I am grateful to them for providing information on the finds and for permission to draw upon it here. A preliminary report on the Benediction Hand coins of Æthelred II in the hoards has appeared in Bornholdt Collins and Screen 2007.

⁴² The Castle Street (No. 1) and Werburgh Street hoards contained only whole coins, although many are now corroded and chipped. The Castle Street (No. 2) hoard contained three cut halfpennies and three smaller cut fragments of which one may be a cut farthing, but the two others seem to be irregular sizes and the product of a bullion economy.

⁴³ Simpson 2000, 32–3.

⁴⁴ The literature on weight variation is extensive; see for example Petersson 1969; Lyon 1976, 195–205; Metcalf 1998, 56–69.



compared with 1.48 g for all Crux.⁴⁵ It is evident, then, that the Castle Street (No. 2) hoard was assembled mid-way through the Crux issue. Unfortunately, the same analysis cannot be carried out on the Werburgh Street hoard since its coins are quite heavily corroded and damaged, as too are those in the Castle Street (No. 1) hoard. It is worth observing, however, that among the twelve Crux coins of York in the Werburgh Street hoard, there are none from the local-style dies that were prevalent during the latter part of the issue.⁴⁶

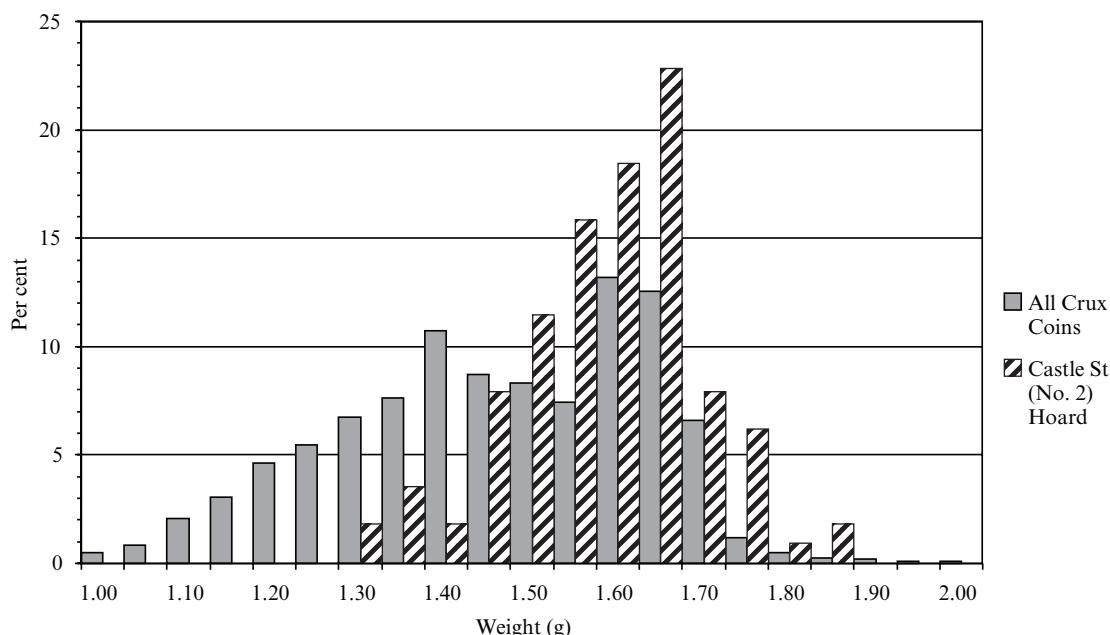


Fig. 3. Distribution of the weights of Crux coins in the Castle Street (No. 2) hoard compared with all Crux coins (data for all Crux from Petersson 1969).

If only one of these hoards had been found, we would not know whether it was representative of the money circulating in Dublin in the early 990s or comprised, for example, money accumulated by a merchant with special contacts with England. However, the fact that we have three hoards of very similar structure shows that they were a reflection of the currency in Dublin. In Table 2, their compositions are compared with one another and with a smaller hoard of similar date from Kildare, some 30 miles south-west of Dublin.

TABLE 2. Compositions of the three Dublin hoards and the Kildare hoard.

	Kildare 1923	Dublin Castle St (No. 1)	Dublin Castle St (No. 2)	Dublin Werburgh St
Reform Small Cross (c.973–79)	3%	8%	5% (11%)	2% (3%)
First Hand (c.979–85)	74%	68%	31% (62%)	31% (60%)
Second Hand (c.985–91)	21%	20%	5% (11%)	13% (25%)
Benediction Hand (c.991)	3%	4%	8% (16%)	6% (12%)
Crux (c.991–97)			50%	48%
Number of coins	34	79	242	125
Deposit date	c.990	c.990	c.995	c.995

Notes: 1. Dates of issues are those conventionally given by Dolley, and should be regarded as only approximate.
2. Figures in brackets represent the proportions within the pre-Crux element of the hoard.

⁴⁵ Data based on 114 Crux coins from the Castle Street (No. 2) hoard and 3,209 Crux coins analysed by Petersson (1969, p. 197, table 2). Petersson (1969, 108–9) suggested that there were two principal weight standards used in the Crux issue, an earlier one with a mode of c.1.65 g, and a later one with a mode of c.1.42 g, and this is supported by a stylistic analysis of coins of the York mint; Blackburn 1982, 337. It is possible that there were more stages in the weight reduction, as seen in other types, e.g. five in both Last Small Cross and Quatrefoil (Blackburn and Lyon 1986, 253–6; Blackburn 1990b, 65–70).

⁴⁶ Blackburn 1982.

All four hoards start with the Reform Small Cross issue of Edgar, Edward the Martyr and Æthelred II, contain a larger element of First Hand than Second Hand coins, and most remarkably include some of the exceptionally rare Benediction Hand type.⁴⁷ In the two latest hoards half the coins are of the Crux type. However, if one only considers the pre-Crux element of these two hoards, they are very similar to one another and to the proportions in the earlier two hoards.⁴⁸ The slightly smaller element of Benediction Hand coins in the Kildare and Castle Street (No. 1) hoards, if it is statistically significant, may indicate that those hoards were closed while Benediction coins were still arriving in Dublin – indeed one would expect some to have come over with early Crux coins.⁴⁹

Looking at the regional breakdown of each type across the three Dublin hoards, the consistency is not as great as the foregoing analysis would imply. Table 3 shows for each hoard and type the percentage of the coins from each of seven regions.⁵⁰ Many of the figures are based on such small numbers of coins that variations between the hoards may not be statistically meaningful, although there are some interesting trends. In order to judge the significance of a higher or lower proportion of coins from one region or another, one should take account of the proportion they typically represent among other finds. Metcalf, when seeking to estimate the relative output of late Anglo-Saxon mints, chose as a large and well-documented sample the coins in the Stockholm systematic and Copenhagen collections,⁵¹ and figures based on these have been included for comparison in Table 3. This sample is not a true reflection of mint output, as it will have been influenced by the composition of the coinage that was exported to Scandinavia, and so might, for example, favour mints from eastern England. Nonetheless, it provides a useful comparison for the coins exported to Ireland.

It is not surprising that the representation of the North-Western mints is consistently higher in the Dublin hoards than in the Scandinavian sample, where they form a very small element. Without a die-study, it is difficult to judge whether this is because they were under-represented in the Scandinavian finds or over-represented in the Dublin hoards, but both factors are probably at play. However, North-Western coins are still not particularly prominent in the Dublin hoards, normally accounting for less than 10 per cent of the coins except in the Benediction Hand type. Mints in the adjoining West Midlands are rather poorly represented. For all the other English regions the proportions found in the Dublin hoards are broadly similar to those in the Scandinavian sample. It is particularly of note that the prolific mints in the South East and South West are as well represented in Dublin as in Scandinavia. The balance of northern to southern mints seen here contrasts with that observed by Bornholdt Collins in the Irish and Manx hoards from the third quarter of the tenth century.⁵² A typical pre-reform hoard from Ireland might contain c.14% coins from the South and the Midlands, c.42% from North-West Mercia and the North Midlands, and c.37% from the North East.⁵³ The southern element in the three Dublin hoards represents c.60% of the coins. Dolley had observed that the output of the Chester mint had fallen dramatically in the 980s and earlier 990s, a result, he suggested, of the Viking raid on Cheshire in 980. He also argued that this was accompanied by a marked shift in Dublin's trade away from Chester in favour of ports in the South West.⁵⁴ Yet the trade routes to Dublin may have been still wider, embracing the Channel ports, to achieve the balanced currency reflected in the Dublin hoards.

⁴⁷ As Bornholdt Collins and Screen (2007) have shown, these four hoards together provide no less than 30 of the 176 Benediction Hand coins known from all sources (i.e. 17%).

⁴⁸ The proportions in the pre-Crux elements for the two later hoards are shown in brackets in Table 2.

⁴⁹ As suggested by the Isleworth hoard of 1886, the only English hoard to contain Benediction Hand coins, which had two Second Hand, three Benediction Hand and twenty-three Crux coins (plus some more allegedly in the possession of workmen); Gruuber 1886, 161–3; Blackburn and Pagan 1989, no. 184. The Reslöv hoard from Skåne, Sweden, points in the same direction, with three First Hand, twenty-seven Second Hand, twenty-two Benediction Hand and eighty-eight Crux coins; CNS 3.4.22, discussed in Blackburn 1988, 167–8.

⁵⁰ The mints included in each region should be obvious, though some divisions are arbitrary, thus the North West comprises Chester, Shrewsbury, Stafford and Tamworth, and the North East just York and Lincoln, while the East Midlands includes Colchester and Maldon.

⁵¹ Metcalf 1980, 32–5, app. III; 1981, 52–6, app. IV and V; 1998, 19–21, 293–301.

⁵² Bornholdt Collins 2003, 265–74, app. IV.

⁵³ Bornholdt Collins 2003, 272, table 5.10.

⁵⁴ Dolley and Pirie 1964; Dolley 1966, 36–7.

THE DUBLIN COINAGE *c.995–1050*

Note: Scand sample = A control sample representing coins in Stockholm systematic collection (Hildebrand 1881) and SCBI *Copenhagen* as used by Metcalf (1981, app. V; 1998, 293–301) to estimate relative mint output and the ranking of the mints; for Benediction Hand type based on Bornholdt Collins and Sreen 2007, less the coins from the three Dublin hoards.

Broadly, then, the three Dublin hoards are made up of a balanced mixture of coins from all regions of England, spread over the five successive issues. There are, however, as one might expect, small groups of associated coins that had probably arrived and remained together. One within the Castle Street (No. 2) hoard is a group of twelve Benediction Hand coins of Chester, by four moneymen, all heavily die-linked.⁵⁵ They probably came with some of the early Crux coins of Chester in the hoard that are also die-linked. A second distinctive group, evident from Table 3, can be detected through an unusually high proportion of North-Eastern coins of the Crux issue in the Werburgh Street hoard. These comprise seven coins of Lincoln and fourteen of York (including two Benediction Hand/Crux mules), and the associated group that has bolstered the North East percentage probably comprised several of the York coins including the rare mules. That such small groups should be present among the more recent elements of the hoards does not detract from the general impression that these hoards have been drawn from a reasonably homogeneous currency.

The consistency among the hoards, in terms of both types and regional distributions, is powerful evidence for these being representative of the currency in circulation in c.990/c.995. It is instructive to consider how a currency of this composition would have been achieved, for it is quite different from that found in England, where with regular recoinages coins of earlier types were quite soon removed from general circulation. Thus of the thirty-five English hoards deposited between c.973 and c.1042, thirty are single-type hoards, three have two sequential types, and only two have more than two types.⁵⁶ One of these multi-type hoards is the so-called ‘Cnut hoard’ from the East Midlands containing 8,000 or more coins and clearly a large accumulated store of wealth, while the other is the anomalous Welbourn, Lincs., hoard with eight recorded coins. The composition of the currency in Dublin c.995, as indicated by the Castle Street (No. 2) and Werburgh Street hoards, can best be explained as the product of fifteen to twenty years of regular coin importation from England, probably through trade. The presence of Benediction Hand coins, which were in circulation in England for only a short time, suggests a regular export.

It is interesting that in all four hoards the earliest coins are of the Reform Small Cross type, but there is not one coin pre-dating Edgar’s monetary reform of c.973. Yet the many hoards from Ireland and the Irish Sea littoral deposited c.970 show that pre-Reform coins had been plentiful. Why did none of these survive in Dublin in the 990s? They could not have been reminted in Ireland, for there was no mint at this period, so they must have been exported or melted down as bullion. These were normal processes that one could expect to have resulted in a degree of ‘wastage’ from the currency reducing the proportion of older coins, but the fact that no pre-Reform coins occurred in the hoards suggests that they were preferentially targeted. Their demonetisation in England after c.973 should not have affected their utility in Dublin, except perhaps to those merchants who were trading directly with the English. But more telling may have been their reputation for being debased, for one of the aims of Edgar’s reform was to restore the weight and fineness to the standards of Alfred’s reign.⁵⁷ Such a reputation could well have resulted in their being rejected when the four hoards were being assembled – just as cut halfpennies seem largely to have been – and indeed rejected from the type of *de facto* coin economy that the hoards appear to represent.

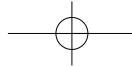
This evidence suggests that on the eve of the introduction of a locally-produced coinage, Dublin enjoyed a vibrant coin economy based on good quality Anglo-Saxon silver pennies. Unlike in England, they comprised a variety of types and their weight range overall would have been considerable.⁵⁸ In England coins passed by tale at a value higher than their intrinsic worth, set by government via the mints. In Dublin their natural value would have been closer to their intrinsic worth, though some premium would have been accorded to them for the convenience of having silver in the form of coins. Yet this natural overvalue is unlikely to have been sufficient to enable coins with such a weight range to pass at an equal value, except

⁵⁵ The twelve coins are struck from two obverse and four reverse dies.

⁵⁶ Allen 2006, 494–5, and app. 3A.

⁵⁷ McKerrell and Stevenson 1972; Metcalf and Northover 1986; Blackburn 1991, 157.

⁵⁸ Within the Castle Street (No. 1) hoard sound coins vary in weight from 1.85 g to 1.14 g.



perhaps in smaller transactions. For any substantial payment in Dublin, it is likely that Anglo-Saxon coins were used by weight, rather than counted out by tale.

The contrast between the three recent Dublin hoards and the next hoard from the Dublin area is dramatic. The c.1830 hoard from Clondalkin, a defended monastic site now in a suburb of Dublin and in the late tenth century within the jurisdiction of the kingdom of Dublin, can only have been deposited two or three years later than the Castle Street (No. 2) and Werburgh Street hoards. It contained upwards of seventy-five pennies of the Crux type, but all of them apparently belonged to Sihtric's new Hiberno-Scandinavian coinage.⁵⁹ If this hoard is as representative of the Dublin currency as those three we have just discussed, a remarkable change had occurred in just a few years, with the previous stock of Anglo-Saxon coins being swept away and replaced with locally-produced Dublin coins. Radical as this may seem, it is a plausible explanation of the evidence. The Clondalkin hoard does not look like a group of coins taken directly from the mint, as they are struck from many different dies and name several moneymasters. This coinage was produced on a large scale, and it is feasible that it could have reminted all the cash held in Dublin.⁶⁰ Even if the Clondalkin hoard contained some Anglo-Saxon Crux coins that were not recorded, it is clear that the new coinage made a dramatic impact on the money in circulation.

Phase I – The first Hiberno-Scandinavian coinage

If the currency of Dublin in the late tenth century was so heavily dependent on the contemporary Anglo-Saxon coinage, as the three Dublin hoards imply, it is not surprising that when the Dubliners started producing a coinage of their own it should have been so strongly influenced by that of the Anglo-Saxons. Indeed for the first twenty-five years, during what Michael Dolley termed Phase I, the designs were copied directly from five successive English issues – *Crux*, *Long Cross*, *Helmet* and *Last Small Cross* of Æthelred and *Quatrefoil* of Cnut – and it is reasonably clear from the Scandinavian hoard evidence that each of the Dublin issues was broadly contemporary with its English prototype.⁶¹ In particular, the hoards from List (Schleswig-Holstein) and Igelösa (Skåne) suggest that the large Long Cross issue was pretty well entirely struck during the currency of the type in England.⁶²

Many of the coins carry the name of Sihtric and a Dublin mint signature (Fig. 4), but particularly after the Crux issue a significant proportion have either the name of the English king or an English mint or moneymaster. (Dolley took immense pleasure in unravelling this net of misleading 'imitations' and 'imitations of imitations').⁶³ The reason for their existence was not that they were intended to be smuggled into England and passed off as official – although a few do seem to have been – but, being primarily an economic rather than political coinage, those in charge of the mint were content to emulate English coins still more closely if it helped to secure acceptance for them in Ireland and the rest of the Viking world. The level of literacy among the Scandinavian communities in Britain, even within the ruling elite, was evidently low – this is strongly indicated by the ninth- and tenth-century coins from the Danelaw, as well as those from Dublin.⁶⁴ Thus when the die-cutters were selecting coins to use as their models they could not easily distinguish between ones reading Sihtric and ones reading Æthelred, and perhaps more importantly people within the ruling administration did not monitor and pull up the die-cutters when they got it wrong.

⁵⁹ Dolley 1966, 55–6; Dolley 1973b; Seaby 1984, 1–3. Out of a corpus of 88 Hiberno-Scandinavian Crux coins published by Dolley (1973b), thirty-seven are documented as coming from the Clondalkin hoard, and a further thirty-seven are attributed to it; no English Crux coins can be attributed to the find.

⁶⁰ A sample of 86 coins in Dolley's corpus were struck from 50 obverse and 51 reverse dies; 32 coins were obverse singletons and 33 were reverse singletons. Projecting from this one can estimate that the whole issue was struck from 80 obverse and 83 reverse dies (mid-points, subject to a degree of uncertainty). It is dangerous to extrapolate from these figures to estimate the total number of coins that were struck, but one can say that they would have numbered in the hundreds of thousands and perhaps over a million.

⁶¹ Dolley 1978b. For a Phase I Crux coin in a contemporary French hoard from Le Puy (Haute-Loire), see Dolley 1975b.

⁶² Blackburn and Dolley 1979, 24; Dolley 1978a.

⁶³ E.g. Dolley 1972; Dolley 1981.

⁶⁴ Blackburn 2004, 338.

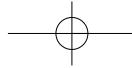


Fig. 4. Crux type of Sihtric 'Silkbeard', moneyer Fastolf, c.995 (enlarged image courtesy National Museum of Ireland).

A number of the dies used in Dublin were actually English in origin, some obtained from mints in Western England; Seaby and Dolley identified Crux, Long Cross, and Last Small Cross dies previously used at Watchet, Worcester and Chester.⁶⁵ However, others had been used at mints elsewhere; Bill Lean and I have identified two in the Helmet type taken from London and York.⁶⁶ In some cases Dublin moneyers actually commissioned English die-cutters at London and Chester to make them Long Cross and Quatrefoil dies in the name of Sihtric.⁶⁷ And we even find three obverse dies of Long Cross and Helmet types of clear Hiberno-Scandinavian style being used in the regular coinage at York.⁶⁸ This all goes to reinforce the close nexus between the English and Hiberno-Scandinavian coinage throughout Phase I, not only in terms of chronology, but also ideas and technology. This is also reflected to some extent in the weight standards adopted in Dublin.

Weights and fineness

The system of weights for the Hiberno-Scandinavian coins of Phase I is less well-ordered and sophisticated than that followed by the English issues. There are not such well-defined standards, but there is some correlation with weights of the English coins (Table 4). The weights of Sihtric's Crux type follow those of the English Crux coins already circulating in Dublin when the coinage was first instituted, but Sihtric did not reduce the standard as the English mints did later in the issue. This can be seen from Fig. 5, which compares the weights of Hiberno-Scandinavian Crux coins with those of English Crux coins generally and with those in the Castle Street (No. 2) hoard. As a result the average weight of the Hiberno-Scandinavian coins is marginally heavier than the English (1.54 g, compared with 1.48 g) and it is considerably heavier than the late Small Crux coins (1.32 g) which were probably their contemporaries.

With the Long Cross type the pattern changes. Whereas the English coins reverted to a heavier weight standard, Dublin continued striking to the same weight standard as the previous issue, c.1.5 g. Before long, however, the Dublin moneyers allowed the standard to fall to c.1.25 g, perhaps on news from merchants trading with England that the weight of the penny had been reduced there. Thus the Long Cross coins with the obverse legend **ÐYMN** fall into the lower part of the distribution, and the same is true of the coins from the hoard from List gathered towards the end of the Long Cross issue.⁶⁹ The weight reduction may also have had the effect of driving heavier coins out of circulation, for they were not present in the List

⁶⁵ Seaby 1971; Dolley 1968; Dolley 1972, 36 n.76.

⁶⁶ Blackburn 1990a, 12–13, 22. There are several other cases, notably in the Long Cross type, where obverse dies used at Dublin are of English style and manufacture, but no die-link with regular English coins has been found to indicate which mint they were obtained from.

⁶⁷ Blackburn 1996, 4–5. Two Helmet reverses in the name of Dublin may have been cut in London; Blackburn 1990a, 22, and 17, nos. 6–7.

⁶⁸ Blackburn 1977; Blackburn 1981, 57–8; Blackburn 1990a, 13–15, 21; see also n.82 below for a coin struck in Dublin before the Helmet die was transferred to York. A Dublin obverse die of Quatrefoil type was also taken to Scandinavia; Blackburn 1996, 9–10.

⁶⁹ Blackburn and Dolley 1979.

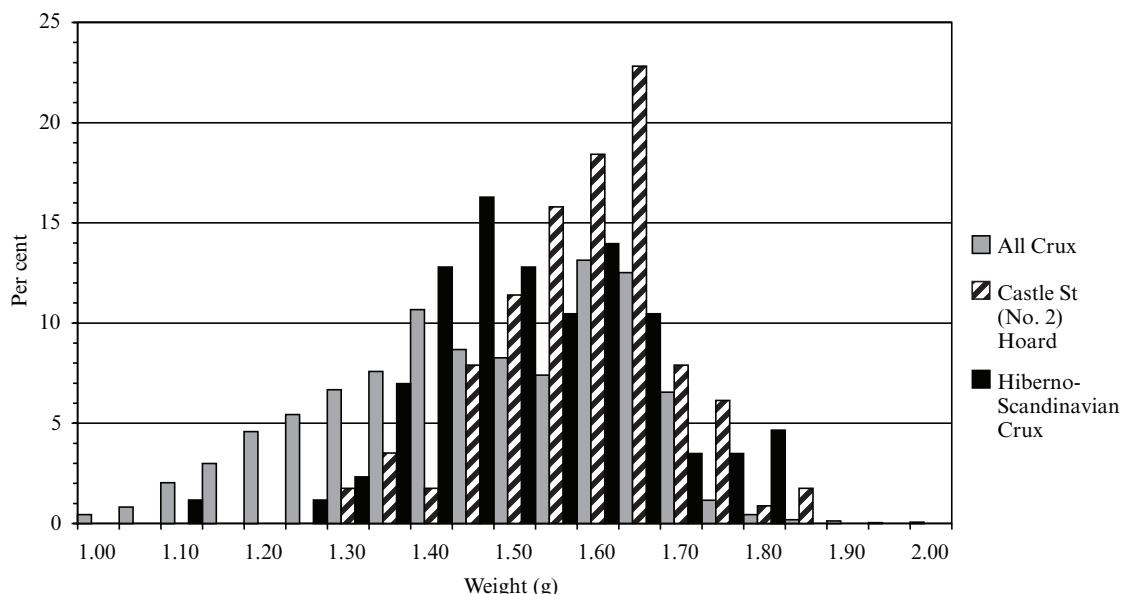
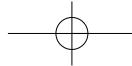


Fig. 5. Comparison of weights of Hiberno-Scandinavian Crux coins, English Crux coins in the Castle Street (No. 2) hoard and all Crux coins (data for all Crux from Petersson 1969).

hoard. In the Helmet, Last Small Cross and Quatrefoil types there was a slow but progressive reduction in the weight of the Hiberno-Norse penny, but although the average weights were lower for the Dublin issues, the individual weights normally fell within the overall range of weights for the Anglo-Saxon coins.

TABLE 4. Average weights of Hiberno-Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon coins *c.995–1035*.

	Hiberno-Scandinavian	Anglo-Saxon
Phase I:		
Crux	1.54 g	1.48 g
Long Cross	1.35 g	1.57 g
Helmet	1.18 g	1.36 g
Last Small Cross	1.14 g	1.32 g
Quatrefoil	1.03 g	1.06 g
Phase II:		
Early	1.29 g	1.06 g
Middle	1.19 g	1.02 g
Late	1.05 g	1.07 g
Very Late	0.7 g	1.07 g

Note: Weights of Anglo-Saxon coins based on Petersson 1969. These are a composite, based on coins struck to various different standards within one type.

How carefully were the Dublin moneyers trying to conform to a weight standard? Bertil Petersson studied the weight variation between die-duplicates, on the assumption that they were mostly struck close in time and probably to the same weight standard.⁷⁰ He found that 42% of his sample lay within 0.3 g of each other, and 72% lay within 0.6 g. The comparable figures for the five Dublin issues of Phase I are presented in Table 5. These show that the Dublin moneyers were not as accurate in the adjustment of the flans for their coins, for only 25% or so of the coins fell within the 0.3 g range, and about 40% were within 0.6 g.⁷¹ However, even if the tolerance was wider, it is clear that they were still striving to strike their coins to a

⁷⁰ Petersson 1969, 142–4 and table 49a.

⁷¹ The figures are quite consistent between issues, apart from the Helmet type which is based on a small sample.

standard. By contrast, another group of Quatrefoil imitations attributed to an unlocated mint in the Irish Sea area, perhaps Meols, were rather less well adjusted, while the contemporary Scandinavian imitations of Anglo-Saxon types were not regulated at all.⁷²

TABLE 5. Weight differences among Hiberno-Scandinavian die-duplicates.

	<i>No. of comparisons</i>	<i>Within 0.03 g</i>	<i>Within 0.06 g</i>	<i>Within 0.09 g</i>
<i>Anglo-Saxon</i>				
Edgar-Harthacnut	389	42%	72%	83%
<i>Hiberno-Scandinavian</i>				
Crux	58	26%	41%	50%
Long Cross	139	26%	41%	63%
Helmet	18	17%	28%	39%
Last Small Cross	101	25%	37%	51%
Quatrefoil	8	25%	38%	50%
<i>Other insular coinages</i>				
‘Irish-Sea’ Quatrefoil	22	9%	36%	50%

Notes: 1. Data for Anglo-Saxon coins from Petersson 1969, Table 491.

2. The ‘No. of comparisons’ indicates the number of times weights can be compared within a group of die-duplicates. Thus one pair of die-duplicates allows one comparison, but a group of three die-duplicates allows four comparisons, and four die-duplicates allows eight comparisons.

The counterpart to the regulation of coin weights is management of the fineness of their silver. Heslip and Northover have shown that the metal used for coins of Phase I is indistinguishable from that of contemporary Anglo-Saxon coins, with finenesses in the range of 93–97%.⁷³ Much of the silver may have come from reminting English coins, but in so far as other sources of mixed bullion and older pre-reform coins were used these must have been refined to the contemporary standard of fineness. This supports the suggestion above that the pre-reform coins were rejected from circulation because of their reputation for being of inferior fineness. In later phases of the Hiberno-Scandinavian coinage the proportion of zinc is higher, showing that there was a change in refining technique, with brass rather than a copper/brass alloy being added to adjust the fineness.

The rationale for the Phase I coinage

The evidence of the Clondalkin hoard suggests that, in establishing a mint in Dublin and introducing his own version of the Crux type, Sihtric was embarking on an ambitious monetary reform, intending to replace the existing stock of Anglo-Saxon coins in Dublin with his own local coinage.⁷⁴ The attractions for any ruler of minting their own coins were the profits to be gained from the mint, as well as the convenience of having a sound currency in which to collect revenues and taxes, and distribute them. Those profits could be enhanced if the circulation of foreign coins were banned, obliging people to take them to the mint for restriking into the local type and pay an appropriate fee. Such a measure requires both political and economic muscle, if it is to be effective and not drive away trade. Sihtric’s compromise was to introduce his own version of the familiar Crux type, in which people had confidence, and to adopt its standards of weight and fineness.

Less than a hundred specimens of Sihtric’s Crux type are known today, and the great majority of these derive from the Clondalkin hoard.⁷⁵ Despite the substantial scale of the issue,⁷⁶ only a handful of specimens have been found in Scandinavia, which contrasts with the

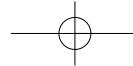
⁷² For the ‘Irish Sea’ imitations see Blackburn 1996, 12; for examples of Scandinavian imitations see Blackburn 1985, 106–7; Malmer 2007, 42–3.

⁷³ Heslip and Northover 1990, 104.

⁷⁴ See above, p. 123.

⁷⁵ See above, n.59.

⁷⁶ See above, n.60.



later issues of Phase I. This suggests that the coinage was very short-lived, both in production and circulation. We have seen from the absence of the new Dublin coins from the Castle Street (No. 2) and Werburgh Street hoards that it was introduced during the latter stages of the issue in England, and some of the Dublin coins copy the style of bust from the late English variety known as Small Crux. This prompted Dolley to date the introduction of the Dublin Crux coinage to *c.997*, relying on his own chronology of the English issue to 991–997.⁷⁷ Today there is scepticism about the assumption underlying Dolley's late Anglo-Saxon chronology, namely that a regular sexennial cycle of recoinages was both intended and largely adhered to between 973 and 1036.⁷⁸ I prefer, then, to use the less precise *c.995* for the introduction of the coinage, recognising that it could fall within a range of several years between then and the end of the millennium.

Phase I Long Cross coins reached Scandinavia and the southern and eastern Baltic in considerable numbers. The Stockholm systematic collection drawn from Swedish hoards contains at least seventy-eight specimens compared with only two of the Crux type. This is largely a reflection of their very different survival rates, rather than the size of the issues, although we have no estimate of the number of dies originally used in the Long Cross issue as a die-study has yet to be carried out. In Insular hoards, too, Crux coins are rarely found in conjunction with Phase I Long Cross. This is strong evidence that on the introduction of Long Cross there was a recoinage in Dublin which was reasonably effective in removing the Crux coins before they had time to penetrate other regions. With two recoinages in quick succession, it is probable that Sihtric intended from the outset to establish a system of *renovatio monetae*. However, in terms of manipulation of the weight standard, as we have seen, the Dublin coinage was not as sophisticated as the Anglo-Saxon system on which it was modelled.

The Helmet, Last Small Cross and Quatrefoil issues of Dublin are scarcer than the Long Cross type, and it is not clear whether they succeeded in recoining the previous issues, if that was the intention. Based on die studies, the Helmet type is estimated to have been struck from around 40 pairs of dies,⁷⁹ and Quatrefoil around 25 pairs.⁸⁰ Unlike the Crux issue, the Helmet and Quatrefoil coins got to the Northern Lands in reasonable numbers, while none has been found in Ireland, but that merely reflects the general scarcity of finds of this period from Ireland. There have been three additions to the 1990 corpus of thirty-one Helmet coins,⁸¹ including one which confirms that the Hiberno-Scandinavian-looking obverse die used to strike some nineteen York coins of the moneyer Colgrim, had previously been used in Dublin.⁸² There are also three additions to the thirty Quatrefoil coins attributed to Dublin in 1996.⁸³

Phase II – A coinage of national identity

For twenty-five years the Hiberno-Scandinavian coinage had shadowed its Anglo-Saxon counterpart, drawing upon the reputation of the latter to give it economic respectability, but also perhaps reflecting Dublin's dependence on English coinage as a medium of trade. The

⁷⁷ Dolley 1973a.

⁷⁸ There is a considerable literature discussing the chronology, including Brand 1984; Stewart 1992, 49–56; Jonsson 1987, 191–2; Blackburn 1991, 161–2.

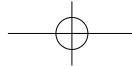
⁷⁹ The point estimates are 38 obverse and 40 reverse dies, but the 95% confidence ranges are 24–66 obverse dies and 24–69 reverse dies; Blackburn 1996, 3 n.6, based on the corpus in Blackburn 1990a.

⁸⁰ The point estimates are 27 obverse and 25 reverse dies, but the 95% confidence ranges are 17–44 obverse dies and 16–40 reverse dies; Blackburn 1996, 2 n.5.

⁸¹ Blackburn 1990a; the three additions are: a. Fitzwilliam Museum, fd Torksey, Lincs. 1992/3 (see below, Appendix, no. 2), from the same dies as no. 19; b. one from new dies in a private Swedish collection from a German sale in 1990 (reading **†ÆÐELRÆD RE† ANGL** and **†FÆ NEM NM' O ÐIHI**; wt. 1.02 g; *pers. comm.* K. Jonsson); and c. one in the Stockholm cabinet, ex Kannungs hoard (Hellvi par., Gotland, SHM 20879; wt. 1.04 g) from the same obverse die as C1–6 and the same reverse as 17.

⁸² The last coin cited in the previous note provides a die-link with the York coins; Blackburn 1990a, 13–15, 21.

⁸³ Blackburn 1996; the three additions are: a. Baldwin sale 31 (14 Oct. 2002), lot 152 (wt 0.81 g, pierced) and b. Manx Museum; ex Glenfaba hoard 2003 (wt 0.99 g), both coins struck from the same obverse as IS21 and the same reverse as HN3 and HN9, showing that IS21 belongs to the Dublin series and not the 'Irish Sea imitations' as I proposed. IS21 is thus the third addition.



abandonment of this system in *c.*1020 and the reversion to copying the Long Cross type, though at a lower weight standard, may be interpreted as a sign of weakness and insularity, an impression reinforced by Dolley's description of these coins as 'Reduced-weight imitations of Æthelred II's Long Cross pence'.⁸⁴ However, I would argue that their introduction should be seen as a major coinage reform, and one requiring considerable political and economic strength to effect. The Long Cross type in England is notable for having been struck to the heaviest standard and having the highest average weight of all late Anglo-Saxon issues.⁸⁵ In Dublin's Phase I Long Cross was the largest issue, and apart from the short-lived Crux type it was also the heaviest. Looking back in 1020, a Dubliner would surely have regarded Long Cross as their most successful coinage, and may well not have thought of it as an English type – Long Cross had ceased to circulate in England some fifteen years earlier.

The new design was deliberately differentiated from the earlier type in two subtle but fundamental ways (Fig. 6). On the obverse the large pellet behind the king's head was replaced by a cross, and on the reverse a tiny pellet was placed in the centre of each quarter of the reverse. By abandoning the use of contemporary Anglo-Saxon coin designs and adopting a deliberately distinct version of their former Long Cross issue, they were creating for the first time a distinctive 'national' coinage for the kingdom. Indeed the Long Cross type, adapted in various ways, would become an iconic design for the Dublin coinage recurring again and again over the following hundred and fifty years.

As with the earlier Phase I issues, the change of design was probably part of a wider coinage reform, involving the complete recoinage of the remaining Phase I currency, a more concerted attempt to exclude foreign coins, and an increase in the weight of the penny. To demonstrate that there was an effective recoinage, one would like to have a hoard from Dublin itself from early in Phase II, but the few hoards from elsewhere in Ireland or the Isle of Man, most notably the Glensaba and Fourknocks hoards, suggest that few Phase I coins remained in circulation by the later 1020s. Moreover, the finds from the Dublin excavations imply that contemporary Anglo-Saxon coins were more effectively excluded from circulation in Phase II.⁸⁶ Towards the end of Phase I the average weight of the penny had fallen to 1.03 g, while the earlier coins of Phase II average 1.29 g (Table 4), which seems to represent a restoration of the standard to that of the Phase I Long Cross issue.

Dating the earliest Phase II coins

During the course of Phase II there are changes in style, literacy and weight of the coins, and additional ornaments are added usually behind the bust or on the neck on some coins. In the Copenhagen Sylloge, the Phase II coins were divided into an earlier and a later grouping,⁸⁷ and this has been followed in subsequent volumes. Even within the earlier grouping there is considerable variation, with some coins that are particularly close in style to coins of Phase I Long Cross, heavy in weight and of good literacy. Since the early 1970s, Stewart Lyon had privately expressed the opinion that certain of these coins were struck during Phase I, close in time to the Long Cross and Helmet issues. The case for this was strengthened in 1987 with the publication of the 'Everlöv' hoard from Skåne in the Swedish *Corpus Nummorum Saeculorum* series.⁸⁸ This large hoard has a *tpq* of 1014 and an insular element with 335 Anglo-Saxon coins, ending in Last Small Cross, and thirteen Hiberno-Scandinavian coins ending with the Helmet type, plus one penny of early Phase II.⁸⁹

⁸⁴ Dolley 1966, 130.

⁸⁵ Petersson 1969, 195–201.

⁸⁶ See above, p. 117.

⁸⁷ Galster, Dolley and Steen Jensen 1974, pls 3–5.

⁸⁸ CNS 3.4.59.6; the attribution to Everlöv is uncertain, and formally it is published as 'Skåne Hoard VI, "Everlöv"'.

⁸⁹ The *tpq* in the report is given as 1018 based on nine Danish Small Cross coins of Cnut with the title *rex Dænorum*, but I have argued that these should be dated 1014–15; Blackburn 1990b. The German coins in the hoard also have a *tpq* of 1014.

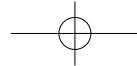
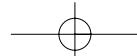


Fig. 6. The Long Cross design: 1. Anglo-Saxon issue; 2–3. Phase I; 4. Phase II (early); 5. Phase III; 6. Phase IV; 7. Phase V; 8. Phase VI; 9. Phase VII (enlarged images courtesy National Museum of Ireland).

The arguments for dating some early Phase II coins to immediately after Phase I Long Cross and/or Helmet type may be summarised as follows:

1. There is a close stylistic similarity between Phase I Long Cross/Helmet and some early Phase II coins. This similarity in style goes down to such minute details that it is clear that certain Phase II dies were carefully copied coins of Phase I. For example, two small marks, probably die flaws, in the field behind the head on Fig. 6, 3, are copied as small pellets on Fig. 6, 4, and on the reverses of the same coins the die-cutter has copied the pellets in the cusps of the upper three terminals of the long cross, and the thick die flaw above the O and the thin one below it in the field. The bust of Fig. 6, 4, on the other



hand, is closer to that on Fig. 6, 2, and the pellet after the F of FÆREMIN, comes from a coin such as this.

2. There is no stylistic similarity with Phase I Last Small Cross and Quatrefoil. Was this because there was continuity between Phase I Long Cross/Helmet and early Phase II, or were the Phase II coins carefully copying Phase I Long Cross?
3. The moneyers Car, Godric and Siulf, who are named on early Phase II coins, are not known from Phase I Last Small Cross or Quatrefoil coins, but they are named on Helmet coins. Stegen, on the other hand, is only known in Phase I Quatrefoil and Phase II. Were the moneyers named on Phase II coins actually active at the time, or were the names copied from earlier coins?
4. The weights of early Phase II coins are similar to those of late Phase I Long Cross and Helmet, but higher than Last Small Cross and Quatrefoil coins. Was this because there was continuity in standard, or did Phase II mark a restoration to an earlier standard?
5. The ‘Everlöv’ hoard, discussed above, provides perhaps the strongest evidence that some Phase II coins pre-date the Quatrefoil issue in England. It does require some special pleading to argue that the one Phase II coin present in the hoard could be several years later than any of the other coins from the British Isles, albeit that the German and Danish element may run on slightly later.

Based on these arguments, the case for placing some Phase II coins at an early date, say c.1005, had looked persuasive, raising the further question whether this was an early isolated group that was later used as the prototype for the substantive issue of Phase II in the 1020s, or whether the Phase II issue ran continuously from c.1005 with the Hiberno-Scandinavian Last Small Cross and Quatrefoil types being struck in parallel with it? Before considering these questions we should see what light the new Glenfaba hoard sheds on the dating of Phase II.

The Glenfaba hoard and Phase II

This hoard, named after the sheading or administrative district in which it was found in order to protect its find location, was discovered in March 2003 and has been acquired intact by the Manx Museum. Its contents are summarised in Table 6. In interpreting the hoard one should bear in mind that it was assembled and deposited in the Isle of Man, and is not directly representative of the currency of Dublin, although three-quarters of the coins were produced in Dublin. The Anglo-Saxon element may have come direct to Man from England, accumulated over a long period, or via Ireland or both. The ‘Irish Sea’ imitations present in the hoard may likewise have come direct from their minting place (Meols?). The latest coins in the hoard are the Hiberno-Manx coins (struck from the so-called ‘transfer die’) and the Hiberno-Scandinavian Phase II, of which most varieties are represented except for the very late ones, such as those with ‘E’ on the neck (below p.133, Fig. 7, 2). The English element in the hoard is therefore distinctly older than most of the Hiberno-Scandinavian and Hiberno-Manx coins.

TABLE 6. Summary of the Glenfaba Hoard, 2003.

464 coins, with a plaited silver arm-ring and 25 silver ingots:

Anglo-Saxon: 79 (*Crux* (1), *Long Cross* (34), *Helmet* (10), *Last Small Cross* (25), *Quatrefoil* (9))

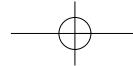
Hiberno-Scandinavian: 343: Phase I (20: *Long Cross* (14), *Helmet* (0), *Last Small Cross* (5), *Quatrefoil* (1)); Phase II (323, including several related to early Hiberno-Manx coins and that may transpire to belong to that series)

Hiberno-Scandinavian/Hiberno-Manx: 30 (from the ‘transfer’ obverse die)

‘Irish Sea’ imitations: 11 (*Quatrefoil*)

Scandinavian: 1 (*Long Cross*)

Date of deposit: c.1030



Only twenty coins of Phase I were present in the hoard, compared with some 323 coins of Phase II. The proportions in which the four Phase I types Long Cross to Quatrefoil occur broadly reflects the scarcity of the issues generally, Helmet and Quatrefoil being the rarest. There are no die-links among the Phase I coins. By contrast many of the coins of Phase II are heavily die-linked and in some most illuminating combinations. The degree of die-linking among particular groups of coins within Phase II may provide evidence for their dating. In principle, if any of the early Phase II coins in the hoard are contemporary with Phase I, then their survival rates ought to be similar, and die-links among them should be rare.

In order to shed some light on the character of the earlier grouping within Phase II, elements of several of die-linked and other associated groups in the hoard are illustrated on **Plate 3**.⁹⁰

I. Sihtric – Styrbern, with A behind bust: the Everlöv dies (**Pl. 3, 1–3**). Three die-duplicates struck from the same dies as the Phase II coin in the ‘Everlöv’ hoard (*CNS* 4.3.59:805) and *SCBI* 8 (BM), 68.

II. Sihtric – Færemin, Siult and Godric (**Pl. 3, 4–6**). Three coins sharing one obverse die but naming three different moneyers. Note that on the reverse of **Pl. 3, 4** there are pellets in three of the four cusps at the ends of the cross arms, as found on some coins of Phase I (e.g. Fig. 6, 2).

III. Sihtric – Godric and Stegn (**Pl. 3, 7–8**). A die chain involving six coins linking two moneyers. The obverse die, with a small cross on the front of the drapery and on the final O of the legend, is copied on another die used on three coins of Siult (**Pl. 3, 9**).

IV. Sihtric – Car (**Pl. 3, 10–12**). Three coins naming the moneyer Car from one obverse and two reverse dies. In its initial state (**Pl. 3, 10**) the obverse die omitted the cross behind the head, but this was subsequently corrected (**Pl. 3, 11–12**).

V. Sihtric – Færemin and Stegn (**Pl. 3, 13–16**). Six coins involving two moneyers, struck from one obverse and four reverse dies.

VI. Æthelred and Sihtric – Færemin and Siult derivative (**Pl. 3, 17–20**). Four coins, not all die-linked, but illustrating how coin inscriptions were copied within Phase II. **Pl. 3, 17** has a corrupt obverse legend **+ÆDELRE+AÐRNMO**, which is repeated on **Pl. 3, 18**. The reverse of this has the meaningless **+SMI / REN / NMO / LIEII**, apparently a copied from the first quarter of a Siult inscription (cf. **Pl. 3, 5**), and the remaining three quarters from a Færemin inscription (cf. **Pl. 3, 20**). This blundered reverse inscription is copied on several die-linked groups within the hoard, found on many coins including **Pl. 3, 19**. Note the two small pellets behind the hair on **Pl. 3, 17, 19** and **20**, copied from an original Phase I coin (cf. Fig. 6, 3).

VII. Thymn – Færemin derivative (**Pl. 3, 21–24**). A well-known group of coins has the enigmatic obverse legend **+ÐYMNROE+MNEÐI**. They are securely dated to the later part of Phase I Long Cross by their occurrence in the Igelösa and List hoards.⁹¹ Somewhat surprisingly, twelve coins in the Glenfabba hoard have this inscription, ten of them struck from the same pair of dies. Eleven of them have no pellets in the reverse quarters or a cross behind the head, and so they would appear to belong to Phase I. One of the single coins that is not die-linked (**Pl. 3, 21**) appears to be a classic example of the Phase I issue in the name of the moneyer Færemin. However, the ten die-duplicates (**Pl. 3, 22–3**) have a cross on the neck and a distinctive curly ‘J’ or ‘serpent’ symbol behind the neck which is also found on a number of later Phase II coins, and the reverse inscription is blundered. The weight of the separate specimen (1.36 g) is slightly heavier than those of the die-duplicates (1.16 g–1.26 g). The other non-die-linked coin (**Pl. 3, 24**) has the same

⁹⁰ A systematic study of the die-links within the hoard with coins elsewhere is being undertaken by Dr Bornholdt Collins. Those described here are examples drawn from preliminary work we have both undertaken on the hoard. I am most grateful to Dr Bornholdt Collins for allowing me to cite her work here.

⁹¹ Dolley 1978; Blackburn and Dolley 1979.

features as the die-duplicates, but it has small pellets in three or perhaps four of the reverse quarters, and all these eleven coins clearly belong to Phase II. They demonstrate, once again, how closely a die-cutter in Phase II could copy Phase I issues when he chose to.⁹²

Several conclusions emerge from these examples. The earliest Phase II coins, including die-duplicates of the coin in the 'Everlöv' hoard, are well represented in the Glenfaba hoard, and many of them are intensively die-linked within the hoard. Their survival rate in this hoard is much higher than for any of the Phase I issues. The moneymen named on early Phase II coins – Færmin, Car, Godric, Siult, Stegn, Styrbern – are closely die-linked with one another, i.e. they share common obverse dies. This is not a pattern that one normally sees at Anglo-Saxon mints, where moneymen are understood generally to have operated separately from their own private tenements. Such an arrangement was probably used at Dublin too, and it seems likely that these six moneymen, including the most common one, Færmin, were not actually producing the coins, but their names were merely being copied from Phase I coinages. The die-cutter at Dublin, who is quite likely to have been just one individual, was masterful at copying other coins, paying attention to minute details that caught his eye, although he was not above making mistakes such as omitting the cross behind the head or the four pellets in the reverse quarters. He copied both Phase I coins and other Phase II coins.

These points address most of the arguments previously advanced for attributing some early Phase II coins to the period of Phase I Long Cross or Helmet. Skilful copying was the Phase II die-cutter's business. Even the evidence of the 'Everlöv' hoard can be counter-balanced by the heavy die-linking involving the dies that struck the one Phase II coin in that hoard. If these were contemporary with Phase I coins, one could reasonably expect them to have survived in similar numbers to those and to exhibit a similar degree of die-linking. The Glenfaba hoard, then, seems to confirm Dolley's view that Phase II marked a deliberate new phase of coinage that followed after the Dublin Quatrefoil issue. This could have been as early as 1018, allowing just a year or so for Quatrefoil, and this would accord better with the evidence of the 'Everlöv' hoard.

Phase III – A further monetary reform

Among the substantial later grouping of coins within Phase II there are many coins with special ornamental marks on the bust or in the field. These include various combinations of pellets, crosses, a quatrefoil, 'wishbone', T-symbol, 'serpent' or J-symbol (Fig. 7, 1), 'E', and a naturalistic representation of a hand. Most of these varieties, including the single hand, occur in the Glenfaba hoard, and Bornholdt Collins' work on die-linking within and outside the hoard should elucidate the pattern of use of these symbols, even if their function may remain uncertain. One variety that is absent from the hoard is that with an 'E' on the bust and in one quarter of the reverse (Fig. 7, 2).⁹³ It is one of the final varieties of Phase II, and it is evident that the weight standard had collapsed from around 1.05 g to 0.6 g–0.7 g. This is one of the few varieties of Phase II that occurred in the Dunbrody hoard, which contained 1,400 Hiberno-Scandinavian coins predominantly of Phase III.⁹⁴ It is also the only variety known to form mules with Phase III (Fig. 7, 3).⁹⁵

The introduction of a new design, distinguished by one or, more usually, two stylised hands in quarters of the reverse, heralded a reform as deliberate as that introducing Phase II. The new coins are instantly recognisable, and the fact that mules with Phase II are so rare shows that the old dies were withdrawn and replaced with new ones. Seaby has suggested that the

⁹² The hoard contains other examples where Phase I features, including the large pellet behind the bust and lack of small pellets in the reverse quarters, have been copied during Phase II, showing that occasionally the desire to copy a prototype displaced the principle that Phase II coins should have a different symbol behind the bust and four small pellets on the reverse.

⁹³ E.g. Seaby 1984, nos. 115–21.

⁹⁴ Hall 1974, 80; Blackburn and Seaby 1976, 32.

⁹⁵ Three specimens of the Phase II/III mule are known, one in *SCBI Copenhagen V* 199; one owned by the present author (illus. Fig. 7, 3; bt Baldwin 1973, wt. 0.90 g); and the third in the collection of C.J. Denton; see Seaby 1984, 9.

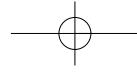


Fig. 7. Phases II and III: 1–2. late varieties of Phase II; 3. Phase II/III mule; 4–5. Phase III (enlarged images courtesy National Museum of Ireland, except 3, from the author's collection).

variety with one hand on the reverse belongs early in the Phase (Fig. 7, 5),⁹⁶ but it then settles down using the basic two-hands design, though often with the obverse marked with additional ornaments, as had occurred in Phase II. One reason for the reform is evident, for the weight standard was raised from *c.0.6 g* to *c.1.0 g*.

It is likely that in Dublin the Phase III reform was accompanied by a formal withdrawal of the preceding issues, but elsewhere this could not be enforced, and so a small number of the latest varieties are found in the hoards from Dunbrody (Co. Wexford) and Peel (Isle of Man). The excavation finds from Dublin show that Anglo-Saxon coins were now effectively excluded, and indeed they become increasingly rare in Irish hoards too. Phase III is the last Dublin issue to be found in Scandinavian hoards, and in modest numbers at that, but the export of Anglo-Saxon and German coins to the Northern Lands was also declining, and they too are scarce after *c.1050*, so this need not be taken as a sign of Dublin's increasing insularity. Its primary function was, no doubt, to provide an effective currency for the kingdom of Dublin, locally and regionally in Ireland and around the Irish Sea, and importantly a source of income from the mint. It achieved that and more, providing a tangible symbol of national identity.

Conclusions

In this lecture I have surveyed the first fifty years or so of the Hiberno-Scandinavian coinage in the light of new find evidence, and I have tried to elucidate the nature of the monetary system and the policies that lay behind it. The three Dublin hoards of the earlier 990s have brought a dramatic revelation that there already existed an effective coin economy based on imported Anglo-Saxon coins. This helps one understand how Sihtric 'Silkbeard' could introduce so effectively a new currency based on his own local coinage. It was an ambitious project, which seems to have worked well initially. His Crux type, within a very short time, appears to have largely replaced the foreign coins circulating in Dublin. With the change of

⁹⁶ Seaby 2002, 320.

type in England, Sihtric decided to follow suit, and to remint the Crux type with his own version of the Long Cross type. This seems to have been effective, to judge from the scarcity of Dublin Crux coins in Scandinavia and elsewhere. However, the following three issues of Phase I were not struck on the same scale, and they may not have accomplished a renewal of the earlier currency, if indeed that was their goal. That Sihtric in the mid- to late 990s should have exercised the leadership and demonstrated the political and economic power necessary to establish this system of coinage casts a rather different light on the period than that of the usual narrative account of political and military events.

The initiatives introducing Phase II in c.1018 and Phase III in c.1035 likewise were radical reforms, driven by a desire to raise the weight standard for the coins, to enforce a managed coin economy excluding foreign coins, and to provide a distinctive national identity for the coinage. Certainly it was different from the Anglo-Saxon system, but then so too were the coinages of most of Continental Europe. The weight standard of the Dublin penny went through cycles of decline and restoration, but that was also typical of many Early Medieval coinages, including those in England. What followed after the mid-eleventh century is somewhat unclear. This is a period of coinage ripe for research, preferably bolstered by some new finds, to understand the complications of the many coin types that make up Phase V, the uniformity of Phase VI and the exotic bracteates and semi-bracteates of Phase VII.

APPENDIX

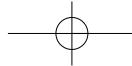
HIBERNO-SCANDINAVIAN COINS FOUND IN ENGLAND

1. Phase I, Long Cross type, 'Sihtric' and 'Winchester' (RINI), moneyer 'Byrhtioth', 1.30 g. Same dies as Dolley 1972, 39, pl. A.4. Found near Ickleton, Cambs, 2006 (now in Fitzwilliam Museum). Coin Register 2007, no. 404.
2. Phase I, Helmet type, 'Æthelred' and garbled mint (MORI), cut-halfpenny, 0.58 g. Same dies as Blackburn 1990a, no. 19. Found Torksey, Lincs., 1992/3 (now in Fitzwilliam Museum). Coin Register 1994, no. 236.
- 3–4. Possibly two Phase I, Quatrefoil coins, 'Cnut', Dublin, plausibly from the Kingsholm, Glos. c.1780 hoard. Blackburn 1996, p. 6 and nos HN12 c and d.
5. Phase III, cut-halfpenny, 0.39 g. Found at Meols, Wirral, Cheshire, 1870–77 (probably that now in Grosvenor Museum). Bean 2007, 330–1, no. S6039.
- 6–7. Two coins of Phase V, new type with Long Cross obverse and 'Jewel Cross' reverse (wts. 0.41 g and 0.45 g) found during archaeological excavations in the backfill of a grave. Robinson 1993, nos 9–10.

KEY TO PLATE 3

Coins from the Glenfaba Hoard, Isle of Man, 2003 illustrating groups I–VII discussed on pp. 131–2 (references are to Glenfaba photo nos). Images are reproduced courtesy of the Manx Museum, Douglas.

1.	I	Glenfaba 322	1.34 g
2.	I	Glenfaba 323	1.38 g
3.	I	Glenfaba 324	1.43 g
4.	II	Glenfaba 345	1.28 g
5.	II	Glenfaba 346	1.38 g
6.	II	Glenfaba 347	1.26 g
7.	III	Glenfaba 141	1.32 g
8.	III	Glenfaba 167	1.26 g
9.	III	Glenfaba 143	1.27 g
10.	IV	Glenfaba 416	1.34 g
11.	IV	Glenfaba 348	1.36 g
12.	IV	Glenfaba 344	1.33 g
13.	V	Glenfaba 134	1.42 g
14.	V	Glenfaba 136	1.28 g
15.	V	Glenfaba 150	1.43 g
16.	V	Glenfaba 152	1.33 g
17.	VI	Glenfaba 130	1.39 g
18.	VI	Glenfaba 131	1.30 g
19.	VI	Glenfaba 372	1.21 g



20.	VI	Glenfaba 373	1.06 g
21.	VII	Glenfaba 106	1.36 g
22.	VII	Glenfaba 111	1.16 g
23.	VII	Glenfaba 113	1.21 g
24.	VII	Glenfaba 117	1.18 g

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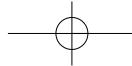
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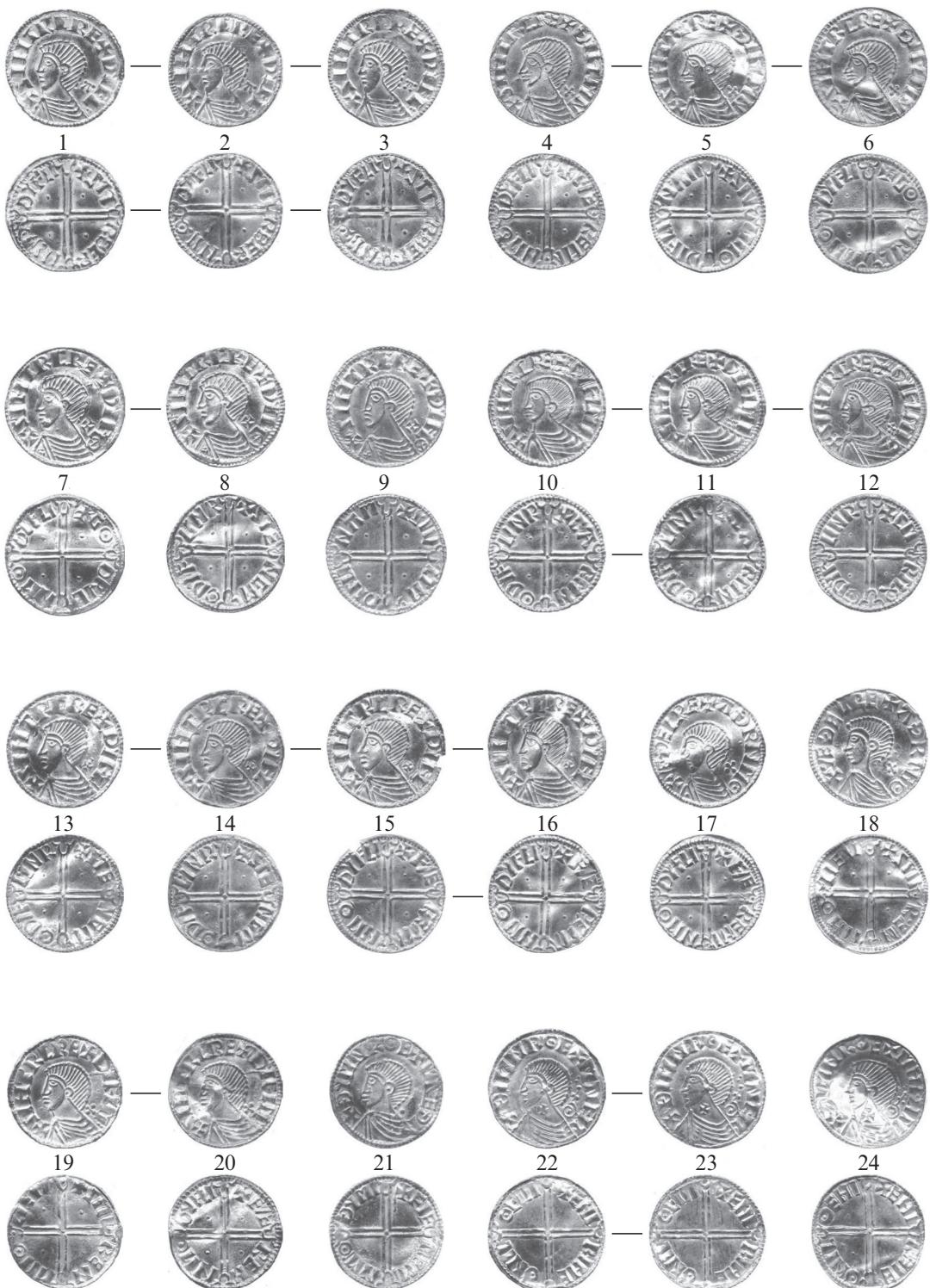
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PLATE 3



BLACKBURN: THE DUBLIN COINAGE *c.995–1050*

THE SCOTTISH COPPER *CRUX PELLIT* COINAGE: A TYPOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

N.M.MCQ. HOLMES

Introduction

THE series of late medieval copper issues bearing an abbreviated form of the inscription CRVX PELLIT OMNE CRIMEN has long presented problems to students of Scottish numismatics, and although the place of this issue within the history of the coinage seems now to have been established to general satisfaction, there is still uncertainty over when and for how long the coins may have been struck and the possible significance of the large number of minor varieties represented on known specimens. Although this study will be concerned largely with these typological details, it may be useful initially to summarise the conclusions of previous studies.¹

For many years there was disagreement as to whether the coins were of Scottish origin at all. They were not included in the major nineteenth-century collections of Scottish coins, and they were omitted by Edward Burns from *The Coinage of Scotland* (1887). Eminent nineteenth-century numismatists considered them to be foreign, although earlier writers had accepted them as Scottish. When fifty-one specimens were recovered, with other coins, from a drain at Crossraguel Abbey, Ayrshire, in 1919, the series was ascribed by G. Macdonald to an ecclesiastical mint at that location.² In 1950 R.B.K. Stevenson published a paper in which he reattributed the coins to a mint striking for Bishop James Kennedy of St Andrews, who died in 1465.³ By 1977, however, Mrs J.E.L. Murray had concluded that, in view of the large number of different varieties represented among the relatively small number of extant specimens, the coins probably belonged to a regal issue, and she identified them with those referred to in contemporary documents as 'three-penny pennies' or 'Cochrane's placks', which appear to have been greatly devalued, perhaps to a farthing, in 1482.⁴ Unfortunately Mrs Murray did not live to publish her studies of the coins themselves, although she had collected details of a great many specimens. It may, however, be useful at this point to summarise the contents of her paper, in order to provide a context for what follows.

The first part is concerned with identifying what exactly was meant by the term 'black money' in fifteenth-century documents. Mrs Murray concluded that neither the placks nor the pennies of billon were included in this description, which was intended to cover only the issues in pure copper. She then discussed briefly the various types of copper farthing minted during the reign of James III, suggesting that the two varieties which have always been regarded as part of the regal coinage may have been struck around 1466, one possibly before and the other after the Act of Parliament of that year in which their striking was officially commanded. The other types, once believed to be the products of an ecclesiastical mint at Crossraguel Abbey, may now be regarded as regal issues of a slightly later period. (It may be

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¹ Earlier theories about the origin of these coins were described and fully discussed by Mrs J.E.L. Murray (1977). Little would be gained by repeating this detailed account here, and a summary is provided simply in order to explain why so little attention was paid to this coinage for so long.

² Macdonald 1919.

³ Stevenson 1950.

⁴ Murray 1977.

noted that, neither here nor in any other part of her paper, did Mrs Murray suggest that there was any detectable link in terms of date or place of striking between the farthings and the larger Crux Pellit coppers.)

The remainder of the paper is concerned with the Crux Pellit issues. Mrs Murray suggested that these coins may have been struck at a theoretical weight of sixteen to the ounce, and explained why she had identified them with the 'threepenny pennies' of contemporary documents, afterwards providing a history of previous opinions and attributions. In discussing the coins themselves, she drew attention to various details which might suggest a connection with the Scottish regal coinage of the 1470s and 1480s. Following this are some calculations relating to the possible profit to the king from the striking of the black money and to the size of the coinage, which are offered with a fair degree of caution. A figure of four million Crux Pellit coins is tentatively suggested. [This figure seems astonishing today, since the coins have always been regarded as relatively rare items by dealers and collectors, although the numbers which have been found in Scotland in recent years suggests that this is not in fact the case (see Catalogue).]

A general description of the Crux Pellit coins would state that they bear on the obverse an orb surmounted by a cross, normally accompanied by the royal title of a king by the name of James. On the reverse is a long cross within a four-arc tressure, accompanied by a legend comprising an abbreviated version of CRVX PELLIT OMNE CRIMEN (the cross drives away all sin). On occasions this inscription also appears on the obverse, to the exclusion of the royal title.

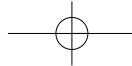
Macdonald divided the Crossraguel Abbey finds into three varieties, the first with orb portrayed as if tilted downwards, the second with it tilted upwards and the third similar but with a rosette in the middle.⁵ This was taken by I.H. Stewart (now Lord Stewartby) as the basis of his classification, which is the one still in general use today.⁶ Stewart divided Macdonald's first variety into Ia, with orb tilted downwards and to left, and Ib, with orb tilted downwards and to right. His Type IIa bore the orb tilted upwards and to the right, with IIb (a rare variety) having a pellet or jewel on each of the three segments of the orb. Stewart Type III was as Macdonald's third variety, with a rosette on the middle of the orb. This classification has since been refined a little further, although not in an accessible published form. Coins of Type I are known which appear to show the orb tilted vertically downwards, i.e. with no visible curve on the upper band, and these may be referred to in this context as Ic. There are also Type II coins on which the orb is shown tilted upwards and to the left (IIc). Type III, with rosette, has been divided into IIIa (orb upwards and to left) and IIIb (orb upwards and to right).

This classification, although useful in dividing the series into easily identifiable categories for those with a general interest in Scottish coinage, is dependent entirely on just one aspect of the appearance of the obverse of the coins. Both Stewart and Murray drew attention to the large number of varieties involving the form of the legends and of the stops between words, and also involving the ornaments placed on the cusps and in the spandrels of the tressure on the reverse. Murray also alluded briefly to differences in the form of the lettering. This new study has looked at all these aspects, individually and in combination, on as many specimens as it has realistically been possible to study, to see what pattern, if any, emerges. Letter forms have been compared with those on other Scottish coins of the second half of the fifteenth century, to see whether there is any re-use of punches which might help in dating the Crux Pellit issues.

Unfortunately any attempt at a die study would have no chance of success. The standard of workmanship evident in the die-sinking and striking is often poor, and many of the extant specimens are corroded to a greater or lesser degree. Although an occasional die-link between coins is discernible, many others may remain unidentifiable as a result of the poor condition of the coins, and any figures produced would therefore be misleading.

⁵ Macdonald 1919, 289–92.

⁶ Stewart 1967, 140–1.



In her 1977 paper Mrs Murray referred to the existence of a detailed list of 104 Crux Pellit coppers drawn up by Robert Kerr, a former curator at what was then the Royal Scottish Museum (now part of National Museums Scotland). This had been prepared in 1958, and comprised coins in the collections of what was then the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, of the British Museum and of I.H. Stewart. The present writer has located a list of addenda, fourteen in number, most of them at that time in the collections of the St Andrews Cathedral Museum and the Kelvingrove Museum, Glasgow. Unfortunately the St Andrews coins were subsequently stolen during a robbery at the museum, and the Kelvingrove coins could no longer be located when an opportunity to view them was requested in 2006, but they were recorded in sufficient detail by Kerr to enable them to be included in this study. The number of specimens available for study has increased considerably, with the total included here being 304 (plus two further coins added to the corpus after the completion of the rest of the paper). All of these (except those on the list of addenda mentioned above) have at some stage and in some form been seen and recorded by the present writer. Many of the coins themselves have been examined in the course of compiling the corpus, and others had been recorded photographically or in the form of plaster casts. Also included are other coins published by Dr J.D. Bateson and the present writer in the Scottish Coin Finds Record since 1987, since although some of these were not recorded with the degree of detail required for this study, the amount of information which *has* been preserved is often sufficient to allow the coins to be allocated a place within the series. As a precaution, the small number of non-museum coins recorded in writing by other scholars, but of which no image now exists, have been excluded. This in no way casts aspersions on the recording skills of others, but stems from the possibility that some of them may in fact be the same coins as have been recorded elsewhere.

Framework for a new classification

Although the current classification fails to take account of some of the variable features on the coins, there is an argument for retaining its basic structure. The major types (I, II and III), as described by Macdonald, have been in common use for so long, and are so familiar to students of Scottish coinage, that it would seem perverse to abandon these without very good reason. On the other hand, the subdivisions which have been introduced more recently are not always used, and since they have developed as new types have been discovered, they do not form a logical system. Although Ia and Ib indicate obverse with orb tilted downwards and to left and right respectively, IIa has the orb shown as upwards and to *right*, IIb has 'jewels' on the orb, and coins with orb upwards and to left (IIc) are not included in the published system at all. Since the letters 'a' and 'b' can not be reattributed within the major types without sowing the seeds of confusion, it has been decided to abandon these altogether and substitute 'L' and 'R' for coins on which the orb appears to be tilted to the left and right respectively. Coins of Type I on which the orb appears vertical (Ic) are very few in number, and the appearance is almost certainly an illusion brought about by their poor condition, so these will not be regarded as a separate category, but those coins which have the CRVX legend on the obverse have been given their own sub-type. The 'jewels' which occur on the orb of a very few Type II coins, along with the annulets which are now known on a few specimens of Type III, seem to be merely minor additions on particular dies, but these two varieties should also, perhaps, be given their own classification, pending any possible future assessment of their significance. The basic framework now suggested is therefore as in Table 1.

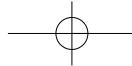


TABLE 1. Revised classification of major types

IL(i)	Orb tilted downwards and to left	= Stewart Ia
IL(ii)	As above, with CRVX legend on obverse	included in Stewart Ia
IR	Orb tilted downwards and to right	= Stewart Ib
IIL	Orb tilted upwards and to left	not listed by Stewart, sometimes designated IIc
IIR	Orb tilted upwards and to right	= Stewart IIa
IIR*	As above, with pellets / 'jewels' on orb	= Stewart IIb
IIIL	Orb tilted upwards and to left; rosette on middle	= Stewart III, sometimes designated IIIa
IIIL*	As above, with annulet(s) on orb	not listed by Stewart
IIIR	Orb tilted upwards and to right; rosette on middle	= Stewart III, sometimes designated IIIb

On a primary level, therefore, this proposed new classification represents simply a reorganisation of what has gone before, and the nine types, based on obverse, which it includes may well provide enough distinctions for the general student or collector. However, within this framework there is scope to include all the many variants, both major and minor, which are important for any detailed study of this problematic coinage. These may be categorised as follows:

Obverse

- (a) The exact form of the inscription
- (b) The type and position of stops between the words of the inscription
- (c) The shape of the letters
- (d) Any ornaments on the orb

Reverse

- (a), (b) and (c) as for obverse
- (d) The form of the ornaments on the cusps and in the spandrels of the treasure

On any given coin it is most unlikely that all the details will be clear, and it is therefore impossible to guarantee that every variant within every category can ever be listed. New variants are almost bound to be discovered as further coins are brought to light, and for this reason, as well as on account of the very large number of recorded combinations of the variants already known, it would be unwise to attempt to create a complicated system of classification in which each typological variant is deemed to constitute a discrete and definable sub-type. In many cases a particular combination of variants may exist only on a single die. The currently recorded variants within each of the above categories will simply be listed below, and a study of which of these occur within each of the designated types will be used in an attempt to understand the place of each type within the overall coinage.

Legends and stops

Tables 2 and 3 contain all the obverse and reverse legends so far recorded, indicating the major types in which they are known to occur and the forms of stops recorded with them. Where legends are shown in full, only coins where the legend(s) can definitely be read or reconstructed in full are included. Incomplete legends are included where they differ from any which have been recorded in full. Stops may be of single or double type, or a combination of the two.

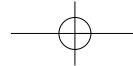
TABLE 2. Obverse legends and associated stops

<i>Obverse legend</i>	<i>IL</i>	<i>IR</i>	<i>IIL</i>	<i>IIR</i>	<i>IIIL</i>	<i>IIIR</i>
A + IACOBVS DEI GRACIA REX					annulets	
B + IACOBVS DEI GRA REX S	saltires	saltires			saltires	
C + IACOBVS DEI GRA REX	saltires annulets	saltires	annulets none	annulets none	annulets saltires none	stars none
D + IACOBVS DEI REX GRA					saltires	
E + IACOBVS DEI GRA RE				annulets	saltires	
F + IACOBVS DEI GRA RX		none		none		
G + IAC[]S D GRA REX				annulets		
H + IACOBS DEI GRA REX				?annulets stars		stars
I + IACOVS DEI GRA REX				annulets		stars
J + IACOIVS DEI GRA REX						?
K + CRVX PELLIT OIE CRIM	saltires					
L + CRVX PELLIT OIE CRM	saltires					

Obverse legend G needs to be confirmed. It occurs on one coin only, and may possibly be the result of faulty striking. Obverse legend J also occurs on one coin only, and the form of the stops is uncertain.

TABLE 3. Reverse legends and associated stops

<i>Reverse legend</i>	<i>IL</i>	<i>IR</i>	<i>IIL</i>	<i>IIR</i>	<i>IIIL</i>	<i>IIIR</i>
1 + CRVX PELLIT OIE CRIMEI	saltires					
2 + CRVX PELLIT OIE CRIME		saltires			annulets	
3 + CRVX PELLIT OIE CRIM	saltires	saltires	annulets	annulets	annulets saltires	stars
4 + CRVX PELLIT OIE CRM				annulets	annulets saltires stars	annulets
5 + CRVX PELLIT OIE CM					stars	stars
6 + CRVX OIE CIRIII	saltires					
7 + CRVX PELLIT OIE CRIII	saltires	saltires				
8 + CRVX PELLIT OIE CRIII	saltires	saltires				stars
9 + CRVX PELLIT OIE CRII	saltires	saltires		annulets stars	saltires	stars
10 + CRVX PELLIT OIE CRI					stars	saltires
11 + CRVX PELLIT OIE CR					stars	saltires
12 + CRVX PEL OIE CI					stars	
13 + CRVX PELLIT OI CRIM					annulets	
14 + CRVX IT OI CRII					stars	
15 + CRVX IT OE CRIII					saltires	
16 + CRVX PELLIT OE CRII					saltires	

TABLE 3. *Cont.*

<i>Reverse legend</i>	<i>IL</i>	<i>IR</i>	<i>IIL</i>	<i>IIR</i>	<i>IIIL</i>	<i>IIIR</i>
17 + CRVX PELLIT OE CRI					saltires	
18 + CRVX PELLIT OE CR					saltires	
19 + CRVX PELLT OIE CRII					stars	
20 + CRVX PELLT OIE CRI					?saltires	
					stars	
21 [?+] CRVX PELLT OI CRII[]					?saltires	
22 + CRVX PELLT OI CRI					stars	
23 + CRVX PELL[] OIE CII					stars	
24 + CRVX [PEL]LI OIE CRI					stars	
25 + CRX PELLIT OIE CRI						saltires
26 ☠ CRVX PE III		annulets				
27 ☠ CRVX PELLIT OIE CRII				annulets		
28 CRVX PELLIT OIE CRIM				annulets		annulets
29 CRVX PELLIT OIE CRM				annulets		?annulets
30 CRVX PELLIT OIE CRIII				annulets		
31 + PELLIT CRIMEN		?				
32 + PELLIT OIE CRIMEII		saltires				
33 + PELLIT OIE CRIME		saltires				

Reverse legend 31 was recorded on a coin found by a metal-detectorist some years ago and no longer available for study. The form of the stops was recorded as uncertain.

These tables demonstrate that Type III contains a substantially greater number of variants of the reverse legend than the other two, as well as a greater variety of stops in the legends on both sides. In fact, the stops on Type I coins are almost entirely saltires, and those on Type II coins almost entirely annulets. Only a very few coins do not conform to this pattern, and most of these may be regarded as anomalous in other ways as well, as will be outlined below.

Lettering

Detailed recording of letter forms was an integral part of the initial phase of this study, in the hope that this would both assist with the identification of groups of coins within the overall classification and allow comparisons with letter punches used on silver and billon coins of James II and III. In spite of the poor workmanship displayed in the die-sinking and striking of the coins, and the worn and corroded condition of many of the surviving specimens, it was possible to identify a great many letter forms, but because of these factors the isolating of individual punches proved in most cases to be unreliable at best. A small proportion of the letter forms observed were sufficiently distinctive to allow them to be used in pursuance of the first of the above-mentioned aims, and the significance of these will be discussed below, but in virtually no instance could any of these easily identifiable letter forms be associated with any other coinage issue. The very few exceptions to this include an unusual form of the letter C, described and illustrated below as C1, which is found only on Type I Crux Pellit coins and on gold and silver coins of James II's second (crown groat) coinage. Two forms of the letter G seem to correspond to those on different types of gold coin of James III.

There follows a discussion of various forms of all the letters represented in Crux Pellit legends, but in the light of the above there would be little point in describing and illustrating every variety. Instead it is proposed to discuss in general terms the various recorded forms of each letter, and to single out some of each which are distinctive and/or which illustrate the range of variants present (see Fig. 1).



Fig. 1. Characteristic letter forms found on Crux Pellit coins.

A (*occurs on obverse only*)

The letter A is almost invariably without a bar across the middle. The form most frequently found in Types IL, IIIIL and IIIR has a peaked top and fish-tail ends to the legs and the top bar (A1). Mrs Murray noted that an A with a peaked top is not found on Scottish silver before 1475,⁷ but this may or may not be significant in this context. Many coins of IR, IIL, IIR, and some of IIIIL, have a squatter letter, also peak-topped but without fish-tail ends to the top bar (A2). A squat and apparently unpeaked A occasionally appears on coins of IL, IIR and IIIIL (A3). Some IIIR coins have an unpeaked A with straight legs (A4). There are very infrequent occurrences of barred As of varying form in IL (two die-linked obverses), IL/II transitional (one coin) and IIR (one coin), and there is occasional evidence of broken punches.

B (*occurs on obverse only*)

Coins of types IL and IR have a straight-backed letter with serifs and full and fairly rounded loops (B1): this punch is also found broken at the top. Common on coins of IIR is a letter with incomplete loops. It has a small projection from the inside of the upright, not extending

⁷ Murray 1977, 123.

to join with the junction of the loops at the front of the letter (B2). The upright is normally incurved, but appears to be straight on one coin of IIR and possibly on one of IIIL. A letter with incurved upright and full but fairly angular loops (B3) occurs on coins of IIL, IIR and IIIL, and on IIIL and IIIR after the punch breaks at the bottom. The most common form of B on IIIL has a straight upright and full angular loops (B4). It is found with or without serifs on the upright.

C (occurs on both obverse and reverse)

This letter appears in a number of very distinctive forms. A tall, upright letter with open front and large serifs appears on the obverse and reverse of a number of coins of Types IL and IR (C1). This letter closely resembles one which appears on some dies for James II's gold and silver coins of the second (crown groat) coinage, second issue, and may be from a re-used punch. Other coins of Type I have a closed C – apparently from more than one punch, as some appear taller and some rounder, and the front may be straight or curved (C2 stands as an example). A similar letter appears on some coins of III and possibly one of IIIR. A closed C with peak on the interior of the curved back appears on a few coins of all three major types, but this may result from a damaged punch or flawed striking. A round, squat closed C with interior projections on the curved back and front upright occurs on a large number of coins of Types II and III (C3), and this letter is also found with either the front projection or both apparently broken off. Many coins of IIIL and a few of IIIR have an open C with a peak on the interior of the curved back and fish-tail ends at the front: again more than one similar punch seems to have been used (C4, C5). Also on some coins of IIIL and IIIR are two forms of an open C with serifs. C6 has a wide open front with small serifs and an internal peak, and it is not impossible that this is a damaged form of the C4 punch. C7 has T-shaped terminals, almost closing the front of the letter. A distinctive closed C with internal peak and upper front serif broken off occurs on the reverse of one coin each of IIIL and IIIR (C8 – see also E7).

D (occurs on obverse only)

The letter D is clear in its form on comparatively few of the coins examined. In class I the letter is usually fairly tall and slim, with small serifs to the upright, which may appear straight or slightly incurved (D1). A distinctive form which appears on Type II has small interior projections on the upright, and on the front loop. Again the upright may appear straight (D2) or incurved (D3), with the latter version resembling a reversed C3. This form of D also occurs with either the rear projection or both apparently broken off. On most IIIL coins where the D is clear, it has a fairly thick straight upright with horizontal serifs at top and bottom (D4), but the front loop may appear round or deformed in various ways. On IIIR coins the upright is incurved and the loop has either a complete or partial bar across the middle (D5, D6).

E (occurs on both obverse and reverse)

Most coins of Type I have a fairly standard closed E with peaked exterior to the back, but there is more than one punch and the letter may appear tall or more rounded (E1). On one coin it is broken at the bottom. Other coins of Type IL, particularly those with CRVX legend on the obverse, have an E with internal peak at the back but no crossbar (E2). Many coins of Type II and a few of IIIL have a round E with small internal projections at the back and front (E3); this is probably from the same punch as C3 and also occurs in a broken form. Just two recorded coins of IIR have a closed E with crossbar and very angular front (E4). Some coins of Type III have an E similar in form to E1, with a new smaller punch also coming into use, but many others have a distinctive letter with the top and bottom of the loop horizontal and continuing as serifs beyond a fairly thick straight upright. The back usually appears slightly peaked (E5). The letter often appears without one or both serifs and eventually it breaks at the bottom. A number of IIIR coins have a letter similar to E3, but with the back peaked on the exterior (E6). The two coins of Type III which display the distinctive broken C (C6) on the reverse also have the E from the same punch, also on the reverse only, as a third coin also appears to do (E7).

G (occurs on obverse only)

This is another letter which is not often seen clearly enough to determine its overall shape. Type I coins seem to have more than one punch of a letter comprising a figure 6 shape with incomplete loop, but with the top curling forwards beyond the front of the loop and ending in a fish-tail or simple expanded terminal (G1–3). A letter of very similar form to G2 is found on James III gold riders of Type I. In Type II there again appears to be more than one punch, but the shape is nearer to that of an O, but with the loop not quite closed and the left side continuing over the top of and slightly beyond the right side (G4). In Type III there is greater variety. One punch is similar to the Type II form, but with a fish-tail terminal to the projecting end (G5), and this is identical in form to a letter which occurs on gold riders of Type II and on unicorns of James III. The fish-tail terminal eventually breaks off. Several IIIIL coins have a distinctive 'bag-shaped' letter, with the ends appearing to cross over at the top (G6). One IIIR coin has a 6-shaped letter like Type I, but with the loop this time complete and with a serif at the terminal (G7).

I (occurs on both obverse and reverse)

The letter I, since it has the simplest form of any, has correspondingly less scope for variation, but a large number of minor variants were noted, involving height, straight or incurved upright, thickness of upright and number and size of serifs, but many of these may be due to variations in striking and the condition of the coins. The most common forms were a simple upright with incurved sides and no serifs (I1), a simple straight-sided upright with small serifs (I2), a shorter straight letter with large thick serifs (I3) and a similar letter with incurved sides (I4), but there is much scope for confusion between the two latter forms on worn coins. There is no correlation between any one letter form and any one class of coin.

L (occurs on reverse and on obverses with CRVX legend)

L is one of the letters with the largest number of observed variants (nineteen), and although a few of these were noted so infrequently that they may be only apparent, there are clearly a large number of different punches involved. Variable features include the height of the letter, the form of the rear upright (straight or incurved) and its associated serifs, and the form of the front part of the letter, which may be shorter than, of equal height to or even longer than the rear upright. This feature may comprise a single wedge, of varying form, or a dog-leg formed of two wedges or a wedge and a stroke. Many of the forms appear to have been used for more than one class of coin, so several similar punches were probably used. A selection of the forms is illustrated to indicate the variety. L1 is found only on Type I coins, and has a slightly incurved upright with a large forward-pointing serif at the top which appears to have become progressively broken. The front part of the letter comprises a fairly short wedge with a forward-leaning stroke at the top. L2 also belongs only in Type I and is fairly similar, but has a straight upright and a slightly longer wedge and shorter stroke. L3, which has larger serifs at the top and bottom of the upright, is found in all three types, so probably includes several punches. L4 and L5 occur mainly in Type II, but each appears also on two coins of IIIIL. They are squatter letters with incurved uprights, with the front of L4 consisting of a short wedge topped by a short stroke, whilst that of L5 comprises a single long wedge. L6, L7 and L8 are exclusive to Type III. L6 has a horizontal bar projecting mostly forwards from the top of a slightly incurved upright, with the long wedge front exceeding the height of the rest of the letter. L7 has a thick incurved upright with thin wedge front, and L8 has a long horizontal bar at the top of a slightly incurved upright and a front part made up of a squat wedge surmounted by a dog-leg stroke.

M (occurs on reverse and on obverses with CRVX legend)

The letter M is frequently represented by either two or three unconnected vertical strokes, but in Type I two such strokes are sometimes joined together in various ways (M1–M4). Gothic forms of M also occur in Type I, usually with simple incurved sides without serifs at the bottom (M5), but occasionally with expansions in the interior of the sides and small serifs. Various similar punches are used exclusively for coins of Types II and III (M6, M7), the most

distinctive being one with thick, straight-sided middle upright, with prominent serifs at the bottom (M8), which appears on two coins of type III and which is very similar to a form found on various silver issues of James III. On most coins, however, the exact shape of the letter is unclear.

O (occurs on both obverse and reverse)

Three basic forms of the letter O appear – a simple oval, an oval with internal peaks on both sides, and an oval with a crossbar, but there are undoubtedly several different punches for each form, some taller, some rounder. The simple oval seems to occur almost exclusively in Type I (O1). The form with internal peaks occurs in all types (O2), and at least one punch breaks, first at the top, then at the bottom as well. Letters with full crossbar are not found at all in Type I, and only occasionally in Type II, but occur on most Type III coins (O3).

P (occurs on reverse and on obverse with CRVX legend)

Fourteen forms of the letter P were noted, but many are not particularly distinctive, having an incurved upright with small serifs. The size and form of the loop varies, but such variants are not really diagnostic. A fairly easily recognisable form comprises an incurved upright with long forward-projecting serif at the bottom, which is sometimes found broken (P1). This form is found with all three major types, and several punches must have been used. Some IIR coins have another P with long forward-pointing serif at the bottom, but with a large loop extending almost to the bottom of the upright and containing small internal projections at front and back (P2). A similar P, but with smaller loop, occurs on some IIIL coins (P3). In Type III a distinctive P with straight-sided upright also appears (P4).

R (occurs on both obverse and reverse)

An astonishing thirty varieties of the letter R were noted, and it must be debatable how many of these are genuinely from different punches and how many owe their appearance to damaged punches, poor striking and/or worn or corroded coins. R is certainly one of the letters having the greatest potential for variation, since it comprises three distinct parts – an upright which may be straight or incurved, with or without serifs; a loop which may be full or incomplete, rounded or angular, and of different sizes; and a tail which may be simple or complex and of differing shapes. Since many of the forms noted appear on very few coins, and since some occur on coins of more than one type, there seems little point in illustrating more than a few of the more prevalent forms to indicate the range and variety. A few coins of Type I have an R resembling a B, with closed bottom loop, in the obverse legend (R1), but the most prevalent form in Type I has an incurved upright, an incomplete loop and a tail like a rounded wedge (R2). Exclusive to Type II is an R with incurved upright, full angular loop and dog-leg tail with a projection at the knee (R3). Two very different forms both occur on coins of Types IIR and IIIL, suggesting that both may have been in use during a transitional period. One has an incurved upright, rather angular loop and dog-leg tail which extends below the base of the upright and almost touches its lower serif (R4). The other is a very distinctive letter which resembles a Gothic N, with the front of the loop simply continuing downwards to form the tail. There are small internal projections on the upright and the loop (R5). Another possibly transitional letter, found mainly on coins of IIIL, but also on one of IIR, has an incurved upright with an internal projection in the middle and a zig-zag front forming an incomplete loop and a dog-leg tail (R6). Two other forms are found frequently, but only on coins of Type III. They are quite similar, having a straight-sided upright with backward-facing serifs at top and bottom, but one (R7) has a distinctly angular front to the loop, whereas the loop on the other is rounded (R8). Both have a long curved tail with a forward projection at the knee, but the latter feature appears to have broken off the R8 punch at some stage.

S (occurs on obverse only)

The letter S is another which in many cases can not be read clearly enough for individual punches to be identified, but a few are illustrated to indicate the variants noted. S1 appears on numerous coins of Type IL and on a few of Types II and III, so more than one punch is likely to have been involved. The letter is fairly flat, with serifs at each end and a pronounced

angle between the top and bottom loops. Many of the other punches display fish-tail ends to the S, and there are variations in the slope of the middle part of the letter. S2, noted only on two coins of IR, has a downward slope from left to right, whereas S3, found on coins of Type II, has an upward slope and an angle between the two loops, like S1. S4 is a similar letter, with less pronounced fish-tails, found only on Type III coins. The lower end usually resembles a serif more than a fish-tail, and both upper and lower appendages are missing on some coins.

T (*occurs on reverse and on obverse with CRVX legend*)

Twenty forms of the letter T were noted, but again many of the variations may be due to flaws in die-sinking or striking, or to wear and corrosion. The shape of the stem varies between a simple plain upright (rarely), via various degrees of expansion at the base, to an almost triangular form. The crossbar may be plain (straight or curved), may expand towards the tips and may have fish-tail ends. Few shapes appear frequently enough or consistently enough within a particular class to be regarded as diagnostic, but again a few forms are illustrated to indicate the range. T1 occurs on five coins of IL, in legends where the word CRVX is missing, and on one of IIR. It has a fairly short triangular stem, and the bar is concave at top and bottom with slightly fish-tail ends. T2 has been noted on coins of all three types, so more than one punch of similar form is likely to have been used. It is characterised by a fairly tall stem with an expanded and concave base and a bar with prominent fish-tails. T3, which has much more exaggerated versions of the same characteristics, occurs on coins of IIR and IIIR, and apparently the same punch, with the fish-tail ends missing, on coins of IIIIL and IIIIR. T4, with a peak above the fish-tailed crossbar, is exclusive to Type III, as is the similar T5, which also appears with the peak missing. Three distinctive broken punches were noted – T6 occurs on three coins of IL, T7 on four coins of IIR, and T8 on three coins of IIIIL.

V and X (*occur on both obverse and reverse*)

There is nothing sufficiently distinctive about the form of these two letters to justify describing or illustrating them.

Reverse ornaments

Table 4 shows, in column 1, all recorded combinations of ornaments in the reverse design, arranged as 'ornaments on cusps / ornaments in spandrels'. Columns 2–7 show which major obverse types are associated with each combination, and which reverse legendary stops are known to be associated with that combination of ornaments and obverse type.

TABLE 4. Reverse ornaments and associated obverse types and reverse stops

<i>cusps / spandrels</i>	<i>IL</i>	<i>IR</i>	<i>III</i>	<i>IIR</i>	<i>IIIIL</i>	<i>IIIR</i>
none / none	saltires	saltires				
none / large pellets		saltires				
none / annulets			annulets	annulets		
pellets / none	saltires	saltires	annulets	annulets saltires?	annulets? broken stars?	annulets
pellets / annulets				annulets none	annulets	none?
annulets / none			annulets	annulets none?	annulets	annulets
annulets / annulets				annulets		
saltires / none					annulets	
saltires / annulets					annulets saltires	

TABLE 4. *Cont.*

<i>cusps / spandrels</i>	<i>IL</i>	<i>IR</i>	<i>IIL</i>	<i>IIR</i>	<i>IIIL</i>	<i>IIIR</i>
saltires / pellets					annulets	
stars / none					saltires	
stars / annulets					stars	stars
trefoils / none					annulets	
trefoils / annulets					stars	annulets
					annulets	saltires
					saltires	

The table demonstrates that, as with legends, by far the greatest variety is to be found within Type III. Coins of Type I display only combinations of pellet ornaments and/or none, and those of Type II mostly bear annulets, sometimes in combination with pellets or none. A single coin with IIR obverse has been recorded with saltire stops on the reverse, but this can not be confirmed, and the coin may be a II/I mule. Only the pellets/none combination is found in all three types. The use of saltires, stars and trefoils as ornaments is confined to Type III.

Description of the types

Mrs Murray expressed some doubts about the wisdom of dating the Crux Pellit coinage as early as the time of Bishop Kennedy of St Andrews (d. 1465), citing the peaked form of many of the letters as suggesting a somewhat later date by comparison with those on silver coinages of James III.⁸ Although there is very little evidence from this new study to assist in the allocation of dates to any of the recorded types of Crux Pellit coins, there are at least a few clues to the relative dating of the major types and of smaller groups within these types. There are some grounds for believing that Types I, II and III may have been struck in that order.

Type I includes the fewest variants of ornamentation within it, as might be expected of the earliest group of a new coin series. The number of coins and dies recorded of Type IL(ii), with CRVX legend on the obverse, suggests that these coins were not simply the result of errors at the mint, but belonged to an experimental type within the series, before final decisions were taken on legend form, and the same might be said of those coins lacking the word CRVX in the reverse legend, where the cross initial mark may have been intended to be read as CRVX. There is also the Ci letter punch, apparently at least copying the form of C found on precious metal coins of James II only, the use of which might be expected to have continued into the earliest coins of the Crux Pellit series rather than reappearing in a later series.

Type II may be accepted as coming next in the series, on the grounds that there seem to be a few coins which display elements of both I and II and which may therefore be regarded as belonging to a transitional phase. These may also indicate that not much, if any, time elapsed between the striking of the two classes. Type II also contains relatively few variations in ornamentation.

Type III may be regarded as the latest, and also perhaps the largest in terms of numbers of coins struck. More coins of this class have been recorded than of either I or II, and there are numerous variations in legends, stops and ornaments. The rose on the orb constitutes an innovation, of course, perhaps intended to differentiate coins of this series easily from those struck before, and it may also be noted that the form of the orb itself frequently becomes less realistic on Type III coins, with the bands across the middle often curved in an exaggerated way. There are some Type III coins which incorporate design symbols typical of Type II, suggesting again that there may not have been much of a gap between the two varieties. It is worth noting that only eight specimens of Type III were found at Crossraguel Abbey, compared with twenty-one each of Types I and II, suggesting that the process of deposition there may have ended fairly soon after Type III coins were introduced into circulation, but if this

⁸ Murray 1977, 123.

was the case, it would have to be accepted that many of the recorded variants were introduced fairly quickly. Of the eight coins from Crossraguel, four are of IIIIL and four of IIIR. Stops in the reverse legend are annulets in three cases and saltires in four, with one uncertain. Ornaments include saltires/annulets (three), pellets/annulets (one) and stars/none (one).⁹

Type IL(i)

This is by far the largest sub-group within type I, with fifty-two specimens included in the corpus. The orb is shown tilted downwards and to the left, and the obverse legend is of normal type, with the king's name and title. There are four coins, all from the same die, with obverse legend B (+ IACOBVS DEI GRA REX S) and single saltire stops (1–4 in corpus). All other coins where the obverse legend can be read or deduced in full have + IACOBVS DEI GRA REX (legend C), and two die-linked pairs and one trio have been noted. All coins of this sub-type have saltire stops – single, double or in combination – and on some dies the legend ends with a triangle of three saltires. The distinctive open letter C with serifs (C1) can be read on five coins and possibly on a sixth. All other legible Cs are of closed type (C2). E is normally of closed type with bar (E1), noted on fifteen coins, but the unbarred type (E2) can be seen on seven coins, including the four with S at the end of the legend.

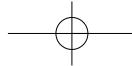
Most reverses bear a legend commencing with + CRVX PELLIT OIE, the variations coming only in the form of the abbreviation of CRIMEN. The most frequently recorded legend is 3, ending in CRIM, which is definitely attested on ten coins, but CRIII (7) and CRIII (8) occur twice, and CRII (9) once. One of the coins with REX S on the obverse has reverse legend 1, reading CRIMEI (1), and there is also one coin with reverse legend 6 – partially uncertain, but ending with CIRIIII (18). Also represented on three coins, two of them die-linked, is reverse legend 33 (+ PELLIT OIE CRIME) (16, 17, 24), and one coin has been recorded with legend 31 (+ PELLIT CRIMEN) (43), although this can no longer be verified. All reverses of this sub-type have saltire stops, again single, double or in combination, with an occasional triangle of three saltires at the end. The open letter C1 has been noted on four reverses and possibly on a fifth, and the unbarred E2 on three, including one associated with an obverse with legend REX S. Otherwise these letters are of the normal closed form, with the E barred. Where the letter M is clear, six coins display straight uprights with various form of crossbar (M1–4), with a further six bearing a letter of Gothic form. Ornaments on the reverse almost invariably comprise pellets on the cusps, with nothing in the spandrels; on five coins the pellets are visible only on the upper or lower pair of cusps. The pellets are missing altogether on two coins with CRIM and one with CRIII. The die reading CRIMEI, which appears on just one coin combined with a REX S obverse, has nothing on the cusps, but unusually large pellets in the spandrels.

Type IL(ii)

These coins have the orb as in Type IL(i), but a version of the CRVX PELLIT legend appears on both sides. Thirteen examples were included in this study, but the exact form of the legends on most of them was unclear. On the obverse there were four definite occurrences of legend K (+ CRVX PELLIT OIE CRIM), and two coins from a single die with CRM (legend L). Stops are normally single saltires, with just one die having a double saltire at the end. Letter C1, with open front and serifs, was not noted at all, with all the occurrences of the letter C being of the closed form. Somewhat surprisingly, every letter E in obverse legends which was clear enough to be identified was of the unbarred form E2. The only two distinguishable Ms were of Gothic form M5, on die-linked coins.

The exact form of most of the reverse legends was also unclear, with three occurrences of + CRVX PELLIT OIE CRIII (legend 7) and one each of + CRVX PELLIT OIE CRIM (3) and + PELLIT OIE CRIMEII (32). Stops are all saltires – single, double or in combination.

⁹ Macdonald 1919, 291–2.



Again the open C1 was not recorded for this sub-class, all those legible being closed. Most of the Es seem to be barred (E1), with just one recorded occurrence of the unbarred E2. Only one M was distinguishable – of barred upright M4. Ornaments comprise pellets on the cusps and nothing in the spandrels, with the exception of a single coin without the pellets.

Type IL (unc.)

This group comprises seven coins, the obverse legends of which were either completely illegible or unrecorded. Very few details of any of these coins are available, but they are included in order to ensure a correct total for all known coins of IL. Ornaments were identifiable on six of the seven reverses, and all comprised pellets on the cusps and nothing in the spandrels.

Type IR

In this type the orb is shown tilted downwards and to the right. Eighteen coins were included in the corpus. All the fully legible or reliably reconstructable obverse legends read + IACOBVS DEI GRA REX (eleven coins), but there are two coins with partially uncertain legends which end in S (73, 74). Stops in obverse legends are mostly double saltires, with a few single, and a few coins bear triangles of three saltires at the end of the legend. This sub-type displays the greatest prevalence of the open letter C with serifs (C1), which was observed on the obverse of ten coins, with only two definitely bearing a closed C. The form of the letter E could be established on only three coins, on each of which it was barred.

Five different reverse legends were recorded, all commencing with + CRVX PELLIT OIE, the variations again being confined to the abbreviations of CRIMEN. One example was noted of CRIME (legend 2), two of CRIM (3), one of CRIII (7), five of CRIII (8) and one of CRII (9). Stops in all cases were single or double saltires or a combination of the two. Four occurrences of the open C1 were noted, with six of the closed C2. All the six clearly identifiable Es were barred, with the unbarred E2 not confirmed for this sub-class. Only three Ms were sufficiently legible – one each of the straight-sided M1 and M2 and one of uncertain Gothic form. Eight coins clearly bore pellets on the cusps and nothing in the spandrels, but there were also four coins on which there appeared to be pellets on just one or two of the cusps. Just two coins clearly had no ornaments at all.

Type I (unc.)

This group of three coins can not be designated more precisely, as in each case the sideways direction of tilt of the orb is uncertain. They were previously regarded as belonging to a separate sub-type, with orb tilted vertically downwards, but this feature is almost certainly more apparent than real. All the coins are in a poor condition, probably disguising a slight sideways tilt in one direction or the other. Few details are clear, but all have single saltire stops where these are distinguishable. One coin has pellets on the cusps and nothing in the spandrels, the ornaments on the others being uncertain.

Type I-II transitional

Six coins have been recorded which combine elements normally found in Types I and II, but not in both. Since these are all different from each other, but are important as indicators of a possible overlap in production of the two classes, or at least of a rapid transition from one to the other, it seems sensible to describe each in detail.

The first of these coins (94) has a standard Type IL(i) obverse, reading + IACOBVS DEI GRA REX, with double saltire stops, but with letter forms uncertain. The reverse legend, however, reads CRVX PELLIT OEI CRM, without initial mark and with annulet stops. Among the letter punches employed is a C which appears to be of a form which, as will be

demonstrated, was in common use during the production of Type II (C3). The ornaments are annulets on the cusps, with nothing in the spandrels.

The second coin (95) has an obverse of Type IR, with legend again + IACOBVS DEI GRA REX. There may be a saltire stop after IACOBVS, but apparently there are no others. The initial mark on the reverse appears to comprise a cross of five annulets, with a legend reading CRVX PE [] III, and an annulet stop visible after CRVX. There appear to be no ornaments on cusps or in spandrels.

Another coin with IR obverse (96) has legend + I [] DEI GRA RX, apparently without stops. Only PELLIT is legible on the reverse, but a double annulet stop follows it. Ornaments on the cusps are uncertain, possibly pellets, with nothing in the spandrels.

The fourth coin (97) takes the process of transition one step further. The orb on the obverse is that of Type IL, with the legend + IACOBVS DEI GRA REX, but the stops are double annulets. The reverse reads CR[] PELL[]IE CRM, without initial mark and with annulet stops. There are annulets on the cusps and nothing in the spandrels.

The fifth coin (98) is a poorly struck and fairly worn specimen which may be a continental imitation, so wide are the bands across the middle of the orb, but even if this is the case, it is worth mentioning here, since it is likely to have been copied from a genuine coin displaying similar characteristics. Only IACOBVS is legible on the obverse, but the orb tilts downwards and to left. The reverse is completely illegible, but again there are annulets on the cusps with nothing in the spandrels.

A sixth coin (99), recorded by Kerr as in the collections of the Kelvingrove Museum, Glasgow, but not located for recent examination, apparently had an obverse of Type IIR and double saltire stops in the reverse legend. Since saltire stops are not known on the reverse of any other Type II coin, it is probable that this represents the re-use of a Type I reverse die.

Type III

Only five coins of this type are included in the corpus, having the orb shown tilted upwards and to the left, but not only are they struck from five different obverse dies, but they also display more obvious variations. Four bear the legend + IACOBVS DEI GRA REX, but one has single annulet stops (100), the second has at least one double annulet stop and possibly several (101), and the third has all double annulets (102); another has no stops at all (104). On the fifth coin the latter part of the legend and the nature of the stops are unclear (103). Only one reverse legend is fully legible, reading + CRVX PELLIT OIE CRIM, with two others apparently similar but ending in CRIII. Stops are all single and/or double annulets.

Letter forms which are characteristic of Type II will be discussed in detail when discussing the very much larger Type IIR, but it should be noted here that the legends on these four coins include two clear occurrences of C3, one of D3 and four of E3. There are also two occurrences of the angular B3 and three of the apparently related R3.

*Types IIR and IIR**

This is a large group, with seventy-four coins included in the corpus. The orb is shown tilted upwards and to the right. There is more variety than in Type I, but there are some features which may be regarded as characteristic, being either exclusive to II or at least found much more frequently than in other types. These include the use of annulets as stops in the legends and of a group of related letters, characterised by small opposed internal projections at the back and front. These include B2, C3, D2, D3, E3, P2, P3, R5 and R6. Also found in this type are letters with distinctively angular loops (B3, R3 and R4).

The obverse legend recorded most frequently is + IACOBVS DEI GRA REX (legend C), which can be read with certainty or at least a high degree of probability on twenty coins, nine of which appear to have no stops (105–113), with the remainder displaying at least some single or double annulets (114–124). One coin has obverse legend G, in which DEI is abbreviated to D (125), and another has REX abbreviated to RX (probably legend F) (126). One coin

has the obverse legend ending in RE (127), but most of it is illegible, and there are also three instances of IACOBS (128–130) and one of IACOVS (131), again in otherwise incomplete readings. Stops on these coins, where legible, are all annulets, but the coin with RX may have none. A fairly high proportion of coins of this type are too worn or damaged for the obverse legend to be fully legible, but no stops other than single or double annulets have been noted.

Where the diagnostic letters B, C, D, E and R are sufficiently clear, the following totals have been noted: B2 – 5, B3 – 2; C2 (normal closed form) – 1, C3 – 14; D2 – 3, D3 – 6; E1 (normal closed and barred form) – 12 or 13, E3 – 14; R4 – 5, R5 – 3. It is notable that, alone of these letters, the old form E1, as found on many coins of Type I, continues to be used frequently alongside the new E3. Since the latter appears to be from the same punch as C3, it is possible that this was used for the letter E either in error or as a replacement when the old E punch broke.

There is a much greater variety of reverse legend than in Type I, with no particular reading being recorded significantly more frequently than others. Several coins have no initial mark before CRVX, and at least two have an initial mark in the form of a cross of five annulets (120, 147). Stops are invariably in the form of single or double annulets, or a combination of the two, with just a very few coins possibly having none, although this is not definite in any instance.

The relative frequency of letter forms on reverse dies follows a similar pattern to that on obverse dies. There are eight definite occurrences of C3, with two further possible; one coin appears to bear this letter from a broken punch. Curiously, however, there are also at least two, and possibly up to five, occurrences of a more normal closed C with apparently peaked back, possibly a damaged version of C2. Again the conventional closed and barred E (E1), with 13 recorded occurrences, was used in this class, with the new E3 noted on ten reverses. P2, with unusually large loop and internal projections, can be read on four coins, as can P1, as found in class I. The angular-fronted R3 and R4 were noted six times and twice respectively, but letters with internal projections were also found in the form of R5 (four times) and R6 (once).

Three main combinations of ornaments occur in this type: pellets/none, as in type I (13 coins + 1 possible), pellets/annulets (19 + 4?), and annulets/none (17 + 2?). Infrequently encountered combinations included none/annulets (1 + 1?) and annulets/annulets (1 + 1?), and one coin appeared to have no ornaments at all.

Three coins of IIR have been recorded with ornaments on the orb (assigned by Stewart to class IIb), and these are here designated IIR* (176–178). All are from different obverse dies, but the presence of the ornaments is all that distinguishes them from other IIR coins. None of the obverse legends is fully legible, but two have IACOBVS and one IACOBS. Stops on the obverse are all ill-defined, as are most of the letters, but there is one instance of B2, one of C3 and one of E3. The ornaments on the orb appear to be large pellets, although one could be an annulet. On two coins they can be seen on all three segments of the orb, but on the third the pellet on the lower segment is not distinguishable. None of the reverse legends is fully legible either, but one has normal cross initial mark and one appears to have cross of five annulets. Stops are double annulets on two (in one case broken), and there are two clear occurrences of C3 and one of E3. The reverse ornaments seem to be pellets/annulets in all cases, but this is definite on only one coin.

Type II (uncertain)

Under this heading are two coins with orb shown as turned upwards, one apparently vertically and one in an uncertain direction (179–180). The first has obverse legend + IACOBVS DEI [] REX, and annulet stops, but the second is largely illegible. The reverse of the first coin is illegible, but that of the second reads C[] PELLIT OIE CRIM, with no initial mark and annulet stops.

*Types IIIL and IIIIL**

This is the largest group among the coins recorded for this survey, with ninety-six specimens. The orb appears tilted upwards and to the left and bears a rosette in the middle. Eighteen coins bear the legend + IACOBVS DEI GRACIA REX (legend A), found only in this type (181–198). Most of these coins appear to be related to those of Type II in having annulet stops in the obverse legend, although a few appear to have none, and there are two anomalous coins which have saltires and stars respectively (195, 196). This group also has many letters in the obverse legend which are also found in Type II, notably B3, C3, D3, E1, R5 and R6. Although the 'GRACIA' obverse dies may be of early style, it should be noted that they are occasionally paired with reverse dies with stars as stops and ornaments, these possibly being from much later in the series. Three of these coins are distinguished by the presence of ornaments on the orb and have been designated IIIIL*, but they have been positioned in the Catalogue with the IIIL 'GRACIA' group, with which they clearly belong in all other respects (189–191). All three appear to have an annulet in the upper left segment, and one also displays fragmentary marks in the upper right segment.

Related to these coins are four with obverse legend C (+ IACOBVS DEI GRA REX), three of which have annulet stops and one none (199–202). Again there are similarities with Type II in those letters which are distinguishable. (An extra coin (X), mostly illegible but again with annulet stops on the obverse, has been added to the corpus after coin 199 at the conclusion of the preparation of this paper.)

The remaining seventy-four coins (plus coin Y added to the corpus after 202) display a degree of homogeneity as far as the obverses are concerned. Only double saltire stops have been identified (although they are of uncertain form in sixteen cases), and only three forms of legend are represented. Legend C occurs thirty-eight times (203–240), in addition to the four coins described above, and there are three occurrences, of which two are clearly from the same die, of the erroneous reading + IACOBVS DEI REX GRA (legend D) (241–243). There are also eighteen coins definitely reading + IACOBVS DEI GRA RE (legend E) (244–261), and three further probables. A number of distinctive new letter forms start to appear on these coins, including B4, D4, R7 and R8, all of which are characterised by fairly thick, straight uprights with thick serifs at top and bottom. D4 may appear with a normal loop, as illustrated, or with what appears to be a thickening on the middle of the interior. The two forms of the R are very similar in having a projection at the knee of the tail, but the loop may appear rounded or angular. It is likely that more than one similar punch was used for both D and R. Accompanying these letters is E5 which displays the same thick upright with serifs, this time at the front. By contrast, the shape of the letter C is open, with an internal peak to the loop and fish-tail ends (C4, C5). C6, with serifs at the terminals, may be a broken form of C4. An unusual 'bag-shaped' form of G (G6) has been noted on a small number of coins.

If the obverse typology of this group is relatively simple, the reverses display a diverse and confusing picture. At least twenty variants of the legend exist (see Table 3), and the stops and ornaments appear in numerous combinations of annulets, pellets, saltires, stars, trefoils and none. As with the obverses, there are a number of dies with annulet stops, which may belong at the beginning of the series on the basis of the use of letter forms encountered previously (C2, C3, E1, E3, L7, P1, R4, R6). Most of these bear the inscription + CRVX PELLIT OIE CRIM (legend 3), although legends 2 (CRIME) (245) and 4 (CRM) (248) each occur once with annulet stops, as does legend 13 (OI CRIM) (257). The situation is far from clear-cut, however, since annulet stop dies occasionally include an example of a later letter form, and earlier ones sometimes occur on dies with other forms of stop. Furthermore, the ornamentation on dies with annulet stops is not consistent either, with trefoils/annulets, saltires/annulets, saltires/pellets, saltires/none and pellets/none all recorded, and possibly also stars/none.

Letters on other dies are predominantly those encountered on obverse dies with double saltire stops (C5, C6, E5, P4, R7, R8). The letter L, which occurs only on the reverse, is often of a distinctive form with dog-leg front (L8). In addition, there are occasional appearances of

a few letters not noted on obverse dies of this type (C7, with open front and T-shaped serifs, and C8, closed with interior peak, which also appears as E7).

There are otherwise few patterns to be discerned, but a few observations can be made. In this type only the word CRVX escapes abbreviation. In addition to the numerous ways of abbreviating CRIMEN, we also have OE and OI in addition to OIE, and PELLT for PELLIT, with one coin having PELL1 (234). The most frequently recorded legend is 17 (+ CRVX PELLIT OE CRI), which has been noted on ten coins, in each case with double saltire stops and ornaments trefoils/none. The same combination of stops and ornaments is found on the four recorded reverses with legend 16 (+ CRVX PELLIT OE CRII), and on a large number of coins where the legend can not be fully read. Annulets as ornaments occur infrequently on these 'later' dies, as do saltires and pellets. Star stops, which occur with numerous legend forms, are invariably accompanied by stars on cusps and nothing in spandrels.

Type IIIR

Twenty-seven coins bear an orb shown as tilted upwards and to the right, with a rosette on the middle. One anomalous coin with no rosette has also been allocated to this type on the basis of all its other features.

The most commonly found obverse legend is + IACOBVS DEI GRA REX (legend 3), which can definitely be identified on eleven coins (277–287). There are six occurrences of legend I, with IACOVVS (288–293), three of them from the same die, and two of legend H, with IACOBS (294–295), including the coin without rosette. One coin appears to read IACOIVS (296), but the legend is hard to read, and the existence of this form requires confirmation. Stops, where they can be identified, are almost exclusively stars, but one coin has none (287). This also bears what appears to be a large pellet, rather than a rosette, on the orb, and to this extent might belong as well to class IIR, but the band on the orb displays the exaggerated and somewhat unrealistic curvature which is characteristic of a substantial number of Type III coins. The lettering is squat, but mostly of uncertain form. One coin recorded by Robert Kerr, but not seen by the present writer, was described as having annulet stops (303).

Much of the lettering in the obverse legends is too poorly legible to classify, but it clearly varies from that most frequently encountered on coins of Type IIIL. The letter B can be clearly read on just three coins, and in each case the letter is a broken form of B3. Where C can be identified, on six coins including three from a single die, it is of the open C7 form, with T-shaped serifs, and in the case of D, the only identifiable letters are of the distinctive D5 or D6 form, with curved upright and full or partial cross-bar. There are two examples of a normal closed E (E1), but at least six, and up to ten, of E6, with a peaked back and internal projections at front and back. The single identifiable G is of the distinctive 6-shaped G7 form. Whilst the letter R is usually not distinctive, it often appears to have an incurved upright and to resemble R6, but with an outward projection at the base of the tail. Significantly, there is no demonstrable use in obverse dies of this type of the straight-backed/fronted letters so characteristic of most of Type IIIL.

Again there is a greater variety of legends on the reverse of IIIR coins than on the obverse, with nine fully identifiable inscriptions noted (see Table 2). Four coins have legend 28 (287–289, 301) and one probably legend 29 (296), with annulet stops and no initial cross, and three coins have legend 4 and annulet stops (284, 286, 290), and these may all have been struck from dies which were amongst the earliest produced for IIIR, since there are occurrences of previously noted letters such as C2, E1, L6 and P1. Most of them at least are not re-used Type II dies, as might be thought, since five of the eight coins have reverse ornaments which have not been recorded for Type II (saltires/annulets, trefoils/annulets). One coin bears pellets/none (286) and two annulets/none (287, 296) – combinations which are found in the earlier type.

The remainder of the reverses of this type show consistency to the extent that the stops are either stars, invariably combined with stars/none as ornaments, or double saltires, invariably paired with trefoils/none. (The coin recorded by Kerr as having annulet stops on the obverse is also listed as having no stops and pellets/annulets on the reverse (303). It seems probable

that this coin was misattributed to Type III by Kerr, as it appears to be a normal coin of Type IIR if the rosette is removed from the obverse description.) Lettering on these reverses is less than consistent in form, with letters typical of IIIL appearing as well as those otherwise found exclusively on the obverse of IIIR. Just one occurrence of C5 has been noted, but five or six of C6, along with two of C7 and one of C8. E5 was noted eight times, but four of these were in a broken state, whereas E7 was seen only once. The letter P, where identifiable, was always of form P4, and R was always of R7 or R8, but clear occurrences were few.

Discussion

Unfortunately it has to be admitted that this study has not provided definite answers to the questions posed at its commencement. Whereas it can perhaps be asserted that a detailed study of the typology of the Crux Pellit series has helped to establish a relative chronology, hardly any of the letter forms identified can be associated with any other coinage issue. Almost the only exception to this is the very unusual form of the letter C, described and illustrated above as C1, which is found only on Type I Crux Pellit coins and on James II's second (crown groat) coinage. Although it is tempting to use this as evidence to support a suggestion that the Crux Pellit coinage may have commenced as early as the 1450s, the absence of any other similarities between the two coinages renders this more likely to be coincidental than otherwise. It is quite possible that an individual punch could have been re-used at a much later date.

Indeed the very wide range of forms of some of the letters used in Crux Pellit coinage legends, and the absence of any reliable links to other issues of the Scottish mint, would seem to suggest that the copper coinage may have been struck entirely independently of the other activities of the mint, and that the letter punches utilised may have comprised a mixture of a few re-used items from earlier coinages and others prepared specifically for manufacturing Crux Pellit dies. This inevitably leads to questions of where and by whom the Crux Pellit dies were made and where the coins were struck.

Some might think that this strengthens the currently discredited argument for declaring these coins to be either foreign or from an ecclesiastical mint, but the evidence presented in previous publications seems to point quite firmly to their being both Scottish and regal, and it is not really very difficult to believe that it might have been considered advantageous for the 'black money', including both the Crux Pellit coins and the copper farthings, to be minted at a different location from the remainder of the coinage. Unfortunately there is next to no surviving evidence for the location of the mint in Edinburgh in the second half of the fifteenth century, but between 1436 and 1450 it seems to have been housed in a building in the High Street, near the entrance to the kirkyard of St Giles. This building was owned by the king until 1440, after which date rent was paid for the use of it, and this still seems to have been the case in 1463, by which time the owner was the Burgh of Edinburgh.¹⁰ This implies that even precious metal coinage was being struck in what must have been a relatively insecure location, compared with Edinburgh Castle for instance, so there can have been few qualms about allowing copper coins to be minted in a similar location. It is possible to believe that there might have been political motivation behind a decision to divorce this activity physically from the royal mint. If it had been anticipated that the introduction of the copper coinage would attract the degree of opposition which it did among the Scottish people, the king might well have decided to distance himself personally from its manufacture, even if documents demonstrate that it was struck at his command.¹¹

If this hypothesis may be considered plausible, it might account for the frequently recorded association of this coinage with the unfortunate Robert Cochrane, Earl of Mar, who was hanged at Lauder in 1482 at the same time as the 'crying down' of the black money by the Lords of Council. It is clear that the coins were widely known as 'Cochrane's placks', but it

¹⁰ Murray 1991.

¹¹ Murray 1977, 116.

has never been apparent why this should have been the case. If Cochrane had assumed responsibility for the copper coinage, perhaps to protect the king's reputation, and perhaps also to his own financial advantage, this would explain both the nomenclature and at least some of the opprobrium which he suffered. Lindsay of Pitscottie, in *The Historie and Chronicles of Scotland*, recorded that the king had authorised 'ane new courteour start wpe callit Couchren . . . to straik conye of his awin as he had ben ane prince'.¹² This may have been something of an exaggeration, but it might reflect the way in which Cochrane's involvement was viewed by outsiders.

This does not, of course, explain who might have prepared the dies and struck the copper coinage. It has been demonstrated that a number of the most distinctive letter forms encountered in particular types and sub-groups of the Crux Pellit coinage are unparalleled on any other Scottish coin denominations of the period, which would tend to suggest that those who made the punches and dies were not otherwise employed at the Scottish mint. If they had been brought in from abroad, they might have been expected either to have brought existing punches with them or to have made new ones of similar letter forms to those they had used elsewhere, but so far the writer has been unable to identify any foreign coinage issue on which the most unusual and distinctive Crux Pellit letter forms can be recognised. An alternative possibility is that the craftsmen who worked on the copper coinage were not otherwise involved in minting activities at all. This could explain both the unconventional letter forms and the relative crudeness of much of the die-sinking, compared even to that evident on the billon plack coinage of James III. One of the few surviving documentary records of the copper coinage is that in the Edinburgh custumar's account for the period October 1482 to July 1483 of a payment of £180 16s. on the king's behalf 'to the werkmen that wrocht the blac money of oure command'. This of course postdates the 'crying down' of the copper coinage and the death of Cochrane, and might perhaps indicate the settlement of an outstanding debt to a group of craftsmen who were not official mint employees.

Aside from the identity of the persons responsible for the striking of the Crux Pellit coinage there is the question of why there are so many variants of design and ornamentation. It is hard to imagine that all these resulted simply from the whim of the diesinkers without some form of direction from a higher authority. If they constituted some form of privy marking system, what might its purpose have been? The six major classes, as defined by the appearance of the orb on the obverse and the presence or absence of a rosette, could perhaps be seen as the products of particular contracts between the crown, or Cochrane on the king's behalf, and the craftsmen employed, perhaps designating the coins struck from specified consignments of copper. Smaller variations, involving different combinations of symbols used as stops and ornaments, could have been intended to serve to distinguish batches of coins struck during specified periods of time or by individual craftsmen or groups of men. Such might have been particularly important if the men were effectively self-employed, working to contract to produce set numbers of coins from metal supplied to them.

Unfortunately there are not the clear distinctions between batches of coins which would offer definite support to such a theory, however. It has been demonstrated that, although Types I and II are largely distinct in terms of the form of the stops and the ornaments, as well as in the angle of the orb, there are a number of coins which seem to combine elements of the two. New letter punches seem to have been introduced gradually, rather than immediately in combination with the upward-tilted orb. In Type III there are some coins which have annulet stops and letter forms which connect them to Type II, but the obverse and reverse dies with these characteristics seem very rarely to have been used in combination. Indeed, the corpus contains just two coins of III_L (184, 185), with annulet stops on both sides. The overall picture seems to suggest a measurable progression in the order in which the dies were cut, but no such ordered progression in the use of the dies to strike coins, especially in Type III, where annulet obverse dies with letters also used in Type II are sometimes combined with star reverse dies, which a study of the letters might suggest belong at the end of the die series, and

¹² Lindsay of Pitscottie, I, 169; quoted by Murray 1977, 116.

vice versa. If the form of the stops and ornaments was intended to fulfil the function of a privy marking system, therefore, it must either have applied only to the die-sinking and not to the striking, or must have broken down when Type III commenced, leading to random die selection in the workshop.

The writer is aware that this is not the ideal way to conclude this paper, since it may be judged to have proven very little, but having had the opportunity to examine and compare a greater number of Crux Pellit coins than anyone is likely to have done since the fifteenth century he hopes that he may have performed some service to future scholars simply by presenting this overall survey of the coinage. Unless more contemporary documents relating to the black money should miraculously be brought to light, it seems unlikely that it will ever be possible to provide definite answers to the questions outlined in the first paragraph, and the reader is earnestly requested to regard with indulgence the hypotheses offered above.

APPENDIX 1: AN EARLY MANUSCRIPT REFERENCE TO CRUX PELLIT COPPERS

It has already been noted that those in the late nineteenth century who considered the Crux Pellit coins to be foreign were contradicting the opinions of much earlier writers whose attributions were much closer to what is now believed to be the truth. George Martine, whose work *Reliquae Divi Andreae* was published in 1797, but with a dedication dated 1683, attributed the coins to Bishop Kennedy, and Ralph Thoresby, in *Ducatus Leodiensis* (1715), listed one example under James III.¹³ Another such early reference has now come to light.

The collections of the National Museum of Scotland include fragments of the manuscript catalogue of the numismatic collection of James Sutherland (1638 – 1719), Professor of Botany at the University of Edinburgh. Figure 2 shows an extract from this manuscript, in which sixteen items which are clearly Crux Pellit coppers are described as issues of James IV. The manuscript must date from no later than 1705, when Sutherland's collection was sold to the Faculty of Advocates, who in turn sold it in 1872 to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. The Society's collections formed the basis of those of the former National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland (now part of National Museums Scotland), and many of the Sutherland/Advocates Scottish coins remain at NMS, despite the 'duplicate sales' held in the late nineteenth century. Sadly, it appears that most of the Crux Pellit coppers must have been sold, presumably on account of the prevailing opinion at that time that they were not Scottish. However, in 1976 five specimens were purchased by NMAS from the Faculty of Advocates, and it is possible that these were survivors from the Sutherland collection which had become separated from the rest of the coins prior to the 1872 sale (corpus numbers 128, 143, 187, 210, 244).

*to — IACOBVS DEI GRA REX. A glob. wt a Crosse above.
CRUX. PELLIT. OIE. CRIM. A Crosse wt a garniture about It. & it is
Copper Coin belongs to & is the fourth of Scotland. & of this line of the
IV. IACOBVS. DEI. GRA. REX. SCOT. Kind of them, being very rare.
VIII. EX. SCOT. Kind of them, being very rare.*

Fig. 2. Excerpt from Sutherland collection manuscript.

APPENDIX 2: A HOARD OF BLACK MONEY FROM HOLLAND

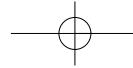
In 1993 the National Museums of Scotland purchased from the Glasgow Coin Gallery a parcel of thirteen base metal coins which were described as constituting a hoard found in Holland in the early 1990s. Unfortunately no further details were available as to exact find-spot or circumstances of discovery, but the coins are nonetheless of interest as the only hoard of Scottish 'black money' recovered since Crossraguel in 1919.

Six of the coins were Crux Pellit issues, one being of Type IL(i) (corpus number 39), two of IL(ii) (61, 64), one of IR (93), and two of IIR (120, 148). A further six were farthings of James III, one being of the second 'regal' issue, with crowned IR / crown superimposed on saltire with three small saltires around, and the remainder of the so-called 'ecclesiastical' issues: two of Type I, one of Type II or III and two of Type III. There was one foreign coin – a base billon *double mite* of Guillaume I, Comte de Namur (1337–91).¹⁴

There is not a great deal here to assist with the dating of either the deposition of the hoard or the Crux Pellit coinage in general, with the coin of Namur clearly struck much earlier than any of the Scottish types. With such a very small group of coins, any attempt to analyse the internal distribution must be unreliable, but it is worth noting that (a) the hoard contains no specimen of Crux Pellit Type III, which appears to have been both the largest and the latest, and (b) that all types of the 'ecclesiastical' farthings are present. Like the Crux Pellits, these farthings are no longer considered to be anything other than a regal coin issue. With both the 'regal' types now

¹³ Murray 1977, 121–2 and 127–8, notes 36 and 37.

¹⁴ Chalon 1848, 79 and Plate VIII, 127.



considered to date from around 1465–6,¹⁵ the ‘ecclesiastical’ types can probably be placed in the early 1470s. This might suggest that Crux Pellit Type III dates from around this time or later, but much more evidence would be required to corroborate this.

As to the circumstances which might have led to these coins ending up in Dutch soil, it seems probable that the last owner was a Scot travelling abroad. The Scottish coins would of course have had no purchasing power in mainland Europe, and the one continental coin, which was presumably obsolete in any case by the 1470s, either may not have been identified by its owner or may have been kept with the intention of attempting to pass it fraudulently in Scotland. The assemblage as a whole looks very much like the contents of a relatively impecunious Scotsman’s purse.

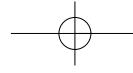
CORPUS OF RECORDED COINS

The following details are provided for each coin, to the extent that they are known: full reading of obverse and reverse legends, with position and form of stops; type of ornaments on the reverse; details of ownership and history of the coin and of any previous publication. No attempt is made to reproduce the form of any of the letters. This aspect of the coins is fully discussed in the text, and it would prolong the catalogue excessively if every letter of every inscription were to be cross-referenced to the forms described and illustrated. Coins illustrated in the plates are indicated by an asterisk (*) beside the number. There are fewer of these than would have been ideal, but because of the poor condition of so many of the coins, 1:1 scale monochrome illustrations would have been of very little use. Digital images of many of the coins in the corpus are retained at the National Museum of Scotland, where they can be made available for viewing by any scholar who may wish to do so. NMS indicates that the coin is in the collections of National Museums Scotland, and the registration number is appended. Other museum registration numbers are included if known.

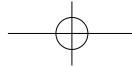
Type IL(i): orb downwards and to left: normal obverse legend (52 coins)

	<i>Legends</i>	<i>Reverse ornaments (cusps/sprandrels)</i>	<i>Owner/location; provenance; previous publication details</i>
1*	[+ IACOBVS] S × DEI × GRA × REX × S + CRVX [?] PELLIT × OIE [?] CRIMEI	none/large pellets	NMS, H.C2835; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919.
2*	Same obverse die + CRVX × PELLIT × OIE × CRIM	pellets/none	Stewartby collection; ex J.E.L. Murray collection.
3	Same obverse die + CRVX [] JM	pellets/none	Spink sale, 27 September 2006, lot 482 (M. Anderson collection); ex Morton and Eden sale 10, 24 November 2004, lot 1077 (part). Murray and van Nerom 1983, Pl. VIII, 4a.
4	Same obverse die Reverse illegible	?pellets/none	Stewartby collection.
5	+ IACOBVS × DEI × GRA × REX × + CRVX × [] OIE × CRIII	pellets/none	Private collection; plaster casts supplied to J.E.L. Murray by N. Holmes, c.1983
6	+ IACOBVS [?] DEI [?] GRA × REX × + C[] OIE [?] CRIM	pellets/none	NMS, K.2003.39; from Fast Castle, Berwickshire, excavation. Holmes 2001, 48 no. 7.
7	+ IACOBVS × DEI × GRA × REX × + CRVX × PELLIT × OIE × CRIM ×	?pellets/none	Historic Scotland; from Linlithgow Palace excavation. Laing 1968, 125–6.
8	+ IACOB[] DEI × GRA × REX × + CRVX × PELLIT × O[] JM ×	pellets/none	Hunterian Museum, Glasgow; Neilson bequest N.220. SCBI 35, no. 807; Bateson 1997, 91, fig. 115.
9	+ IACOBVS × DE[] REX × + CRVX × PELLIT × OIE [] RIM	pellets/none	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; photographs by M. Dhénin in J.E.L. Murray archive.
10	Same obverse die + CR[]	?pellets/none	NMS, H.C2830; found at Glenluce Sands, Wigtownshire.

¹⁵ Murray 1977, 120–1.

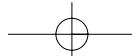


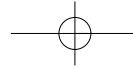
11	+ IACOBV[]A × REX ✕ + CRVX × PELLIT × OIE × CRIM ✕*	pellets/none	From AOC Scotland Ltd excavation at Old Parliament House site, Edinburgh, 2004.
12	+ II[]EI + GRA [?] REX ✕ [?]; double-struck? + PELLIT × OIE × CRI[]	pellets (visible on lower cusps only)/ none	NMS, H.C2828; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919.
13	[]BVS ✕ DEI ✕ GRA ✕ REX ✕? []CRVX × PELLIT × []RIII	pellets/none	NMS, H.C2814; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919.
14	+ IACOBVS × DEI ✕ GRA ✕ REX ✕? + CRVX ✕ PELLIT [?] OIE ✕ CRIM	pellets/none	NMS, H.C2812; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919.
15	Same obverse die + C[] × PELLIT × OIE × []III	pellets/none	NMS, K.2003.38; from Fast Castle, Berwickshire, excavation. Holmes 2001, 48 no. 6.
16	+ IACOBVS × DEI × GRA × REX ✕ + PELLIT × OIE × CRIME ×	pellets (visible on lower cusps only)/ none	NMS, H.C2827; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919.
17	Same dies	as above	NMS, K.2003.40; from Fast Castle, Berwickshire, excavation. Holmes 2001, 48 no. 8.
18	Same obverse die + CRVX ✕(?) [] OIE × CIRIII	pellets/none	Stewartby collection.
19	+ IACOBVS × DEI × G[] × REX ✕ + CRVX × []LLIT [?] OIE × []	pellets/none	NMS, H.C2826; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919.
20	+ IAC[]A × REX ✕ []PELLI[]	pellets/none	NMS, K.2003.36; from Fast Castle, Berwickshire, excavation. Holmes 2001, 48 no. 4.
21	+ IACOBVS × DEI []REX ✕ + CRVX ✕(?) PEL[]IE ✕ CRI[]	?pellets/none	Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, CM.185-1957; ex Lockett collection sale 1957, lot 259 (part).
22	+ IACOBVS [?] DEI []REX ✕ + CRVX × PELLIT × OIE × CRIM ×	pellets/none	NMS, H.C2825; found at Tantallon Castle, East Lothian.
23	+ IACOBVS []JX ✕(?) + CR[]PE[]CRIM [?]	pellets/none	Cabinet des Médailles, Brussels; photographs (by Cl. Van Nerom?) in J.E.L. Murray archive.
24*	+ IACOBVS × DEI × []A × REX × + PELLIT × OIE × CRIME ×	pellets (visible on lower cusps only)/ none	Stewartby collection.
25	+ IACOBVS × DEI × GRA × REX × + CRVX × PELLIT × OIE × CRIII	pellets/none	Private collection; ex Christies sale 4 December 1984, lot 45 (part).
26	+ IACOBVS ✕ DEI ✕ GRA ✕ REX + CRVX × PELLIT [?] OIE × CRII	pellets/none	NMS, H.C2813; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919.
27	+ IACOBVS ✕ DEI ✕ GRA [?] REX + CRVX [?] PELLIT ✕ OIE ✕ CRIM	none/none	NMS, H.C2836; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919.
28	+ IACOBVS DEI GRA REX (stops ✕) + CRVX PELLIT OIE CRIII (stops ✕)	none/none	St Andrews Cathedral Museum; recorded by R. Kerr, late 1950s?, but subsequently stolen.
29	+ IACOBVS × D[]A [?] REX (double-struck) + C[]LLIT [] × CRIIIIM (double-struck)	pellets/none	NMS, H.C2820; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919.
30	[]RA × REX []PELLIT ✕ OI[]	pellets/none	NMS, H.C2816; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919.
31	+ []REX []CRVX + PELLIT × OIE []	pellets/none	Hunterian Museum, Glasgow; from Lesmahagow Priory excavation, 1978. Bateson 1982, 112 no. 4.



THE SCOTTISH COPPER CRUX PELLIT COINAGE

32	+ IACOBVS ✕ DEI ✕ GRA ✕ REX [?] + CRVX ✕ PELLIT ✕ OIE ✕ CRIM	?pellets/none	Private collection; metal-detector find from East Haven, Angus, 2000. Holmes 2004, 278.
33	+ IACOBVS ✕(?) DEI ✕(?) GRA ✕ REX [?] + CRVX ✕ P[] OIE ✕ C[]	pellets/none	Baldwin Argentum sale, 7 February 2004, lot 240.
34	[] ✕ RE[] + CRVX ✕ P[]	??	NMS, H.C2815; unprovenanced.
35	Legend unrecorded; stops ✕ Legend unrecorded; stops ✕	pellets/none	North Berwick Museum (closed since 2002); recorded by R. Kerr, late 1950s?; present location uncertain.
36	+ IACOBVS ✕ DEI ✕ GRA ✕ REX [?] + CRVX [?] PELLIT [] CRIM	none/none	Hunterian Museum, Glasgow; Neilson bequest N.216. SCBI 35, no. 806.
37	[] JOBVS ✕ DEI ✕ GRA ✕ [] + CRVX ✕ PELLIT ✕ OIE ✕ CRIM	pellets/none	NMS, H.C2817; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919.
38	[] COBVS [] JEI ✕ GRA ✕ [] + CRV[] JT ✕ O[] JM	pellets/none	NMS, H.C2831; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919.
39	[] ACOBVS ✕ DEI ✕ GRA [?] RE[] + CRVX [] LIT ✕ OIE ✕ C[]	??	NMS, H.1993.656; from Dutch hoard (see Appendix 2).
40	+ IA[] RA ✕ R[] + C[] JT ✕ OIE ✕ CRIII	pellets/none	Spink sale, 27 September 2006, lot 481 (M. Anderson collection); ex Morton and Eden sale 10, 24 November 2004, lot 1077 (part).
41	+ IACOBVS ✕ [] REX [] [] X ✕ PELLIT ✕ OIE ✕ CRII(?)	pellets/none	Stewartby collection; ex Thorburn. Stewart 1967, Pl. VII, 95.
42	+ IACOBVS ✕ DEI [] A ✕ R[] [] LLIT ✕ OIE ✕ []	pellets/none	Stewartby collection.
43	+ IACOBVS ✕ DEI [?] GRA [] + PELLIT [] CRIMEN	pellets/none	Private collection; metal-detector find from East Haven, Angus, 1998. Holmes 2004, 278.
44	[] JVS ✕ DEI [] [] CRIM	pellets/none	Private collection; metal-detector find from Dairsie Castle, Fife, 1995. Bateson and Holmes 1997, 540.
45	[] JACOBVS ✕ DEDE[]; double-struck [] CRVXRVX ✕ PELLIT ✕ OE[]; double-struck; published reading, not verified	pellets/none	Archaeological Museum, Gdańsk, Poland, MAG/N. 2484; found in Gdańsk. Paszkiewicz 2000, Fig. 2.
46	+ IACOBVS ✕(?) DEI ✕(?) GRA ✕(?) R[] + CRVX[]	?/none	NMS, H.C2818; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919.
47	+ [] COBVS [?] DEI[] A [] + CRVX ✕ PE[] JT ✕ OIE ✕ []	pellets/none	Private collection.
48	+ IA[] DEI [] + CRVX [?] PELL[] JM*	pellets (visible on upper cusps only)/ none	Hunterian Museum, Glasgow; Neilson bequest N.221; SCBI 35, no. 808.
49	[] JE[] [] JOIE ✕ CRI[]	pellets/none	NMS, H.C2833; found at Glenluce Sands, Wigtownshire.
50	[] JRE[] [] PELLIT [?] O[]	?pellets/none	NMS, K.2003.37; from Fast Castle, Berwickshire, excavation. Holmes 2001, 48 no. 5.
51	[] JB[] II []	??	NMS, H.C2832; unprovenanced.
	Reverse illegible		
52	+ I[]	pellets/?none	Private collection; metal-detector find from Gallow Crook, Elgin, 1992. Bateson and Holmes 1997, 542.
	Reverse illegible		



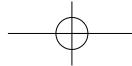


Type IL(ii): orb downwards and to left: CRVX legend on obverse (13 coins)

53	+ CRVX × PELLIT × OIE [?] CRIM × + CRVX × PELLIT × OIE × CRIM	pellets /none	NMS, H.C2824; purchased privately, 1965.
54	+ CRVX × PELLIT × OIE × CRIM × + PELLIT [] × OIE × CRIM	pellets (visible on upper left cusp only/none)	NMS, H.C2829; found at Culbin Sands, Moray.
55	[] RVX × PELLIT × OIE × CRIM × + C[] X × PELLIT × OIE × CRIM	?pellets/none	Spink sale, 27 September 2006, lot 483 (M. Anderson collection); bt via eBay, 2006.
56	+ CR[] PELLIT [?] OIE [] JIM × [] JVX [?] PE[] OIE []	pellets/none	Private collection; metal-detector find from Easter Cloakeasy, near Urquhart, Moray, 1999. Bateson and Holmes 2003, 258.
57	[] CRVX × PELLIT [] OIE × CRIM []	pellets/none	Private collection.
58*	+ CRVX × PELLIT × OIE × CRM + CRVX × PELLIT × OIE × CRIM	pellets/none	NMS, H.C2821; H.A. Armitage bequest?
59	Same obverse die Probably same reverse die	pellets/none	NMS, H.C2823; bt 1957, Seaby.
60	+ CRVX ×(?) PELLIT ×(?) OIE ×(?) CRIM [] + CRVX [?] PELLIT [?] OI[]	pellets (visible on lower cusps only/ none)	British Museum (18)47-5-17-248.
61	+ C[] JELLIT × OIE × CRIM [] + CR[] LLIT × OIE × CRIM []	pellets/none	NMS, H.1993.654; from Dutch hoard (see Appendix 2).
62	[] JX × PELLIT [] E × C[] + C[] JVX [] II	none/none	NMS, H.C2811; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919.
63	[] JELLIT × OIE × C[]; possibly same die [] JVX × PELLIT []	pellets/none	NMS, H.C2822; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919.
64	[] JELLIT [] E [] [] PELLIT × OIE × CRIM []	pellets/none	NMS, H.1993.653; from Dutch hoard (see Appendix 2).
65	[] CRVX × PELLIT × OI[] + PELLIT × OIE × CRIMEII	pellets/none	NMS, not yet registered; from Eyemouth Fort, Berwickshire, excavation, 1981. Holmes 1997b, no. 1.

Type IL (unc.): orb downwards and to left: obverse legend type uncertain (7 coins)

66	Obverse legend illegible [] CRVX × PELLIT []	pellets/none	Historic Scotland; from Edinburgh Castle excavation, 1988 (small find 241), but omitted from published report.
67	Obverse legend illegible + CRVX []	pellets/none	Private collection; metal-detector find from West Haven, Angus, 2004. Bateson and Holmes 2006, 185.
68	Obverse legend illegible [] JELLIT []	pellets/none	NMS, H.C2834; found at Culbin Sands, Moray.
69	Legends not recorded	pellets/none	Private collection; metal-detector find from Ancrum, Roxburghshire. Holmes 2004, 273.
70	Legends not recorded	pellets/none	Private collection; metal-detector find from Ancrum, Roxburghshire. Holmes 2004, 273.
71	Legends illegible	pellets/none	Private collection; metal-detector find from Hunterston, Ayrshire. Bateson and Holmes 2006, 178.
72	Legends illegible	??	Perth Museum and Art Gallery, SMC 144.

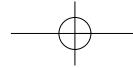


Type IR: orb downwards and to right (18 coins)

73*	+ IACO[]JA x REX x S + CRVX x PELLIT x O[]JIM	none/none	NMS, K.2006.315; ex Spink sale, 27 September 2006, lot 484 (M. Anderson collection); ex Spink sale, 15 April 2004, lot 308.
74	+ IACO[]GRA []S(?) + CR[]LLIT x OI[]CRI[]x(?)	pellets/none	NMS, K.2006.411; from Inveresk, East Lothian, excavation, 1976–7. Holmes 1988, no. 3.73.
75	+ IACOBVS x DEI []A x REX x(?) + CRVX [?] PELLIT x(?) OIE x CRIII	?/none	NMS, H.C2839; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919.
76	+ IACOBVS x DEI x GR[]EX x + CRVX x P[]LIT x OIE x CRIII	pellets/none	Stranraer Museum; from Whithorn, Kirkcudbrightshire, excavation, 1984–91. Holmes 1996, 348 no. 17.
77	+ IACO[]DEI []x []CRVX [?] PELL[]	?/?	NMS, K.1997.22; found at St Andrew's Church, North Berwick, East Lothian.
78	+ IACOBVS x DEI x GRA x REX x[?] + CRVX x PELLIT x OIE x CRIII	pellets/none	National Museum, Copenhagen, 2562; photographs in J.E.L. Murray archive.
79	+ IACOBVS x DEI x GRA x REX x + CRVX x PELLIT x OIE x CRIII	pellets (visible on right cusps only)/ none	NMS, H.C2840; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919
80	+ IACOBVS x DEI x GRA x REX x + CRVX x PELLIT x OI[]	pellets/none	Royal Castle, Warsaw, Poland, ZKWN.6261; found at Gdańsk, Poland. Paszkiewicz 2000, Fig. 1.
81	+ IACOBVS x DEI x GRA []X x + CRVX x PELLIT x OIE x CRIII	apparently a pellet on upper left cusp only, but this may be a die flaw/none	NMS, H.C2837; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919.
82	+ IACOBV[]I x GRA x(?) REX x []CRVX x PELLIT x(?) O[]JE []RIME	none/none	Stewartby collection; ex Thorburn. Stewart 1967, Pl. VII, 96.
83*	+ IACOBVS x D[]I x GRA x REX + CRVX x PELLIT x(?) OIE x(?) CRII	pellets/none	NMS, H.C4446; unprovenanced.
84	+ IACOBV[]DEI x GRA x REX + CRVX x PELLIT x O[]	pellets (visible on lower right cusp only)/none	Stewartby collection; ex J.E.L. Murray collection.
85	+ IACOBVS x(?) DEI x(?) GRA [?] REX [?] []JIT x OIE + CRI[]	pellets/none	Stewartby collection.
86	+ IACOBVS []GRA [?] REX [?] + CRVX x PELLIT x OIE x CRIM	pellets (visible on lower left cusp only)/none	NMS, H.C2838; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919.
87	+ IACOB[]I [?] GRA [?] RE[] Reverse legend illegible	?/?	Private collection; metal-detector find from East Haven, Angus, 2002. Bateson and Holmes 2006, 174.
88	+ IACO[]RE[] Reverse legend illegible	?/?	NMS, H.C2844; found at Ardeer, Ayrshire.
89	+ IACOBVS [] []JR[] OIE x CRI[]	pellets/none	NMS, H.C2842; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919
90	Obverse legend illegible + CRVX x P[] CRIII	?pellets/none	NMS, H.C2841; found at Glenluce Sands, Wigtownshire.

Type I (uncertain): orb downwards, but direction uncertain (3 coins)

91	+ IAC[]RA x REX x + CRVX x PELL[] CRIII	?/?	Musée de l'Abbaye des Dunes, Coxyde, Belgium; from excavations at Coxyde, 1950–65; photographs in J.E.L. Murray archive. Van Gansbeke-Grothausen 1987, 56, no. 41, and Plate.
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92	+ [] x DEI x GRA x REX x [] CRV[] PELLIT x OIE x C[] II	pellets/none	NMS, H.C2819; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919.
93	[] EI [?] G[] A [?] R[] [] JT x OIE x CR[]	?/none	NMS, H.1993.655; from Dutch hoard (see Appendix 2).

Type I-II transitional: coins combining elements characteristic of both types (6 coins)

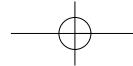
94	+ IACOBVS x(?) DEI x GRA x REX CRVX . PELLIT . OIE . CRM :	annulets/none	The Dublin Coin Auction, 17 February 2006, lot 294. www.dublincoin auction.com/ World_Coins_Single.htm .
95	+ IACOBVS x(?) DEI GRA REX [?] x(?) CRVX . PE[] III	?none/none	NMS, H.C2843; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919.
96	+ I[] DEI GRA RX [] : PELLIT []	?pellets/none	Private collection; metal-detector find from Dornoch, Sutherland, 2004. Bateson and Holmes 2006, 172.
97*	+ : IACOBVS : DEI : GRA : REX : CR[] PELL[] JIE . CRM :	annulets/none	Stewartby collection; ex Parsons.
98	[] IACOBV[] Reverse legend illegible Possibly a continental copy	annulets/none	Inverness Museum; metal-detector find from Ardersier, Inverness-shire. Bateson and Holmes 2006, 167.
99	Obverse legend not recorded; orb of class IIR Reverse legend not recorded; stops :	pellets/none	Kelvingrove Museum, Glasgow; recorded by R. Kerr, late 1950s?; not available for re-examination.

Type III: orb upwards and to left (5 coins)

100*	+ IACOBVS . DEI . GRA . REX . + CRVX : PELLIT : OIE : CRM .	pellets/none	NMS, H.C2879; found at Melrose Abbey, Roxburghshire.
101	+ : IACOBVS :(?) DEI :(?) GRA [] EX : + CRVX [?] PELL[] OIE :(?) CRIII (?)	none/annulets	NMS, H.C4264; found at Glenluce Abbey, Wigtownshire.
102	+ IACO[] S :(?) DEI : GRA : REX : CRVX :(?) PELL[] OIE . CRIII :	annulets/none	Metal-detector find from Kingston, East Lothian, 2007.
103	+ IACOBVS :(?) DEI [?] G[] [] JELLIT . OIE []	?pellets/annulets	NMS, H.1995.636; metal-detector find from Aberlady, East Lothian.
104	+ IACOBVS DEI GRA REX (no stops) [] X . PELLIT . OIE C[]	annulets/none	NMS, H.C2880; donated 1920.

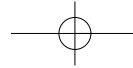
Type IIR; orb upwards and to right (74 coins)

105	+ IACOBVS DEI GRA REX (no stops) + : CRVX : PE[] JT : OIE : CRM :	pellets/annulets	Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, CM.186-1957; ex Lockett sale 1957, lot 259 (part).
106*	+ IACOBVS DEI GRA REX (no stops) CRVX . PELLIT . OIE . CRM :	annulets/none	NMS, H.C2874; bt 1960, Seaby.
107	+ IACOBVS DEI GRA REX (no stops) CRVX . PELLIT . OIE . CRM :	annulets/none	Stewartby collection.
108	+ IACOBVS DEI GRA REX (no stops) [] PELLIT :(?) OI[] CRII :?	pellets/annulets	Hunterian Museum, Glasgow; Neilson bequest N.217. SCBI 35, no. 809.
109	+ IACOBVS [] JI GRA REX (no stops) + CRVX . PE[] CRII	pellets/annulets	Hunterian Museum, Glasgow; Neilson bequest N.218. SCBI 35, no. 810.

THE SCOTTISH COPPER *CRUX PELLIT* COINAGE

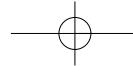
110	+ IACOBVS DEI GRA REX (no stops) [] CRVX ° PELLIT ° OI[] RIII (?) [?]; possibly no initial mark, but uncertain group of annulets at 12.0	?pellets/annulets	Spink sale, 28 September 2005, lot 1243 (part) (John Scaife collection).
111	+ IACOBVS DEI GRA REX (no stops) + [] JT ° OIE ° CRIM ° (?)	pellets/none	Private collection; metal-detector find from East Scryne Farm, East Haven, Angus, 1997. Holmes 2004, 278.
112	+ IACOBVS DEI GRA REX (? no stops) Reverse legend uncertain; stops °	annulets/none	Kelvingrove Museum, Glasgow; recorded by R. Kerr, late 1950s?; not available for re-examination.
113	+ IACOBVS D[] GRA REX (no stops, but single pellet set low down after +) CRVX [] JIE ° CRM °	?/none	NMS, H.C2867; found at Skirling Castle, Lanarkshire.
114	+ [?] IACOBVS ° DEI ° GRA ° REX ° + CRVX ° PELLIT ° OIE ° CRIM °	pellets/none	From Scottish Urban Archaeological Trust excavation at Ballumbie, Angus, 2005.
115*	+ ° IACOBVS ° (?) DEI ° GR[] ° REX ° + CRVX ° PEL[] OI[] JM °	none/annulets	Stewartby collection; ex J.E.L. Murray collection.
116	+ ° (?) IACOBVS ° DEI ° G[] REX ° (?) [] CRVX ° PELLIT ° (?) []	pellets/annulets	NMS, H.C2849; found at North Berwick, East Lothian.
117	Same obverse die (?) [] JT ° OIE ° CRIM [?]	?pellets/annulets	NMS, H.C2846; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919.
118	+ IACOBVS ° DEI ° GRA ° REX [?] [] CRVX ° PELLIT ° OIE ° C[]	pellets (visible on upper cusps only)/ annulets	NMS, H.C2845; found at Orchardton Tower, Kirkcudbright. Stewart 1967, Pl. VII, 97.
119	+ IACOBVS ° DEI ° GRA ° REX CRVX ° PELLIT ° (?) OIE [] °	annulets/none	NMS, H.C2869; purchased privately, 1965.
120	+ ° IACOBVS [?] DEI ° GRA ° REX ° (?) CRVX ° (?) PELLIT ° OIE ° CRII	?none/annulets	NMS, H.1993.658; from Dutch hoard (see Appendix 2).
121	+ ° IACOBVS ° (?) DEI ° GRA [?] REX [] LLIT OIE CRIII (no stops visible)	pellets/annulets	NMS, H.C2856; bt 1960, Seaby.
122	+ ° (?) IACOBVS DEI GRA REX ° + CRVX ° P[] JT ° OIE ° CRIM °; possibly from same die as 125	pellets/none	NMS, H.C2864; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919.
123*	+ ° IACOBVS ° DEI ° (?) GRA ° REX + ° CRVX ° PELLIT [] JE ° (?) CRII	pellets/annulets	Stewartby collection; bt 1978, Spink.
124	+ IACO[] VS [?] DEI [?] GRA ° (?) REX [?] + CR[] LLIT ° OIE []	pellets/none	NMS, H.C2862; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919.
125	+ ° IAC[] JS ° (?) D ° (?) GRA ° (?) REX ° [] RVX ° PELLIT ° (?) [] ° ?; possibly from same die as 122	pellets/annulets	NMS, H.C2847; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919.
126	+ [] JEI GRA RX (no stops visible) [] IX ° PELLIT ° OIE ° [] [] ° ?; possibly from same die as 121	pellets/none	NMS, H.C2865; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919.
127	+ ° IA[] RA ° RE ° CRVX ° PELL[] OIE [] III °	annulets/none	Stewartby collection; ex J.E.L. Murray collection.
128	+ IACOBS ° (?) DEI ° (?) [] CRVX ° (?) P[] OIE CRIII ° (?)	annulets/none	NMS, H.C4266; bt 1976, Faculty of Advocates.
129	+ [?] IACOBS [] GRA [?] R[] [?] CRVX PELLIT ° (?) OIE CRM °	annulets/none	NMS, H.C2872; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919.

130	+ IACOBS DEI [] Reverse legend illegible except for . . . C . . .	pellets/annulets	NMS, H.C2854; found at Culbin Sands, Moray.
131*	+ IACOVS : DEI []EX []CRVX : PE[]	pellets/annulets	NMS, H.C2853; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919.
132	+ *(?) IACOBS (or IACOVS) [] : []JVX PELLIT OIE CR[] (no stops visible)	pellets/annulets	NMS, H.C2855; found on beach below Tantallon Castle, East Lothian.
133	+ []JBVS : DEI : GRA : REX : (as read by J.E.L. Murray) []CRVX : PELL[]	?annulets/?none	National Museum, Copenhagen; Devegge collection 2331-33(a); photographs in J.E.L. Murray archive.
134	+ : IACOBVS : DEI : GRA [] []JVX [?] PE[]	pellets (visible on upper right cusp only)/none	Hunterian Museum, Glasgow; Bishop collection.
135	+ : IACOB[]EX *(?) []LLIT *(?) OIE []	?none/none	NMS, H.C2859; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919.
136	[]*(?) IACOBVS : DE[] CRVX : PELL[]JM :	annulets/none	NMS, H.C2870; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919.
137	+ : IAC[] : GRA : REX [?] CRVX : PELLIT : OIE : CRM :	annulets/none	Hunterian Museum, Glasgow; Neilson bequest N.222. SCBI 35, no. 811.
138	+ I : [] DEI [] []CRV[]LLIT [?] OIE []	??	Dix Noonan Webb sale 64, 14 December 2004, lot 548; ex Dr J. Davidson collection (DNW sale 59, 7 October 2003, lot 872).
139	+ *(?) IAC[] []LLIT : []	?pellets/annulets	Hunterian Museum, Glasgow; Bishop collection.
140	[]JOBVS : DE[] + CRVX : PELL[]	pellets/none	NMS, H.C2857; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919.
141	[]JVS []I : GR[] CR[] ^{oo}	pellets/annulets	NMS, H.C2852; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919.
142	[]IA[]S : DE[] []JX []ELLI[]E : CR[]	annulets/none	NMS, H.C2876; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919.
143	+ IA [?] [] DEI : GRA [] [] OIE [?] CRIII	??	NMS, H.C4267; bt. 1976, Faculty of Advocates.
144	[]S : DEI : GRA : [] + CRVX [?] PE[] CRM	pellets/?annulets	Perth Museum and Art Gallery, SMC 146/1962.6; donated 1962; found at Culbin Sands, Moray.
145	+ : IAC[] DEI []A [?] REX []JX : []IT *(?) OI[]	pellets/none	From Scottish Urban Archaeological Trust excavation at Parliament House site, Holyrood, Edinburgh, 1998.
146	[]IACOBVS DEI : GRA [] CRVX PELLIT OIE [] (no stops)	annulets/none	Stranraer Museum; from Whithorn, Kirkcudbrightshire, excavations, 1984-91. Holmes 1996, 348, no. 18.
147	[]IACOBVS : DEI : GRA : RE[] *(?) CRVX : PELLIT : OI[]	pellets/annulets	Patrick Finn list 14 (1998), no. 384.
148	+ IA[]O[]I *(?) GRA : REX CRVX []LLIT : OIE : CRM :	annulets/none	NMS, H.1993.657; from Dutch hoard (see Appendix 2).
149	Obverse legend uncertain; stops : Reverse legend uncertain; stops :	pellets/none	Kelvingrove Museum, Glasgow; recorded by R. Kerr, late 1950s?; not available for re-examination.
150	+ []JRI : GRA : REX . CRVX PELLIT : OIE CRIM :	annulets/none	Private collection; metal-detector find from Athelstaneford, East Lothian, 2000. Bateson and Holmes 2003, 252.
151	+ IACO[] DEI [?] GRA : REX [?] CRVX : PELLIT : OIE : CRI[]	pellets/none	NMS, H.C2861; found at Culbin Sands, Moray.



THE SCOTTISH COPPER CRUX PELLIT COINAGE

152	[JI [?] GRA [?][] [JLIT : OIE : C[]]	pellets/none	NMS, H.C2860; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919.
153	+ I[]OB[JEI GRA REX (? no stops) + CRVX : PELLIT[JIE : CRIM	pellets/none	Stewartby collection.
154	[]OBVS DEI GR[] (? no stops) []RVX °[]LLIT ° OIE ° CR[M?]	pellets/annulets	NMS, H.C2848; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919.
155	[]OBVS DEI GRA [] (? no stops) CRVX ° PELLIT OIE CR[]% (?)	annulets/none	NMS, H.C2873; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919.
156	+ IACOB[] CRV[]ELLIT []	annulets/none	NMS, H.C2875; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919.
157	+ IACOBVS [?] DEI [] + CRVX ° PELLIT ° OIE []	annulets/none	Stewartby collection; bt 1953, Baldwin.
158	[] DEI G[] (? no stop after DEI) []ELLIT : OIE []	pellets/annulets	Private collection; ex Walter Mason collection, Selkirk; possibly found near Melrose Abbey, Roxburghshire.
159	[] IACOBVS DEI G[] (no stops) Reverse legend illegible	?/?	Perth Museum and Art Gallery, SMC 147.
160	[] IAC[] Reverse legend mostly illegible; probably : at 12.0	?annulets/none	NMS, H.C2866; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919.
161	[] REX [?] CRVX PELL[]E CR[] (no stops visible)	annulets/none	NMS, H.C 2871; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919.
162	[] IACOBVS DEI G[] (stops uncertain or none) [] CRVX : PELLIT : []	pellets/annulets	NMS, H.C2850; found at Culbin Sands, Moray.
163	[]COBVS [] Reverse legend illegible, except for OIE	?/?annulets	NMS, H.C2851; found at Glenluce Sands, Wigtownshire.
164	[]COBVS []EI GRA [] (stops uncertain or none) [] OIE C[] (uncertain double stop after OIE	?/?	NMS, H.C2877; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919.
165	+ []OBVS []EX []IT : OE(?) []	?/annulets	NMS, K.2003.41; from Fast Castle, Berwickshire, excavation. Holmes 2001, 48 no. 9.
166	[]V[]D[] GRA REX (stops uncertain or none) [] OIE : C[]	?/?	NMS, K.2003.42; from Fast Castle, Berwickshire excavation. Holmes 2001, 48 no. 9a.
167	Legends unrecorded	pellets/annulets	Metal-detector find from near Duns, Berwickshire, 2003? Bateson and Holmes 2006, 174.
168	Legends uncertain; : stops on reverse	pellets/none	Hunterian Museum, Glasgow; from Lesmahagow Priory excavation 1978. Bateson 1982, 112 no. 5.
169	Obverse legend illegible + []RVX []IT []IE % (?) CRI[]	pellets/none	NMS, H.C2863; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919.
170	Obverse legend illegible + % (?) [] (?) OIE % (?) CRM % (?)	pellets/annulets	NMS, H.C2858; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919.



171	Obverse legend illegible CRVX ° PELLIT ° OIE [] JII :	?annulets/pellets	Private collection; plaster casts supplied to J.E.L. Murray by N. Holmes, c.1983.
172	Obverse legend illegible + CRVX PELLIT OIE CRII (* stops)	annulets/annulets	St. Andrews Cathedral Museum; recorded by R.Kerr, late 1950s?, but subsequently stolen.
173	Obverse legend illegible [] JRIII	pellets/annulets	Metal-detector find from Rattray, Aberdeenshire. Bateson and Holmes 1997, 549.
174	Legends illegible	pellets/?	Metal-detector find from Kilmaurs, Ayrshire, 1993. Bateson and Holmes 1997, 546.
175	Legends illegible	?/?	Metal-detector find from Crail, Fife, 2003–4. Bateson and Holmes 2006, 169.

Type IIR*: orb upwards and to right, with pellets/‘jewels’ on orb (3 coins)

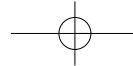
176	+ : IACOBVS [] JEX (stop after cross resembles colon); ? large pellets on all three segments of orb, but that on the upper right could be an annulet) + *(?) CRVX ° PELLIT *(?) OI[] JII : (stops are broken annulets)	pellets (visible on lower cusps only)/ broken annulets in upper right spandrel and within tressure at 5.0	Stewartby collection; ex Thorburn. Stewart 1967, Pl. VII, no. 98.
177*	+ IACOBS *(?) DEI *(?) [] JEX; large pellets on all three segments of orb [] JVX [?] PE[] IT ° OIE ° CR[]	pellets/annulets	NMS, K.2005.10; found in Selkirk.
178	+ IACOBVS [] JEX; ?pellets on upper two segments of orb *(?) CRV[] IE [?] CRII	pellets (visible on upper two cusps only)/annulets (visible in upper two spandrels only)	NMS, H.C2878; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919.

Type II (uncertain): orb upwards in uncertain direction (2 coins)

179	+ IACOBVS ° DEI ° [] REX °; orb appears to be tilted vertically Reverse legend illegible	?pellets/?none	Metal-detector find from Kinghorn, Fife. Bateson and Holmes 2003, 261.
180	[] GRA [?] RE[]; direction of tilt of orb uncertain C[] PELLIT ° OIE ° CRIM °	annulets / none	Hunterian Museum, Glasgow; Neilson bequest N.219. SCBI 35, no. 812.

Types III and IIII*: orb upwards and to left, with rosette in middle (96 coins, plus one late addition after 199)

181	+ IACOBVS ° DEI ° GRACIA ° REX CRVX ° PELLIT ° OE ° CRI °	trefoils/none	Stewartby collection.
182	+ IACOBVS ° DEI ° GRACIA ° REX + CRVX ° PELLIT ° OE ° CRI	trefoils/none	National Museum, Copenhagen; Thomsen collection 2561; photographs in J.E.L. Murray archive.
183	+ IACOBVS ° DEI [?] G[] JIA ° REX + CRVX *(?) PELLIT ° OE ° CR	trefoils/none	Stewartby collection; ex J.E.L. Murray collection.
184	+ IACOBVS [?] DEI GRACIA ° REX + CRVX ° PELLIT ° OIE ° CRIM	trefoils/annulets	British Museum, E2541. Stewart 1967, Pl. VII, 99.
185	Obverse possibly from same die + CRVX ° PELLIT ° OIE ° CRIM °	?/annulets	British Museum, 1954-1-5-2.



186	+ IACOBVS ° DEI G[RACIA REX?]; stars/none length of illegible section of legend demands this reading + * CRVX [] IT * OI * CRII *	Cabinet des Médailles, Brussels; photographs (by Cl. Van Nerom?) in J.E.L. Murray archive.	
187*	+ IACOBVS ° DEI °(?) GRACIA REX; stops before and after DE resemble pellets rather than annulets + * CRVX * PELLIT * OIE * (?) CRII *?	NMS, H.C4269; bt 1976, Faculty of Advocates.	
188	+ IACOB[] °(?) DEI °(?) GRAC [] REX + CRVX °(?) PELL[] I stops as described by J.E.L. Murray; unclear on photographs	?trefoils/?none as described by J.E.L. Murray; unclear on photographs	National Museum, Copenhagen; Devegge collection 2331–33[b]; photographs in J.E.L. Murray archive.

Type III^L*

189*	+ IACOBVS [?] DEI °(?) GRACIA °(?) REX; annulet on upper left segment of orb; fragmentary marks on upper right + CRVX ° PELLIT ° OIE ° CRIM ° (stops are double stars)	stars/annulets	NMS, K.2003.2; bt Dix Noonan Webb sale 55, 8 October 2002, lot 728.
190	+ IACOBV[] A [?] REX °(?) length of illegible section of legend demands this reading; annulet on upper left segment of orb + *CRVX * PEL[] RII *?	stars/none	Stewartby collection; ex J.E.L. Murray collection.
191	+ IACOBV[] EI °(?) GRACIA °(?) REX; probably annulet on upper left segment of orb + CRVX °(?) [] EI [] °(?) OE ° CRI °	trefoils/none	Historic Scotland; from excavation at Edinburgh Castle, 1989. Holmes 1997a, no. 5.

Type III^L (continued)

192	+ IACOBVS DEI GRACIA REX; no stops visible + CR[] OIE ° CRIM	?stars/annulets	Cabinet des Médailles, Brussels; photographs in J.E.L. Murray archive.
193	+ IACOBVS DEI GRACIA REX; no stops visible + CRVX °(?) PE[] CRI	?trefoils/none	Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, CM.187–1957; ex Lockett, 1957, lot 259 (part).
194	[] IACOBVS DEI GRA REX; no stops + CRVX ° PELLIT[] JM	saltires/pellets	? Private collection; plaster casts, labelled 'Spink 2' in J.E.L. Murray archive.
195	[] JVS °[] RACIA [] + CR[] °(?) PE[] RIM ° (double star stops)	stars/annulets	Spink sale 26–27 September 2006, lot 486 (M. Anderson collection); ex Morton and Eden sale, 23–24 November 2004, lot 1077.
196	+ IACOBVS ° DEI ° GRACIA ° REX (first two stops are double stars) + CRVX * PELLIT * OI * CRI *	?stars/?	? Private collection; plaster casts labelled 'Seaby C' in J.E.L. Murray archive.
197	[] IACOBVS DEI GRACIA R[]; stops uncertain; orb appears vertical + CRVX [?] PELLIT [?] OE [?] CRII (or CRM); uncertain stops, probably double saltires	trefoils/none	Dix Noonan Webb sale 58, 24–25 June 2003, lot 643.

198	+ IACOBVS []I[]A[CIA R]EX; length of illegible part of legend demands this reading + CRV[]T ✕(?) OE ✕(?) CR[]	trefoils/none	Musée de l'Abbaye des Dunes à Coxyde; part of Karel Loppens collection. Van Gansbeke-Grothausen 1985, 70 no. 36, and plate.
199	[]S [?] DEI ✕ GRA ✕(?) R[] + * CRVX * PELLT ✕(?) OIE ✕(?) CRI ✕(?) ; stops unclear	stars/none	NMS, K.2003.43; from Fast Castle, Berwickshire, excavation. Holmes 2001, 48 no. 10.
X	+ IACOBVS ✕[] + * CRV[] PEL[] OIE []RI[]	stars/none	Metal-detector find from Auchmithie, Angus, 2007.
200	[]BVS ✕ DEI [?] GRA [] + CRVX [] CRM	saltires/annulets	Angus Museums (Signal Tower, Arbroath), A.1988.218.
201	+ ✕ IACOBVS ✕ DEI ✕ GRA [?] REX ✕ + * CRVX * PELLT * OIE * CRII *; possibly from same die as 241	stars/none	HBOS Museum, Edinburgh, EDNMM/2004/515; bt 1979, Stanley Gibbons.
202	+ IACOBVS DEI GRA REX; no stops + CRVX ✕ PELL[] ✕	trefoils/none	NMS, H.C2887; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919.
Y	+ IACOBVS ✕ DEI ✕ GRA ✕ REX ✕ + ✕ CRVX ✕ PELLIT OIE CRM	?saltires (or trefoils)/ annulets	Jean Elsen sale 92, 9 June 2007, lot 628.
203	+ IACOB[]A ✕(?) REX ✕(?) + CRVX [?] PELLIT ✕ OIE []	?saltires (or trefoils)/ annulets	Private collection; plaster casts labelled 'Spink 1' in J.E.L. Murray archive.
204	+ IACOBVS ✕(?) DE[] REX ✕(?) + CRVX ✕ PELLIT ✕(?) OIE [?] CRM ✕	trefoils/annulets	Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; bt 1960. <i>SCBI</i> 35, no. 814; Spink, <i>Coins of Scotland, Ireland and the Islands</i> , 2 nd edition (2003), 42 no. 5311.
205*	+ IACOBVS ✕ DEI ✕ GRA ✕ REX + CRVX ✕ PELLIT ✕ OIE ✕ CRM	trefoils (with tiny stalks)/annulets	Stewartby collection.
206	+ I[]BVS ✕ DEI ✕(?) GRA [?] REX + CRVX ✕ PE[] CRIII	?trefoils/?annulets	Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; J.K.L. Hartley donation, 1961. <i>SCBI</i> 35, no. 813.
207	+ IACOBVS ✕ DEI []RA ✕[]X + CRVX ✕ PELLIT ✕ OIE ✕ CRM	saltires/none	Private collection; metal-detector find from Aberlady, East Lothian, 1991. Bateson and Holmes 1997, 535.
208	+ IACOBVS ✕ DEI ✕ GRA ✕ REX + CRVX []LIT [?] OIE ✕(?) CRM	pellets/none	Dix Noonan Webb sale 55, 8 October 2002, lot 729.
209	+ IACO[]S ✕(?) DEI ✕(?) GRA ✕(?) REX []JELLIT ✕ OIE ✕[]	pellets/annulets	NMS, H.C2881; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919.
210	+ IACOBVS ✕(?) DEI [?] GRA [?] R[] + C[] PE[] ✕ OIE ✕ CRM	annulets/none	NMS, H.C4270; bt 1976, Faculty of Advocates.
211	+ IACOBVS []I ✕ GRA ✕ REX + CRVX [?] PELLIT ✕ OIE ✕ CRM (or CRIII); stops are large cross and saltire	large saltires/ annulets	Edinburgh City Museums and Galleries, AR 521/81; from Bernard Street, Leith, excavation, 1980. Holmes 1985, 418, no. 1.
212	+ IACOBVS ✕ DEI ✕ GRA ✕ REX ✕ + CRVX ✕ PELLIT ✕ OIE ✕ CRM ✕	saltires/annulets	National Museum, Copenhagen; acq. 1862; photographs in J.E.L. Murray archive.
213	+ IACOBVS ✕ DEI ✕ GRA ✕ REX + CRVX ✕ PELLIT ✕(?) OIE ✕(?) CRM ✕(?)	trefoils/annulets	Sold by Lloyd Bennett, Monmouth, December 2006; ex Baldwin Argentum sale, 7 February 2004, lot 241. www.coinsofbritain.com .
214	+ IACOBVS ✕(?) DEI ✕ GRA ✕ REX + CRV[] PELLIT ✕ OIE ✕ CRII	trefoils/none	Edinburgh City Museums and Galleries, AR 508/81; found at Edinburgh Castle. Holmes 1982, 27 no. 26.
215	+ IACOBVS ✕ DEI [?] GRA ✕ REX + CRVX ✕[]JELLIT ✕ OE ✕ CRII	trefoils/none	Stewartby collection; bt 1990, Elsen.

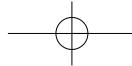
THE SCOTTISH COPPER *CRUX PELLIT* COINAGE

216	+ IACOBVS ✕ DEI ✕ GRA ✕ REX + CRVX ✕ PELLIT ✕ OE ✕ CRII	trefoils/none	British Museum, (18)70-5-7-8125.
217	+ IACOBVS ✕ DEI ✕ GRA ✕ REX + CRVX ✕ PELLIT ✕ OE ✕ CRII	trefoils/none	British Museum, 1977-4-30-1.
218	+ IACOBVS ✕ DEI ✕ GRA ✕ REX ✕ + CRVX ✕ PELLIT ✕ OE ✕ CRI	trefoils/none	Private collection; ex Christies sale 4 December 1984, lot 45 (part). Bateson 1997, 92 fig. 117.
219	+ IACOBV[] ✕ (?) DEI ✕ (?) GRA ✕ REX ✕ + CRVX ✕ PELLIT ✕ OE ✕ CRI ✕	trefoils/none	Stewartby collection.
220*	+ IACOBVS ✕ DEI ✕ GRA ✕ (?) REX + CRVX ✕ PELLIT ✕ OE ✕ CRI ✕*	trefoils/none	Stewartby collection.
221	+ IACOBVS ✕ DEI ✕ GRA ✕ REX + CRV[] ELLIT ✕ OE ✕ CRI	trefoils/none	Stewartby collection; ex J.E.L. Murray collection.
222	+ IACOBVS ✕ DEI ✕ GRA ✕ REX + CR[] IT ✕ OE ✕ CRI ✕	trefoils/none	Cabinet des Médailles, Brussels; photographs (?) by Cl. van Nerom in J.E.L. Murray archive.
223	+ IACOBVS ✕ DEI ✕ GRA ✕ RE[X?]† + CRVX ✕ PELLIT ✕ OE ✕ CR[] ✕ (?)	trefoils/none	Spink/Bowers and Ruddy sale, Los Angeles, 19 February 1976, lot 72 (‘Dundee collection’); ex Hans Schulman sale, New York, 27 May 1970, lot 1163.
224	+ IACOBVS ✕ DEI ✕ GRA ✕ REX + CRVX [?] PELLIT ✕ OE ✕ C[]	trefoils/none	Private collection?; plaster casts labelled
225	+ IACOBVS ✕ DEI ✕ GRA ✕ REX [?]† + CRVX [] JE ✕ CRI ✕	trefoils/none	Private collection; plaster casts supplied to J.E.L. Murray by N. Holmes, c.1983.
226	+ IACOBVS ✕ (?) DEI ✕ (?) GRA ✕ (?) REX ✕ (?) + CRVX ✕ (?) PELLT ✕ (?) OIE CRI [?]	?/none	British Museum, 1908-11-3-1; given by W.H. Valentine.
227	+ IACOBVS [?] D[] EX ✕ (?) + * CRVX * PEL[] OIE * CI *	stars/none	Historic Scotland; from Edinburgh Castle excavation 1989. Holmes 1997a, no. 4.
228*	+ IACOBVS ✕ DEI ✕ GRA ✕ REX ✕ + * CRVX * PELLIT * OIE * CM *	stars/none	Stewartby collection; ex Hurley.
229	+ IACOBVS ✕ (?) DEI ✕ GRA ✕ REX ✕ + * [] RVX * PELLT * OIE * CRII *	stars/none	P. Finn list 18 (2000), no. 358; ex P. Finn list 12 (1998), no. 304; ex Dix Noonan Webb sale 29 (9 April 1997), lot 344; ex Buckland Dix and Wood sale 2 (6 October 1993), lot 792; ex Dolphin Coins list 2 (1992), no. 1397.
230	+ IA[] DEI [] REX [?] + * CRVX * PELLIT * OI[] CRI	stars/none	Dix Noonan Webb sale 63, 7 October 2004, lot 694; previously bt G.A. Singer.
231	+ IA[] JS ✕ DEI ✕ GRA ✕ REX + * (?) CRVX * PELLIT * OIE * CR *	stars/none	Stewartby collection; bt 1983, Elsen.
232	+ IACOBVS ✕ DEI ✕ GRA ✕ REX + * CRVX * PELLIT * OIE * CRM *	stars/none	Baldwin Argentum sale, 25 May 2002, lot 132.
233	+ IACOBVS ✕ DEI ✕ GRA ✕ REX + [] PELLIT * OIE [?] CRM *	stars/none	Dix Noonan Webb sale 67, 28 September 2005, lot 1154.
234	+ IACOBVS [] GRA ✕ (?) REX + * CRVX [] LI * OIE * CRI *	stars/none	NMS, K.2006.192; ex Spink sale 179, 29 March 2006, lot 75 (Lucien Larivière collection).
235	+ IACOBVS ✕ DEI ✕ GRA ✕ RE[] + * CRVX * PELLIT * OIE * CR[]; all stops uncertain	stars/none	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; photographs by M. Dhénin in J.E.L. Murray archive.

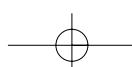
236	+ IACOBVS ✕(?) DEI []JX [?] CR[]; stops uncertain	?stars/?none	NMS, K.2006.412; from Inveresk, East Lothian, excavation 1976–7. Holmes 1988, no. 3.74.
237	+ IACOBVS ✕ DEI ✕ GRA ✕ REX + * CRVX [] OIE * CR *; stops uncertain	?/?	Photographs labelled 'M. Dengis' in J.E.L. Murray archive.
238	+ IACOBVS ✕ DEI []JEX + CRVX : []IT : OE : CRIII ; stops uncertain, possibly saltires	trefoils/none	Stewartby collection.
239	+ IACOBVS ✕(?) DEI ✕(?) GRA ✕(?) REX + CR[] OIE [?] CRII [?]	trefoils/none	On website www.geocities.com/scottishmoney/index.html , in November 2006.
240	[]VS ✕(?) DEI []REX ✕(?) + []JELL[] . ; uncertain stop at end	?/?none	Private collection?; plaster casts labelled 'Seaby B' in J.E.L. Murray archive.
241	+ IACOBVS ✕ DEI ✕[REX GRA] + * C[] * PELLIT * OIE * CRII *; flawed striking; possibly from same die as 201	stars/none	NMS, H.C2888; donated 1920.
242*	Same obverse die [+] CRVX ° PELLIT ° OIE ° CRIM	trefoils/annulets	Stewartby collection; ex J.E.L. Murray collection.
243	+ IACOBVS DEI REX GRA; stops ✕ Legend uncertain; stops ✕	trefoils/annulets	St. Andrews Cathedral Museum; recorded by R. Kerr, late 1950s?, but subsequently stolen.
244	+ IACOBVS ✕ DEI ✕ GRA ✕ RE ✕ + CRVX ✕ PELLIT ✕ O[] CRI	trefoils/none	NMS, H.C4268; bt 1976. Faculty of Advocates.
245*	Same obverse die + CRVX ° PELLIT ✕(?) OIE ° []ME °	saltires/pellets	Stewartby collection; ex J.E.L. Murray collection.
246	+ IACOBVS ✕ DEI ✕ GRA ✕ RE ✕ + CRVX ✕ PELLIT ✕ OE ✕ CRI	trefoils/none	Stewartby collection.
247	Same obverse die + CRVX ✕(?) PELLIT ✕ OE ✕ CRI	trefoils/none	Musée de Coxyde, Belgium, Inventory no. 307; from Damme; photographs in J.E.L. Murray archive.
248	+ IACOBVS ✕ DEI ✕ GRA ✕ RE ✕ + CRVX ° PELLIT ° OIE ° CRM	?saltires/annulets	NMS, H.C2884; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919.
249	+ IACOBVS ✕ DEI ✕ [G]RA ✕ RE ✕ + CRVX ° PELLIT ° OIE ° CRIM	?stars/none	Spink sale 175, 28–29 September 2005, lot 1243 (part) (John Scaife collection).
250	+ IACOBVS ✕ DEI ✕ GRA ✕ RE ✕ + [?] CRVX * PELLIT * OIE * (?) CM *	?stars/none	British Museum, 1954-1-5-1.
251	+ IACOBVS ✕ DEI ✕ GRA ✕ RE ✕ + CRVX ✕ PELLIT ✕ OE []JI	trefoils/none	Private collection; bt 1975, Baldwin.
252	+ IACOBVS ✕ DEI ✕ GRA ✕ RE ✕; D reversed + * CRVX * (?) PELLIT * OIE * CRI *	stars/none	Private collection; metal-detector find from St. Monans, Fife. Bateson and Holmes 2003, 264.
253	+ I[]OBVS [?] DEI []RA [?] RE [?] + C[] °(?) P[] OIE °(?) CRIII	saltires/pellets	Private collection; ex Walter Mason collection, Selkirk; possibly found near Melrose Abbey, Roxburghshire.
254	+ IACOBVS ✕(?) DEI []A ✕(?) RE ✕(?) + []JX ° PE[] OIE ° CRIII	saltires/pellets	Hunterian Museum, Glasgow, GLAHM 14612; Cuthbert collection.
255	+ IACOBVS ✕ DEI ✕ GRA ✕ RE + CRVX ✕ PELLIT ✕(?) OE ✕(?) CRI ✕(?)	trefoils/none	Stewartby collection.

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256	+ IACOBVS [?] DEI [?] GRA ✤ RE [] CRVX ✤ PELLIT ✤ OI []; uncertain stops, possibly stars	?stars/none	Stewartby collection.
257*	+ IACOBV[] D[] ✤ GRA ✤ RE + CRVX ✤ PELLIT ✤ OI ✤ CRIM ✤	saltires/annulets	Stewartby collection; ex J.E.L. Murray collection.
258	+ IACOBVS ✤ DEI ✤ GRA ✤ RE + CRVX ✤ PELLIT ✤ OIE ✤ CRII ✤	trefoils/none	Spink sale 27 September 2006, lot 485 (M. Anderson collection); ex Baldwin sale 28, 9 October 2001, lot 1632.
259	+ IACOBVS ✤ DEI ✤ GRA ✤ RE [] RVX ✤ PELLT ✤ OI ✤ CR[]	stars/none	Cabinet des Médailles, Brussels; photographs (?) by Cl. Van Nerom in J.E.L. Murray archive.
260	+ IACOBVS ✤ DEI ✤ GRA ✤ RE + CR[] ✤ (?) PELLIT ✤ OIE ✤ CRII	trefoils/none	NCirc April 2007, no. SCO555; ex Dolphin Coins list 2 (1992), no. 1396.
261	+ IACOBVS ✤ DEI ✤ GRA ✤ RE + CRVX : P[] IT : OIE : CRII [?]; uncertain stops	trefoils/none	Dix Noonan Webb sale 55, 8 October 2002, lot 43; ex P. Finn list 1 (1994), no. 468.
262	+ IACOBVS ✤ DEI ✤ [] JE + *(?) CRVX [] CRIII	?stars/none	Stranraer Museum; from Whithorn, Kirkcudbrightshire, excavation, 1984–91. Holmes 1996, 348 no. 19.
263	[] COBVS [?] DEI [?] GRA [?] RE + CRVX P[] IT ✤ OIE ✤ CRIM	saltires/pellets	NMS, H.C2883; found at Culbin Sands, Moray.
264	+ IACO[] DE[] RE + * CRVX [?] PE[] T (or I) * OIE * CII *	stars/none	NMS, H.C2889; found at Crichton Church, Midlothian.
265	+ IACOBVS ✤ DEI ✤ GRA [] [] JVX ✤ PELLT ✤ OI ✤ CRII [?]; uncertain stops	?/none	Stewartby collection; bt 1990, Elsen.
266	[] COBVS ✤ DEI ✤ GRA [] + * CRVX [?] PEL[] CRM *	stars/none	Stewartby collection; ex Parsons.
267	+ IACOBVS [?] DEI [?] G[] + CR[] ELLIT [?] OIE [?] CRII	saltires/annulets	NMS, H.C2882; found at the Palace of Holyroodhouse, Edinburgh.
268	+ IACOBVS ✤ DEI [] + CRVX ✤ PELLIT ✤ OIE []	trefoils/none	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; photographs by M. Dhénin in J.E.L. Murray archive.
269	+ IA[] + C[] LLIT : OIE : CRM [?]; uncertain stops, resembling broken stars	pellets/none	Private collection; metal-detector find from Auchmithie, Angus, 2003. Bateson and Holmes 2006, 167.
270	+ IACOBVS [] GR[] [] RVX [] OIE [?] CRII []	?/?	Private collection; metal-detector find from East Haven, Angus, 2002. Bateson and Holmes 2006, 174.
271	Obverse illegible [] RVX [?] PEL[] OIE []	saltires/annulets	NMS, H.C2885; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919.
272	Obverse illegible [] JVX [?] PELLIT [?] OIE []	?/annulets	NMS, H.C2886; found at Glenluce Sands, Wigtownshire.
273	Legends not recorded; annulet stops on reverse	saltires/pellets	Private collection; metal-detector find from Aberlady, East Lothian, 1996. Bateson and Holmes 2003, 251.
274	Obverse legend illegible + CRVX PELLT OIE CRI; star stops	?stars/none	Hans Schulman sale, New York, 27 May 1970, lot 1162.
275	Obverse legend illegible + C[] JE ✤ CRIM	stars/annulets	Private collection?; photographs at NMS in envelope labelled 'Mr. Cockburn GF 647' and dated 1984.



276	Legends illegible; uncertain stops	??	Private collection; metal-detector find from site of Lochfergus Castle, Kirkcudbrightshire, 1998. Bateson and Holmes 2006, 180.
Type III R: orb upwards and to right with rosette in middle (28 coins)			
277*	+ [?] IACOBVS * DEI * GRA * REX * + * CRVX * PELLIT * OIE * CRII *	stars/none	Stewartby collection.
278	+ [?] IACOBVS * DEI * GRA * REX [?] + *(?) CRVX *(?) PELLIT *(?) OIE *(?) CR[]	?stars/?none	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; photographs by M. Dhénin in J.E.L. Murray archive.
279	+ * IACOBVS * DEI * GRA * RE[] [] JELLIT [?] OIE [?] CRIII *	stars/none	NMS, H.C2893; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919.
280*	+ * IACOBVS * DEI * GRA * REX * + CRVX ♫ PELLIT ♫ OIE ♫ CRI	trefoils/none	NMS, H.C2891; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919.
281	+ * IACOBVS * DEI * GRA * REX * + CRVX ♫ PELLIT ♫ OIE ♫ CRI	trefoils/none	P. Finn list 17 (1999), no. 387; ex P. Finn list 10 (1997), no. 318.
282	+ [?] IACOBVS * DEI * G[] JX [?] + [] JLT ♫ OIE ♫ CRII	trefoils/none	Stewartby collection.
283	+ * IACOBVS * DE[] REX [?] + CRVX [?] PELLIT ♫ OIE [?] CRI	trefoils/none	Stewartby collection; ex J.E.L. Murray collection.
284	+ *(?) IACOBVS *(?) DEI GRA []; considered by J.E.L. Murray to be from same die as 283, but this is not clear from photograph + CRVX [?] PELLIT ° OIE ° CRM	saltires/annulets	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; photographs by M. Dhénin in J.E.L. Murray archive.
285	[] OBVS DEI GRA RE[]; uncertain stops [] RVX ♫ PE[] ♫ []	trefoils/none	Private collection; plaster casts supplied to J.E.L. Murray by N. Holmes, c.1983.
286	+ [] BVS DEI GRA REX; uncertain stops + CRVX ♫ PELLIT ♫(?) OIE ♫ CRM	pellets/none	Edinburgh City Museums and Galleries; from St. Giles Cathedral, Edinburgh, excavation, 1981. Holmes 2006, 51 no. 2.
287	+ IACOBVS [] I [] RA REX; no stops; rosette resembles large pellet C[] ♫(?) OIE ° CRM °; no initial mark; possibly a re-used class II die	annulets/none	NMS, K.2003.44; from Fast Castle, Berwickshire, excavation. Holmes 2001, 49, no. 11.
288*	+ * IACOVS * DEI * GRA * REX * CRVX ° PELLIT ° OIE ° CRM °	saltires/annulets	NMS, H.C4263; found at Glenluce Abbey, Wigtownshire.
289	Same dies	saltires/annulets	Private collection; plaster casts supplied to J.E.L. Murray by N. Holmes, c.1983.
290	Same obverse die + CRVX ° PELLIT ° OIE ° CRM °	saltires/annulets	NMS, H.C2890; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919.
291	+ * IACOVS * DE[] RE * RE[] + CRX ♫(?) PE[] JLT ♫ OIE ♫(?) CRI; double-struck, probably accounting for missing V	trefoils/none	NMS, H.C2892; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919.



292	+ * IACOVS * DEI [?] GRA * REX * + CRVX ✕ PELLIT ✕ OE ✕ CR[]	trefoils/none	Cabinet des Médailles, Brussels; photographs (by Cl. Van Nerom?) in J.E.L. Murray archive.
293	+ * IACOVS * DEI [?] GRA * REX * + CRVX ✕ PELLIT ✕ OIE ✕ CRI	trefoils/none	Cabinet des Médailles, Brussels; photographs (by Cl. Van Nerom?) in J.E.L. Murray archive.
294	+ * IACOBS * DEI * GRA * REX * + * CRVX * PELLIT * OIE * CM *	stars/none	Advertised for sale on eBay, September 2006.
295	+ *(?) IACOBS [?] DEI * GRA * RE[]; no rosette + * CRVX * PELLIT [] * CRII *	'blobs' (probably malformed stars)/ none	NMS, H.C2868; found at Cramond, Edinburgh.
296	+ IACOIVS [?] DEI [?] GRA [?] REX CRVX [?] PELLIT ✕(?) OIE [?] CR(?) M(?) :	annulets (visible on lower cusps only)/ none	British Museum, (18)47-5-17-247.
297	+ * IACOBVS * DEI * GRA []; double-struck + CRVX ✕ PELLIT ✕ OIE ✕ CR; legend commences at 11.0	trefoils/none	Stewartby collection; ex Marr.
298	+ IACOBVS []RA []	?/?	Baldwin sale 40, 3 May 2005, lot 365.
299	[] JVS *(?) DEI *(?) GRA *(?) REX [?] [] JT [?] OE(?) []	?/?	Cabinet des Médailles, Brussels; photographs (by Cl. Van Nerom?) in J.E.L. Murray archive.
300	+ *(?) IAC[]S *(?) D[]X *(?) [] CRVX *(?) P[]	?stars/none	NMS, H.C2894; found at Traprain Law, East Lothian.
301	Obverse legend not recorded; stops * CRVX PELLIT OIE CRIM; stops : and °	trefoils/annulets	St. Andrews Cathedral Museum; recorded by R. Kerr, late 1950s?, but subsequently stolen.
302	Obverse legend not recorded; stops * Reverse legend not recorded; stops ✕	?trefoils/none	Kelvingrove Museum, Glasgow; listed by R. Kerr, late 1950s?, but not available for re-examination.
303	Obverse legend not recorded; stops ° Reverse legend not recorded; ? no stops (Possibly a IIR coin misattributed to class III)	pellets/annulets	North Berwick Museum, East Lothian (closed since 2002); recorded by R. Kerr, late 1950s?; present location unknown.
304	Legends and stops not recorded	trefoils/none	St. Andrews Cathedral Museum; recorded by R. Kerr, late 1950s?, but subsequently stolen.

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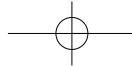
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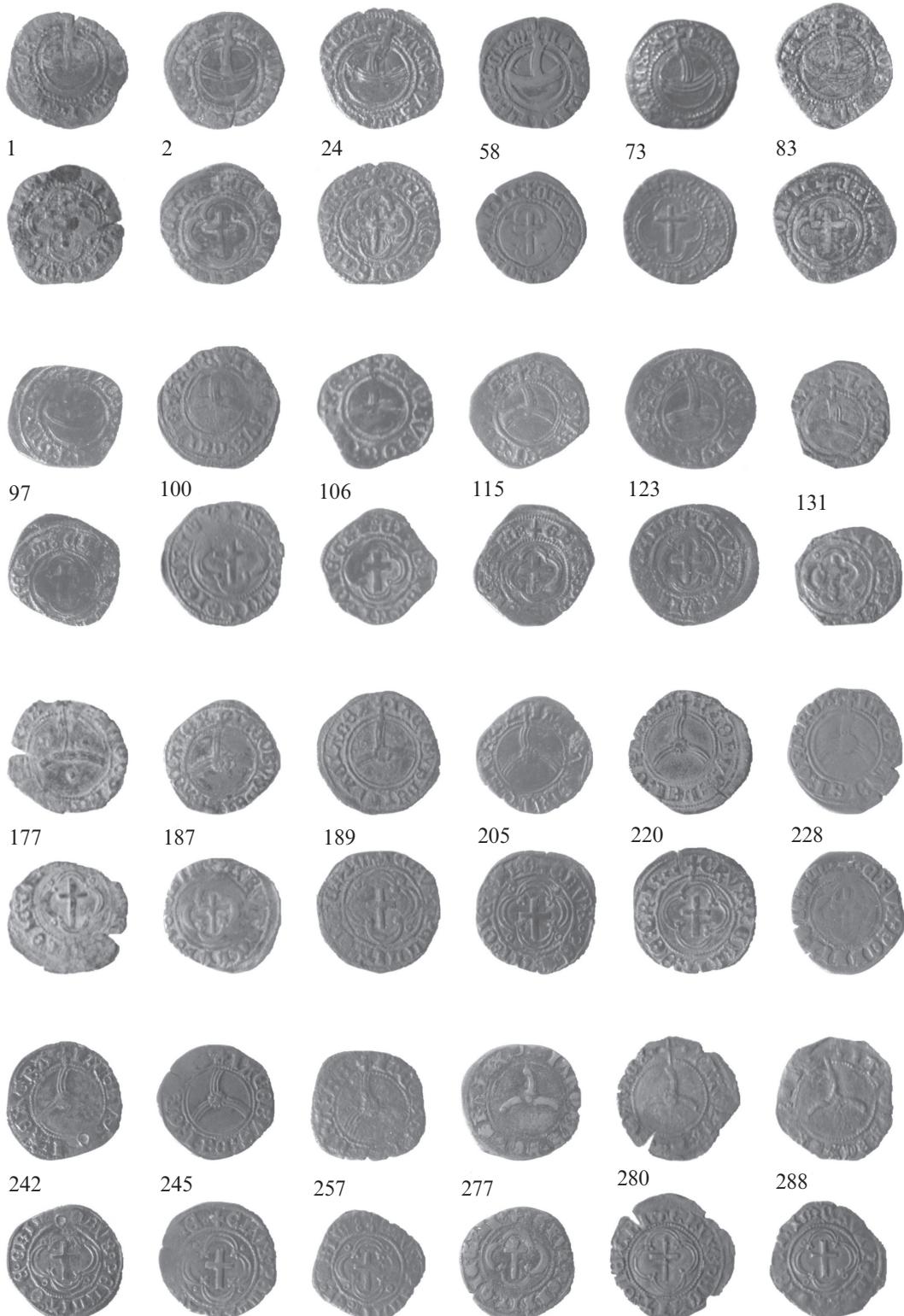
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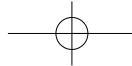
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PLATE 4



HOLMES: THE SCOTTISH COPPER CRUX PELLIT COINAGE



ENGLISH MEDIEVAL WEIGHT-STANDARDS REVISITED

PAMELA NIGHTINGALE

IT is with some hesitation that any historian would dispute the conclusions of so distinguished a numismatist as Dr Stewart Lyon on the subject of medieval weight-standards. However, in his recent article 'Silver weight and minted weight in England, c.1000–1320'¹ he challenged the views I myself published more than twenty years ago, and so, despite leaving that particular field of research in the interval, I welcome this opportunity to re-examine afresh some of its more controversial aspects in the light of his views and also of research published since I wrote.² This discussion, beginning with the evidence of Domesday Book, allows me to develop the subject into a more general survey of the weight standards of the medieval English coinage up to the fourteenth century, and, to discuss in particular, the use of troy and tower weight. Dr Lyon has added further comments on the latter subject below, which remains a disputed one between us.

I

My approach to the subject, as a historian, perhaps differs from the numismatist's in that I am interested in coins less as objects to be sorted, classified, weighed and dated, and more in what they can tell us about the economic and political circumstances that produced them. It seems to me that when it came to deciding on the weight standards of the coinage, governments might have respect for historical tradition, but that was unlikely to have more influence over their policy than the convenience and practicality of the coinage for their own needs, and particularly for the furtherance of their immediate political objectives. The latter included adding to their revenues by the substantial profits they could draw from changing the coin-types, which seems to have been the principal interest of the Anglo-Saxon kings; the convenience with which they could collect taxes to pay their armies, which was probably the major interest of the Danes and Normans; and also the ease with which they could exchange and use coins within territorial possessions that spanned the Channel, a matter of interest to both the Normans and Angevins. Because of these different objectives I would not expect that what is written about weight standards in 1320 was necessarily true of the England of Domesday, or of Æthelred II.³

Historians tend, also, to differ from numismatists, in their greater use of documents, and, therefore, they have more awareness of the limitations of written records when these are used to support numismatic evidence. They know that the documents are often silent about what people took for granted, or had no particular interest in recording. Dr Lyon argues that because Cnut's laws do not indicate that any change was made in weights and measures in his reign, it was likely, despite the very different weight of their coins, that both Cnut and William inherited Æthelred's ora.⁴ But as Professor Pauline Stafford has stressed, the laws that survive in that period do so only partially because their committal to writing depended on the clergy,

Acknowledgements: In writing this article I have benefited from a generous and fruitful exchange of views with Dr Lyon, as well as from discussions with Dr Sally Harvey, and with Professor Michael Metcalf. I alone, though, am responsible for the views expressed.

¹ See Lyon 2006.

² For my work on weight standards and the coinage see Nightingale 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985 and 1988, republished in Nightingale 2007.

³ See, by comparison, Dr Lyon's suggested link in Lyon 2006, 234, between the deduction of 14½ sterling pennyweights for mintage and seigniorage in the 1280s with what he claims was a clear surcharge of 1s. 2½d. on Domesday renders on royal manors in Somerset.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 236.

who tended to record them haphazardly, or because they reflected their special interests. Even so important a reform as that of the coinage in 973 has no documentary record.⁵ Therefore, although Dr Lyon finds it highly significant that Pegolotti never mentions troy weight in an English context, and that the earliest recorded mention of it is in an English statute of 1414, this is not surprising if troy was the normal weight standard that Pegolotti was accustomed to use in Europe.⁶ It is even less surprising considering that as late as the fourteenth century significant changes in medieval weight-standards could occur in England without any explicit, official record of the event.

One example of this is the appearance of the 16 ounce mercantile pound in England. In 1372, as in earlier records, the City of London stated that the avoirdupois pound was composed of fifteen ounces.⁷ Each ounce weighed the same as the troy ounce of 480 gr.⁸ But we learn from the little-known records of the London Grocers' Company, and not from the City's, or from any royal edict or parliamentary statute, of a significant change shortly afterwards. The City had delegated control over its avoirdupois weighing beam to the Grocers' Company, because its members habitually bought and sold their goods using the mercantile or avoirdupois pound, and so the company was given the authority to stamp, by way of authentication, the weights used by individual grocers in their retail trade. In 1386 the Company listed in its records all the weights that they held in their keeping, and by which they tested those held by others. They held thirteen weights ranging from a $\frac{1}{4}$ oz, to $\frac{1}{2}$ cwt, and they specifically identified the $\frac{1}{4}$ lb weight as one of 4 oz.⁹ This meant that the avoirdupois pound was by then divided into 16 and not 15 oz. A medical treatise written in 1395 by a chaplain of St Bartholomew's, Smithfield, confirms the change when it relates that the apothecaries used two different pounds, one of 16 oz, the avoirdupois weight, which they used to buy their supplies wholesale, and one of 12 oz in their retail trade. Both ounces were of 20 dwt, the troy weight used by the goldsmiths.¹⁰ This shows that people were undoubtedly using troy weight in the fourteenth century without naming it, because they took it for granted.¹¹

Alterations in the weight standards of the coinage, though, were very different from any made in the mercantile pound, because control of the coinage from the earliest times belonged only to the crown, and the crown never surrendered it, or lost control of it, except temporarily during the anarchy under Stephen when some barons issued coins. It cannot be emphasised too much that whatever was the king's policy towards the manufacture and exchange of coins, or the purchase of bullion, was determined by him and his advisers alone, and was usually, as the *Dialogue of the Exchequer* says, purely for his own profit.¹² The king's freedom to change his policies, or to delegate afresh the responsibility for administering them, was not limited by any supposed 'rights' of moneymasters or local mints, or by the charters of his predecessors. The latter did not necessarily remain in force unless the king specifically confirmed them. Nor, in the era of changing coin types is there any evidence to support the assumption of some numismatists that the king was restricted to issuing new types at regular intervals of two or three years, regardless of whether it was in his interest to do so.¹³

Naturally, it was easier for kings to govern with the minimum of coercion if they acted with some degree of consent, and if they did not impose on their subjects the costs involved in exchanging coin-types more than was reasonable to do so. However, a king like William I, who had no hesitation in crippling his new subjects with oppressive taxation, would certainly have felt no obligation to observe any convention he may, or may not, have inherited from his

⁵ Stafford 1989, 139.

⁶ Lyon 2006, 240.

⁷ Sharpe 1905, 300.

⁸ Connor 1987, 126.

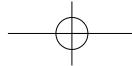
⁹ Kingdon 1883, 66; Nightingale 1995, 302.

¹⁰ Hartley and Aldridge 1936, 25, 92–3.

¹¹ Connor 1987, 127, gives fifteenth-century sources as the earliest references to a 16 oz commercial pound.

¹² Johnson 1950, 38.

¹³ See, e.g., Eaglen 2006, 56. Dr Lyon is not committed to this view, and Ian Stewart has argued strongly against it: Lyon 1976, 195; see also n.20 below.



predecessors about changing coin types at regular intervals, unless it suited his own financial and political interests. Although he profited by the practice, as his Anglo-Saxon predecessors had done, he, like the earlier, Danish, conquerors of England, had also to consider how best to exploit English wealth in coined silver so that it could most easily support his power both in England and across the Channel. This meant that the coinage had to be suitable, both in its weight and fineness, for the payment of mercenaries.

My work on the weight-standards of the Anglo-Saxon, Danish and Norman coinages in England sought to make sense of changes in the weight of contemporary coins within the context of this exploitation of English wealth by foreign conquerors for their own military and political purposes. However, subsequent research has shown that some of the statements I then made should now be modified. The first of these relates to the vexed question of the Domesday payments in pence *de viginti in ora*, which Dr Lyon also discusses in his new article. I argued in 'The ora, the mark, and the mancus', that payments specified as *de viginti in ora* describe not a surcharge of 25 per cent, as was proposed by Dr Sally Harvey, but coin struck to a fixed weight-standard of twenty pence to the ounce. The weight of that ounce, I argued, had been fixed at 27 g, c.1031, and when, after 1053, Edward the Confessor began to strike the majority of his coins to a modal weight of c.1.33 g he introduced the standard of *de xx in ora*.¹⁴ This explains the pre-Conquest reference to a payment *ad numerum de xx in ora* at Leicester, which Dr Lyon can only account for, otherwise, as an unlikely scribal error.¹⁵

Although this continued to be the official standard of weight for the coinage, the crown continued to profit from striking coins above and below that standard at different mints. This meant that English coin was only acceptable to foreigners when it was paid by weight and not by tale. It was only when the Conqueror decided to end this system and replaced it by one based on a coinage of fixed uniform weight, that coins struck to the Confessor's standard of twenty to the ounce, became payable both in England and overseas by tale. Following Professor Grierson's, and Dr Lyon's own work on the Conqueror's coinage, I concluded at the time of writing my article that the Conqueror made this change with his Sword type (BMC Type VI), which Grierson dated c.1080–3. The weight of the coins was then close to twenty to the ounce, and the date of the issue appeared to be close to the first reference to 'sterling', c.1078.¹⁶

Professor Metcalf's subsequent work, though, shows convincingly that although a higher weight-standard of c.1.37 g for the penny was introduced at Winchester in the Conqueror's Type IV, and at Lincoln in Type V, weight standards still varied at London, and other mints, and continued to do so in Types VI and VII.¹⁷ Only in William's Paxs issue, Type VIII, was a uniform higher weight imposed on all the mints.¹⁸ By Dolley's scheme for dating the Conqueror's coins the Paxs issue belongs to the years 1083–6, but this date has recently been questioned on the grounds of Dolley's 'arbitrary juggling with two and three year periods', and the tenuousness of the link he made between the extraordinarily large issue of this type with the oppressive six-shilling geld levied after Christmas 1083, and, also, between the extensive Beauworth hoard of Paxs coins and the fear of a Danish invasion in 1085.¹⁹ It has also been suggested that the symbolism of a Paxs coinage was far more appropriate to the beginning of the new reign of William Rufus, than to the end of his father's.

All these judgments are necessarily speculative since there is no firm evidence to rely on. If, though, there was no compelling reason why kings, least of all a conqueror as ruthless as William, should be restricted to issuing new coin types at regular intervals, rather than when it suited his needs, then Dolley's dating has more to recommend it than a scheme that, relying

¹⁴ Nightingale 1983, 252–3; Nightingale 1984, 244–5.

¹⁵ Harvey 1967, 226; *Domesday Book* I, f. 230; Lyon 2006, 234, n.58.

¹⁶ Lyon 1976, 204; Grierson 1961, 267, 274–5.

¹⁷ Metcalf 1998, 182–7.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 188.

¹⁹ Eaglen 2006, 56.

on fixed three-year intervals, makes William Rufus issue the Paxs type.²⁰ What Metcalf has emphasised is the radical nature of the reform introduced by the Paxs type, of a single weight-standard of c.1.37 g-1.38 g at all the mints. Its significance is emphasised by the fact that at least 65 mints struck the very large Paxs issue, and their usual ranking was changed. Although London, as the chief commercial centre, had hitherto been the dominant mint, it struck only eleven per cent of the Paxs issue, whereas fifteen per cent was struck in Winchester, and some other mints, like Salisbury and Southwark, also saw much higher levels of activity than normal.²¹ It would seem, therefore, that these changes were dictated by government policy, directed from Winchester, rather than by commercial need.

Metcalf concluded, on balance, that the huge size of the issue was determined by the reform of the coinage, rather than by the need to pay the oppressive geld of 1084. He linked the reform with the Domesday survey, and saw both as examples of the king's determination to enforce firmer, more centralised government on his realm. It is this aspect of the reform that raises doubts whether Paxs was first introduced by William Rufus. Only the strongest of kings would have risked making such a change in the coinage at the beginning of his reign since it potentially alienated subjects who found that they received in exchange for their old, lighter pence fewer new pennies of fixed weight. It is conceivable, in fact, that the bitter complaint made in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*'s obituary of the Conqueror, in 1087, that he took coin 'by weight and with great injustice from his people with little need for such a deed', was provoked by the recent imposition of the new uniform weight standard, because it must have appeared in this light to every holder of old coin.²² In 1087 William Rufus would have had little confidence in his ability to impose such a radical reform because he was regarded by many as a usurper, and he was uncertain of the extent to which his new subjects would support him against the claims of his elder brother, Robert. In these circumstances an unpopular change in the monetary system must have appeared to him and his advisers, as a dangerous, and unnecessary risk. In fact the evidence suggests that the new king was anxious initially not to alienate his subjects by novel policies of this kind.²³

In view of these uncertainties about the date when this important reform of the coinage was introduced it is pertinent to ask what purpose it served and why the crown should then choose to make the change to a fixed, uniform weight for the penny. Because the ora of 27 g was used at this time in a large part of northern Europe, English merchants almost certainly benefited from the new fixed weight of the coinage. It is unlikely, though, that the Conqueror put their interests before his own. The change meant that he could collect taxes directly from his English subjects in coins whose fixed value would be instantly recognised by foreigners from the image they bore when they were paid out by tale. This was of the greatest benefit when he was paying foreign mercenaries to fight under his command. It also meant that William could predict the precise amount of silver he could collect from any geld. William was certainly conscious of the need to employ large numbers of mercenaries from 1083 onwards. They were needed to protect him against the rebellion of his son, Robert, and against Robert's supporter, the French king; also against a rebellion in Maine, and subsequently against the threat of a Danish invasion of England.²⁴ It is therefore conceivable that the uniform weight of the Paxs coinage was decided in late 1083, at the same time as the six-shilling geld was ordered. In that case the symbol of peace on the coins was meant to remind William's English subjects that what they were paying for was the maintenance of the internal peace and order that he had given them, and to which the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* paid tribute on his death.²⁵

²⁰ Ibid., 57. Lord Stewartby has strongly criticised the notion of a pre-ordained pattern of changing coin types as 'an historical improbability...because competent governments are normally ready to respond to circumstances and to develop their policies in the light of experience, while incompetent governments are forced to do so': Stewart 1990, 480. I am indebted to Dr Lyon for this reference.

²¹ Metcalf 1998, 188.

²² Whitelock and Douglas 1961, 164.

²³ Barlow 1983, 60, 68, 70, 74.

²⁴ Douglas 1964, 243-4.

²⁵ Whitelock and Douglas 1961, 164.

What is certainly true is that the Paxs coins aptly fit the specification needed to explain the payments *de viginti in ora* that are recorded in 1086 in Domesday Book. One might go further and argue that two, at least, of the payments recorded there can only be explained if the Paxs coinage had been introduced a short time before it was written. Domesday records what appears to be a bewildering patchwork of various types of payment that reflects different layers of custom, and the different dates when renders had been settled. Some were paid by tale, some by weight, some weighed and assayed, and others are specified as *de viginti in ora*. In a few cases, too, the latter refer to coins that had additionally to be assayed because they specify payment in *libras alborum* (or *candidorum*) *nummorum de xx in ora*.²⁶ These can be explained by the fact that although the official weight-standard was twenty pence to the ounce, and the Winchester mint was observing it from c.1072, elsewhere standards continued to vary in the Anglo-Saxon tradition from mint to mint within the same type. It was therefore impossible for tax-collectors to distinguish those of inferior weight and fineness without an assay.²⁷ Assaying, though, required time and skill, and wasted 6d. in each pound in the late twelfth century. This was another compelling reason why William must have wanted to make it unnecessary by ordering the whole coinage to be struck to a standard weight and fineness.²⁸

The entry for Dover in Domesday Book indicates the recent timing of the change to a fixed weight standard and is therefore evidence of the existence of the Paxs type by 1086. Dr Harvey has shown that the *Excerpta* of St Augustine's, which is a text based on an earlier stage of the Domesday enquiries, initially recorded Dover's render to the king of £24 as *viginti et quattuor librae dantur regi de xx denariis in ora cum incensione et pensa*. However in Domesday Book this had become merely a payment of the same sum *de viginti in ora*, payable by tale.²⁹ It is inconceivable that the king would accept this change if it meant giving up either a surcharge, or the certainty that the actual coin he received by tale was of full weight and fineness. He could only have that certainty in Paxs and later issues, which could easily be recognised at sight by the tax collectors. The ubiquity of the Paxs coins by 1086 may explain why Battle Abbey was then content to receive by tale a render from the Kentish manor of Wye which before that year had been paid to the Crown, *de xx in ora*.³⁰ Since the introduction of the new fixed weight standard was so very recent it is not surprising that it is stipulated in relatively few entries in Domesday Book, and only in payments to the crown. Once all earlier coin types had disappeared from circulation there would have been no need to specify in later charters that dues should be payable to the king *in denarii de viginti in ora*, since these would then be the only coins current.

Dr Lyon objects that this interpretation is brought into question by the same Domesday entry for Dover that shows the reeve paying only 24 pounds to the king *de denariis qui sunt xx in ora* and 30 pounds to the earl *ad numerum*. He goes on to say 'The apparent absurdity of the king receiving less than the earl is one reason why Dr Sally Harvey argued forty years ago that *de xx in ora* meant 'payable in pence with a surcharge of 25%'. But Dr Harvey did not give any such reason in her article, because as she would know well there was no 'apparent absurdity' in the king receiving less than the earl in Dover.³¹ The distribution of local revenues between the king and his officials varied from place to place according to different needs. Certain estates allocated to the earl were to enable him to fulfil his official functions as the king's deputy in the defence of the realm.³² Although the Conqueror was more wary than the Confessor of creating powerful earls, certain towns of strategic importance clearly needed men who enjoyed local authority and superior resources to defend them, and Dover was one of them. This was why it had been placed previously under the authority of Earl Godwin and

²⁶ Harvey 1967, 223–4. *Domesday Book*, I, f. 164, Tidenham, Arlington, Tockington.

²⁷ Metcalf 1998, 184–6.

²⁸ Brand 1994, 66.

²⁹ Harvey 1967, 224.

³⁰ *Domesday Book*, I, f. 11v.; Dugdale 1817–29, vol. 3, 244f. One of the witnesses to this undated charter was Maurice, Bishop of London, who was consecrated on 5 April 1086.

³¹ Harvey 1967, 224. She does not comment on the discrepancy between payments to the King and to the Earl.

³² Maitland 1960, 207–8.

also given specific responsibility for manning a fleet.³³ For the same reason the Conqueror had put it under the control of his half-brother, Odo of Bayeux.³⁴

It seems from the entry for Sandwich that Dover retained this responsibility for naval defence under William, and it thereby bore an additional financial burden which was over and above what the burgesses paid to the king in coin.³⁵ Chester is another example where the townspeople apparently paid more money to the earl than to the king. Again, it is likely that this was because Chester's strategic importance required the earl to draw a substantial revenue from the place which he could use, if necessary, for its defence. It is also to be noted in Chester's case that the payment to the king was not specified as *de xx in ora*. Therefore one cannot conclude, as Dr Lyon does, that the fact that the earl appeared to receive a higher payment in cash than the king from Dover, meant that any payment to the latter, which was specified as *de xx in ora*, was a way of stating that it required a surcharge of 25 per cent, instead of being, as I argue, a payment to be made in the new coins of fixed weight of the current type.

II

It is, however, on the significance of troy weight standards in the monetary history of medieval England that I differ most from Dr Lyon, and in particular with his bold conclusion, 'There can be little doubt that what we know as troy weight was not employed in any way in the English coinage in Pegolotti's time, and it probably never had been.'³⁶ I argued in 'The evolution of weight standards' that although troy weight, which was the weight of the barley grain, was the ancient weight standard of the Anglo-Saxon people, the Danish conquerors replaced it by Roman standards for a period until it was re-introduced into England by Henry II in 1158 because, like the Normans and Danes before him, he wanted his English revenues to serve his continental interests.³⁷ To do this he needed the English coinage to be related to the same troy weight-standard as those of his ancestral possessions, Anjou, Normandy, Touraine and Maine. Dr Lyon thinks that even if Henry II had acquired control of the purchase of bullion by the mints in 1158, which he doubts, 'it is improbable that he would have introduced a practice of purchasing by continental troy weight'.³⁸

This view, though, reflects the insular tradition of seeing Henry II as essentially an English king, whereas he was an Angevin with little knowledge of England. He gained his English inheritance by conquest, and saw it merely as the richest part of an empire that spread over half of modern France. In fact between 1159 and 1167 Henry II spent all but three years on the continent, and in the thirty-four years of his reign he crossed the Channel no fewer than twenty-eight times and the Irish Sea twice.³⁹ Although eight principal coinages were in use in his loosely federated continental possessions, it seems clear that Henry acted fairly speedily after his conquest of England to establish his authority over all his mints and exchanges. In Dr Barrie Cook's view his actions from 1158 onwards may exhibit a policy of achieving 'significant administrative co-ordination' between them in which, at the very least, the Angevin government was 'viewing the mints and exchanges from across its territories as in some sense a unit'.⁴⁰ Since the troy mark was used as the bullion weight in the Angevin territories by 1147 an Angevin ruler bent on harmonising his minting policy had every incentive to introduce it as the bullion weight in England.⁴¹

So complete was the control that Henry exerted over England by 1158 that if he then left moneymen with the power to exchange coins he did so because it suited his purpose at the time,

³³ *Domesday Book*, I, 3. Sandwich provided the same service to the King as Dover.

³⁴ Ibid., I, 1a; *ibid.*, 262v.

³⁵ Ibid., I, 262v.

³⁶ Lyon 2006, 240.

³⁷ Nightingale 1985.

³⁸ Ibid., 230.

³⁹ Warren 1973, 93, 302.

⁴⁰ Cook 2006, 622–5.

⁴¹ Nightingale 1985, 205.

and contrary to what Dr Lyon thinks, this did not in any way prevent him from introducing troy weight as the means of purchasing bullion.⁴² Despite Henry I's edict giving moneyers the sole right to exchange coin (which was intended merely to prevent counterfeiters from passing on their handiwork, and did not endow the moneyers with exclusive and permanent rights over exchanges) the Pipe Roll of 1130 refers to a *cambium* or exchange held in London by people (one of them a sheriff that year) whose names are not on any coins. Moreover, as Professor Mayhew pointed out in his chapter in the *History of the Royal Mint*, there is reason to think that people other than moneyers were involved, probably as exchangers, or financiers, at the Canterbury and York mints between 1158 and 1180.⁴³

In 1158 Henry also raised the weight of the sterling penny to a standard that Derek Allen considered was 1.46 g. Dr Martin Allen has stated in his recent review of the weight standard of the Tealby, or Cross-and-Crosslets, coinage that it is certainly possible that the standard of 1158–80 was 240d. per tower pound with a penny weighing 1.46 g.⁴⁴ This contrasts markedly with an average weight for the penny between 1153/4 and 1158 that Allen finds was 1.33 g, although those coins also appear to display regional variations round that figure.⁴⁵ I have argued that the new standard for the Cross-and-Crosslets pennies was fixed so that the difference between the troy pound used to buy bullion, and that of the tower poise used to weigh 240 pence, should amount to the weight of 12 tower pence. This was possible because the weight of the medieval English troy pound introduced by Henry II almost certainly matched the French *livre de Troyes* of 367.2 g instead of the modern troy pound of 373.48 g.⁴⁶

It is to be expected that an Angevin king who wanted a common monetary system throughout his mainly French empire would use a French standard of weight, and it is likely that he also changed at the same time the weight of the grain from the English troy barley grain to that of the French and Flemish wheat grain, then weighing c.0.0476 g.⁴⁷ This would make the English troy pound one of 7,680 gr. \times 0.0476 g = 365.6 g. The new tower pound of 7,200 wheat grains, which was the weight of 240 sterling pennies, was therefore derived from the weight of the troy pound, and its grain division had the convenience of giving each sterling penny a round number of 30 gr. and a pennyweight of 32 gr. It allowed the king to maintain a common bullion weight throughout his territories and to take by weight from every troy pound of bullion of sterling fineness received by the mints the English crown's traditional seigniorage of six sterling pence in the pound, and also to pay the moneyers the traditional sixpence in the pound to cover the costs of manufacturing, and exchanging the coins.⁴⁸

That continental coins were exchanged in this way for sterlings, during the Cross-and-Crosslets period, by using the troy bullion and the tower mint weights, appears from the reference in 1166 in Flanders to the *petit marc de 10s. sterling*. This Flemish mark for silver weighed half of a troy pound but it was valued at 10 shillings sterling.⁴⁹ This indicates that the Flemings expected to exchange half a troy pound of their bullion by weight for 120 sterling pennies, with the difference in weight being retained as charges by the English exchanges. The weight and name of this Flemish mark indicates a clear connection between the troy bullion weight and the English coinage of the second half of the twelfth century that Dr Lyon does

⁴² Obviously the introduction of the troy pound for bullion did not affect the use of the tower pound to weigh sterling coins taken by the sheriffs to the Exchequer. The evidence of the *Dialogue of the Exchequer* quoted in Lyon 2008 below (194, n.5–6) is therefore not relevant.

⁴³ Nightingale 1982, 46; Mayhew 1992, 93–4.

⁴⁴ Allen 2005, 232; Allen 2006, 262–3.

⁴⁵ Allen 2006, 262–3.

⁴⁶ Miskimin 1967, 41. If one subtracts the 349.9 g weight of the tower pound from the 367.2 g of the medieval Paris troy pound the difference amounts to 17.3 g. This amounts to 12 tower pence each of 1.46 g.

⁴⁷ Nightingale 1985, 202.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 205. I should have made clear in this article my understanding that the King would pay from this shilling the fees of the moneyers, which almost certainly would account for sixpence of it. There is no reason to doubt that the system also incorporated the adjustments that the moneyers made when they valued foreign coins in the thirteenth century to take into account differences in fineness between sterling and continental coins.

⁴⁹ Wyffels 1967, 67–71, 83.

not comment upon, although he does identify the Flemish ounce as being the same weight as the English troy ounce.⁵⁰

If, despite this evidence for the use of the troy bullion weight, it is still thought that Henry II did nothing before 1180 to relate the various Angevin coinages to the English currency what, one wonders, was his purpose in raising the weight standard of the sterling penny to 1.46 g in 1158? This was likely to have been a very unpopular move with the King's new English subjects, since as owners of the old coin of inferior weight they had to pay substantially to change it into the new pence. The King must have had good reason for risking such widespread unpopularity. It could be, therefore, that he saw the introduction of the new weight standard for the penny, and the troy weight for bullion, as the first steps towards linking his English and continental coinages. Since sterling was by far the strongest and most influential coinage at this time it was sensible to begin any necessary changes with the English weight standard. As long as his various coinages were exchanged by weight it may have appeared sufficient at first to link them by a common weight for bullion. Only when the flow of silver to England increased during the 1170s, and royal revenues grew with it, did it become desirable to strike coins that were exchangeable at face value in England and overseas, so that Henry could employ England's wealth in coin more conveniently in his Angevin possessions.

Dr Cook's recent work on the monetary system of the Angevin empire stresses the importance of the additional changes that Henry made in 1180. He points out that unusually he brought over experts from Tours and Le Mans to participate in the Short Cross recoinage. Because the tournois/angevin, mansois, and sterling coins formed the three levels of the Angevin monetary system, Cook has suggested that the presence of experts in all three coinages may indicate that this was the occasion, rather than 1158, when measures were taken to make the English coins exchangeable by set rates with those of his Angevin lands.⁵¹ Two charters of the 1180s indicate that there was a known fixed relationship between sterling and Angevin money.⁵² The common presence of sterling pennies with other Angevin coins in continental hoards after 1180 support this interpretation.

Martin Allen's suggestion that the new Short Cross type introduced in 1180 may have been struck to a standard of 246 to the pound would seem to challenge this interpretation because it implies that there was no long-term aim behind raising the weight of the penny in 1156. But as Allen himself points out, the recorded assays of the Short Cross coinage in 1181 and 1196 do not support his hypothesis of a lower weight standard from 1180, because, in John Brand's words 'any variance in the weight from standard would have an immediate effect on the result of the combustion'.⁵³ Allen's answer to this problem is to cite Brand as the authority for his suggestion that 'the results of the combustion were silently adjusted to make allowance for the lack of fineness of the coinage alloy and the loss of silver in the assaying process'.⁵⁴ However, to carry out regular assays of English coins in a way that required silent adjustments of that kind seems an unsatisfactory and pointless exercise, especially, as Brand himself pointed out 'any competent goldsmith could have removed all but a percentage point or two of impurities without difficulty'.⁵⁵

If one accepts, instead, the results of the assays of 1181 and 1196 at their face value, as signifying that the coins of those years were of full weight, and if one then analyses the weights of the coins in the Tealby and Short Cross hoards that Allen lists, the most significant difference in average weight appears not in 1180, but after the death of King John in 1216. The average of the 5,714 coins in the Tealby hoards is 1.42 g, while the average for the 1,217 Short Cross coins from 1180 down to 1216 is 1.41 g.⁵⁶ This is a slight difference considering the many factors that could influence the condition and weight of coins in the ground. One such

⁵⁰ Lyon 2006, 228.

⁵¹ Cook 2006, 628.

⁵² Ibid., 629.

⁵³ Allen 2005, 230; Brand 1994, 65.

⁵⁴ Allen 2005, 230, citing Brand 1994, 69.

⁵⁵ Brand 1994, 69.

⁵⁶ Allen 2005, 229.

factor was the special selection of coins for hoards so as to exclude those that were both over as well as under the standard weight.⁵⁷ This continuity of weight is also surprising in view of the fact that after 1204, when Philip Augustus of France conquered Normandy, along with much of the Angevin empire, he ended the angevin and mansois deniers and imposed the tournois, as the French royal coinage, throughout his newly conquered lands.⁵⁸ This meant that, from the point of view of English kings, there remained after 1204 no pressing political reason why they should any longer base their monetary policy on the need to make the sterling penny readily interchangeable at face value with continental coins, by fixing the weight of each coin at precisely twenty to the ounce. Since King John's campaigns to preserve his continental possessions had also left him very short of money, it is not surprising that his last years reveal a greater readiness to tolerate coins of low weight.

This was first made clear within a year of the loss of Normandy, when a partial recoinage, which was intended to eliminate coins of light weight, still allowed any old money not more than two shillings and sixpence in the pound light to remain current. As Nicholas Mayhew has observed this was 'an unusually tolerant limit' which could be explained by the pressure on the coinage caused by the huge amounts exported to pay for Richard I's ransom and in the struggle to defend Normandy.⁵⁹ That such tolerance was seen as a temporary, if officially accepted, expedient, appears from its coupling with the issue by the mint of a poise for weighing a penny which was up to one-eighth light. It should be noted, though, that the poise was to be used only until Easter in the following year, and Class IV of Short Cross in the Bainton hoard shows that the average weight quickly returned to 1.41 g.⁶⁰

As England descended into civil war on the death of King John in 1216, and London, which was the source of much of the bullion that came into the country, fell temporarily under the control of the French prince, Louis, it is not surprising that trade suffered, less bullion was brought by merchants to the mints, and the coinage deteriorated in weight. Civil war threatened again in 1223. These events may have contributed to the lower weight of the hoards listed by Allen which were deposited after c.1217. Also, as Mayhew concluded, the deficiency in the used Short Cross coinage which was revealed by the Exchequer assay of 1247, 'would be entirely consistent with what we know of wear in coinage, and with the evidence of Exchequer combustions of the period'.⁶¹ 242 pence were being struck by 1256–8 from each pound of sterling silver.⁶²

Despite temporary tolerances of weight below the standard (which in any case became inevitable through wear because of the long intervals between recoinages) it was obviously considered important that the silver content of the coinage should be trustworthy, since coins could easily be weighed when they were exchanged, but not so easily assayed, unless their quantity made it worthwhile and there were expert moneymen on hand to do it. It is clear from Brand's work that whereas the silver content of the Cross-and-Crosslets coinage was very variable, as appears from the combustion rates recorded on the Pipe Rolls, that of the Short Cross coinage was remarkably even in quality, and generally within the normal tolerance rate of 6d., until the progressive wear of the coinage made itself felt.⁶³ In fact, as Dr Lyon points out, this aspect of the new coinage appears to have been so well known to the townspeople of Exeter that although they were required by charter to make a payment of £25 blanch, or assayed, they claimed it was unnecessary after the introduction of the new coinage to make the traditional extra payment of 12s. 6d. tale to satisfy the requirement of blanching.⁶⁴ It also appears from the Memoranda Roll of 1230–1, that even royal officials were by then content

⁵⁷ Archibald and Cook 2001, 25, 48. The authors contrast the composition of the selected Tockholes hoard of c.1218, 60 per cent of whose coins were over 95 per cent of standard weight, with the much wider spread of weights found in the coins of the Wainfleet hoard of c.1194–1204.

⁵⁸ Cook 2006, 672–3.

⁵⁹ Mayhew 1992, 98; Brand 1994, 13–15.

⁶⁰ Ruding 1840, I, 178; Allen 2005, 229.

⁶¹ Mayhew 1992, 108.

⁶² Allen 2005, 229, 227.

⁶³ Brand 1994, 60–2.

⁶⁴ Round 1899, 87, cited by Harvey 1967, 227.

to receive smaller sums in cash without an assay.⁶⁵ This new insistence on a consistent standard of fineness from 1180 accords with a policy of making sterling coins exchangeable at a fixed rate with Angevin coins on the continent. For this to be possible foreigners had to be able to trust completely in their standard of fineness.

III

What major changes in this system were made by the Edwardian recoinages? As Dr Lyon points out, Pegolotti's statement, c.1320, indicates that bullion was then bought and exchanged for coin not by troy, but by tower weight which was aligned with that of the Cologne mark of 233 g.⁶⁶ This shows that tower weight still remained what it had been in 1158 when Henry II introduced the new weight of 1.46 g for the sterling penny. By 1170 the Cologne mint had responded to that change by adopting for its *Magna Marca* the same weight as the tower mark. It could do this because its coins were of above sterling fineness.⁶⁷ The dates, though, show that it was copying the English weight standard, and not vice versa.⁶⁸ German merchants bringing Cologne coins to the English mints in the early fourteenth century would, therefore, have experienced no change in procedures. They continued to expect, like English merchants who were exchanging old sterlings for new ones, to have them weighed by tower weight, and to pay the seigniorage and minting charges in the same way. Did this mean, that when Flemish and French merchants, too, had to exchange their coin by tower weight, that Dr Lyon is correct in stating that troy weight 'was not employed in any way in the English coinage in Pegolotti's time'? To answer this question one must first investigate when and for what reason tower weight replaced troy for exchanging all foreign bullion at the mint.

The period between 1180–1279 is striking for the continuity exhibited by the charges for minting, and seigniorage. English and foreign merchants alike paid 6d. in the pound in seigniorage to the crown and sixpence to the moneyers throughout that period.⁶⁹ This fixed charge was maintained even when the number of pence struck from the pound had increased to 242 by 1259, and it seems clear from this fact that the charges were paid not by tale, but by weight in the way first established in 1158, by using the difference between the troy and tower pounds.⁷⁰ The motivation to change this system seems to have been the determination of Edward I, as recorded by the *Treatise on the New Money*, to obtain more profit from the mint. In 1279 the crown's seigniorage was raised to ninepence in a tower pound from which 243 pence were now struck.⁷¹ This meant that in 1279 the customers of the mint had to pay total charges of 19 pence for English silver and 17 pence for foreign silver. Later, though, these charges were reduced, and varied, as a means of attracting silver to the mint.⁷² The effect of these changes was to overturn the stable system which had led the Flemings to create their *petit marc de 10 shillings sterling* in the twelfth century when they first aligned their troy bullion pound with the sterling value of the tower pound. The new royal policy of varying charges made such arrangements obsolete. Instead, changes in seigniorage could be most easily executed by using the tower weight as the bullion weight and by levying the charges by tale. This was done in 1279 when the merchants were repaid in sterlings counted out at the rate of 240 pence to the pound, even though they were now struck to a standard of 243 to the pound. The king kept the additional 3d. for himself. This innovation indicates a clear break

⁶⁵ Brand 1994, 61.

⁶⁶ Lyon 2006, 230; Evans 1936, 255.

⁶⁷ Nightingale 1985, 207.

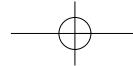
⁶⁸ There is no evidence to support the contention of Simpson and Connor 2004, 328, that the formal introduction of troy weight in England occurred in the late fourteenth century. The fact that the Bruges silver ounce matched the weight of the English troy ounce by 1166 shows that the strong commercial pressures which they claim caused the introduction of troy weight into the mint long antedated the fourteenth century, as, indeed, the history of the wool trade shows. By the late fourteenth century the wool trade was actually declining.

⁶⁹ Mayhew 1992, 132.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 132–3.

⁷¹ Johnson 1956, 68.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 133–5.



with the past, and a policy that was dictated more by royal profit than by the political and commercial benefits of fixed exchange rates.⁷³

In one important aspect of minting policy, though, there was continuity. The mint continued to maintain the traditional sterling standard of fineness, and it is clear that it was determined by troy weight. This is not surprising since England's main trading partners still used weights related to the troy system, and the Bruges silver ounce continued to match the English troy ounce exactly.⁷⁴ Troy also remained the weight used by the goldsmiths for assaying bullion. Its use in the mint for this purpose is made plain by the document which describes how the Abbot of Bury St Edmund's was instructed in 1280 to make the king's new coins by Gregory de Rokesley.⁷⁵ Besides being Warden of the Exchange and Mint, Rokesley was an experienced merchant and goldsmith. The first part of his reply, which is recorded, no doubt as he spoke it, in French, dealt with the weight of the actual coins. 243 pence had to be struck from the (tower) pound, of which no more than six heavy and six light coins were acceptable. They were to be no more than a grain and a half heavier or lighter than the standard. The second part, in Latin, then describes the standard of fineness of the coins which was calculated in troy weight: 'The ounce weighs twenty dwt. The penny weighs 24 grains. A heavy penny weighs 25½ grains. A light penny weighs 22½ grains'.⁷⁶

Although medieval clerks used the words *sterlingum* and *denarius* interchangeably to describe either the pennyweight, or the minted penny, the weight system referred to in this Latin passage is clearly that of the 24 grain pennyweight and pound of 5,760 grains which Pegolotti reported c.1320 was also the bullion weight of the goldsmiths. He described it as *di sterlini 20 per 1 oncia e d'once 8 per 1 marco*.⁷⁷ The Latin text relating to Rokesley's speech therefore refers not to the actual weight of sterling pennies, which was 22½ gr., but to the troy pennyweight of 24 gr. which the documents record was the weight used by the mint both for assaying coin and for determining how much alloy should be added to silver to achieve the sterling standard of fineness.⁷⁸ The careful definition of the weight of heavy and light pennies was added because the changer used both light and heavy coins in the trial of the pyx, and because the assayer, as Brand showed, needed to know any permitted variation of weight from the standard since it would have an immediate effect on the result of the combustion.⁷⁹ These documents therefore indicate, as Charles Johnson, their editor, noted, that in 1280 two weight standards continued to be used in the mint for different purposes: tower to establish the weight of sterling pence, and troy to create and test its fineness, and also to establish the fineness of foreign bullion.⁸⁰

Dr Lyon, though, argues below that because the Latin text refers to light and heavy coins it is not describing the pennyweight of 24 gr., but minted pence of that standard, and since the actual coins demonstrate that the standard was, in fact 22½ gr., he thinks this shows they were not troy grains, but grains of lighter weight. He therefore concludes that the tower pound, like the troy pound, had 5,760 grains, and that all the references in the mint documents which describe a 24 grain pennyweight, are describing tower and not troy weight. As evidence he cites a document, published by Ruding, from a collection on mint affairs compiled by the antiquary Sir Robert Cotton about a hundred years after the abolition of tower weight. Ruding relies on this document as the only evidence for his assertion in his *Annals of the Coinage* that the tower pennyweight had 24 grains, and the tower pound 5,760 grains.⁸¹

However, the Cottonian table as Ruding reproduced it (illustrated below, p. 196) contains mistakes in calculating the tower equivalent of troy weight for the pennyweight, ounce, and

⁷³ Mayhew 1992, 133.

⁷⁴ Simpson and Connor 2004, 329. The English troy ounce, besides matching the Bruges silver ounce, had a ratio of 16:15 with the English tower ounce, which itself matched the Cologne ounce.

⁷⁵ Johnson 1956, 86–7.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 87.

⁷⁷ Evans 1936, 255.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 67, 92; Brand 1994, 60–2.

⁷⁹ Johnson 1956, 92.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 70, n.1.

⁸¹ Ruding 1840, I, 7.

hundredweight. It appears from Dr Lyon's researches that Ruding was responsible for these mistakes in transcribing the original document, which he obviously found confusing. Ruding's errors, though, do not make the original Cottonian analysis of the grain division of the tower pound any more satisfactory as an historical source, and although Ruding's *Annals* have long been a well-known source on mint affairs in general, his claim that the tower pound contained 5,760 grains has not been accepted by Grierson, Connor, Zupko, or any other modern authority on medieval weight standards.⁸² Ruding, though, rightly identified the tower grain of the Cottonian manuscript as the wheat grain, citing as his authority one of the several thirteenth-century sources which say that the sterling 'shall weigh thirty-two grains of wheat dry in the midst of the ear'.⁸³ These sources demonstrate that the pound was then still divided into the French wheat grains which, as I have previously argued, replaced the older English barley grain in 1158. They describe a thirteenth century pound which contained $240 \times 32 = 7,680$ wheat grains. All the authorities referred to above accept that these are the equivalent of 5,760 barley or troy grains.⁸⁴ The royal proclamation of 1526 which abolished tower weight declared that the tower pound weighed $\frac{3}{4}$ of a troy ounce less than the troy pound.⁸⁵ From this it can be seen that the tower pound must have contained either 7,200 wheat grains, or 5,400 barley or troy grains. The Cottonian manuscript, though, led Ruding to make the mistake, which he corrected in a later reference, of drawing up a table which made the 32 wheat grains of the pennyweight the equivalent of the $22\frac{1}{2}$ troy grains of the sterling penny, and, as a result, he concluded, erroneously, that there were 5,760 grains in the tower pound.⁸⁶

However, Ruding also printed *in extenso* in his *Annals* another Cottonian document, again signed by Sir Robert himself, which is closely related in subject matter to the first, and uses the same technical term of a 'journey' of 30 troy lbs of bullion as equalling 32 tower lbs of sterling coin. Since it has particular relevance to this enquiry about whether and how troy weight was used in the medieval mints it is worth quoting. 'There is a weight which hath been used in England from the beginning, in the king's mints, till of late years, and derived from the Troy weights; for by the Troy weight of 12 ounces the merchant bought his gold and silver abroad, and by the same delivered it in to the king's mint, receiving in counterpoise by Tower weight, which was the prince's prerogative, who gained thereby $\frac{3}{4}$ of an ounce in the exchange of each pound weight converted into money, beside the gain of coining, which did rise to a great revenue, making for every 30 lb Troy, being a journey of coined money, 32 lb Tower'.⁸⁷

This information, of course, agrees with the proclamation of 1526 which abolished tower weight, on the difference between the tower and troy pounds.⁸⁸ The phrase 'beside the gain of the coining' probably relates to the additional gain the crown could make from the profits of the shear and the foundry, since it obviously could not mean that the crown profited from minting charges paid by tale, as well as from the difference in weight between the two pounds.⁸⁹ Since this document has clear links with the first Cottonian manuscript which Dr Lyon relies on for his evidence, it should be accorded the same degree of authority. If the first manuscript can be used to justify an argument for a novel granular division of the tower pound, then the second strengthens my case that from the reign of Henry II up to 1279 the mint exchanged bullion delivered to it by troy weight for sterling coin of tower weight, with the difference covering the seigniorage and minting costs. This evidence for the continued use of troy weight in the mint finds support, also, in the proclamation of 1526, which referred to the Duke of Burgundy's old coin lacking 'in their fineness of the sterling 20d in a pound

⁸² Grierson 1975, 178; Connor 1987, 110, 125; Simpson and Connor 2004, 349; Zupko 1977, 28.

⁸³ Ruding 1840, I, 7; Connor 1987, Appendix A, 320.

⁸⁴ Connor 1987, 124.

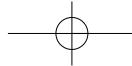
⁸⁵ Hughes and Larkin 1964, no. 112, 160.

⁸⁶ When Ruding 1840, I, 295, refers to the statute of 12 Henry VII which described the sterling as containing 32 wheat corns he wrote 'it is evident that the sterlings in that statute are pennyweights, and not the coins of that name'.

⁸⁷ Ruding 1840, I, 92.

⁸⁸ Hughes and Larkin 1964, I, no. 112, 160.

⁸⁹ Ruding 1840, I, 88, 91–2.



weight troy' as a description of what was happening *before* 1526. It thereby indicates that the troy pound continued to be the weight used for the assay when coin was exchanged.⁹⁰

Despite the traditional description of the pennyweight as 32 wheat grains continuing in some later official documents, including a statute of 12 Henry VII, c. 5, the pennyweight is described by 1280 as containing 24 grains.⁹¹ The *Treatise on the New Money*, of c.1286–7, also records that the weight system then used for the assay and the composition of sterling alloy was the troy system of a 24 gr. pennyweight.⁹² Dr Challis has shown how the assayer's pound, and the ready-reckoner, that are also recorded in these documents, enabled the mint to produce silver of sterling standard with a sliding scale of charges related to the quality of the bullion brought to it.⁹³ The assayer's pound weighed half a troy ounce, and contained as many grains (10 dwt × 24 gr. = 240 gr.) as a full troy pound does pennyweights (12 oz × 20 dwt).⁹⁴ This meant that for every grain of difference at the assay there was one pennyweight of difference in the full troy pound, and it thereby allowed the results of assaying a small amount of metal to be read off easily in terms of the latter.⁹⁵

Although the use of an assay predated Domesday Book, the *Dialogue of the Exchequer*, written in the late 1170s, describes an Exchequer assay which used a full pound weight of coin, rather than half a troy ounce. This was also true of the Exchequer assay recorded in 1248.⁹⁶ This may indicate that the assayer's pound was not then in use, and it may not, therefore, much pre-date 1280. Its introduction certainly made an assay less wasteful of silver. One might, therefore, link its introduction with the mint reform of 1262 whose importance has been stressed by Nicholas Mayhew. By this reform the profits of the foundry, which had formerly accrued to the moneyers, were now paid to the Crown. Generally the profits from the assay amounted to about one-third of the profits of the exchange, and in normal times they were a significant sum.⁹⁷ However the accounts for the foundry and Exchange were only merged by 1279.⁹⁸ Again, this seems to emphasise Edward I's keen interest in making all aspects of the mint's work as profitable to him as possible, and his readiness to make major changes in the system to achieve that end.

What changes were made in the mint's use of tower and troy weight standards after 1279 once all bullion and plate was weighed by tower weight? If one collates the information contained in the *Treatise on the New Money* written c.1286–7, with that in its revised version of 1290–1300, then it appears that the procedure when a merchant brought bullion to the exchange was as follows: firstly the exchanger weighed it by tower weight, and then valued it according to how much more or less alloy it contained than the sterling standard of 18½ troy pennyweights to the troy pound.⁹⁹ If it equalled the sterling standard, then fourteen and a half tower pennyweights were separated from it to pay the king's seignorage of 9d. and the minting costs of 5½d. This would normally be done from 1279 by tower weight, except on the rare occasion of that recoinage when payments were made by tale.¹⁰⁰

For silver of a quality which was assessed as inferior to the sterling standard, the exchanger removed by weight the number of pennyweights per pound by which he estimated it fell short. But this time the weight used was that of the troy pennyweight.¹⁰¹ The amount deducted was called the tally. A bill was written and given to the merchant specifying the weight of what remained of the bullion, after the deductions, and giving the date when it was received. The separated silver of the tally was then taken to the Master of the Mint who added it to the rest

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Johnson 1956, 67, 87.

⁹² Ibid., 67. This is the date for the composition of *The Treatise* given by Mayhew, instead of its editor's choice of c.1280: Mayhew 1992, 123.

⁹³ Challis 1988, 76–86.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Ibid.; Johnson 1956, 67.

⁹⁶ Johnson 1956, 54.

⁹⁷ Mayhew 1992, 118–20.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 119.

⁹⁹ Johnson 1956, 68.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 68.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 72–3.

of the molten bullion in the crucible to bring it up to the sterling standard. Repayment to the merchant was made after minting by the same tower weight of sterlings as that specified in the bill, namely the weight of bullion he had brought, less the deductions for the tally and for the seigniorage and minting charges.¹⁰² In this way bullion was bought and exchanged by tower weight, but its fineness was determined by troy weight.¹⁰³ Sterling pennies, of course, continued to be struck to tower weight. The system used in the mint to carry out these operations from 1279–80 therefore continued to use both troy and tower weight standards. It worked well because they were linked by their common grain of troy weight.

However, by the time that Pegolotti was writing *c.*1320, it appears from his evidence that the English troy grain had increased in weight to 0.0648 g. Professor Miskimin has shown how such an increase would explain the ratio that Pegolotti reported between the gold and silver Flemish marks of 21:16 instead of the 20:15 to be expected from the number of ounces in each mark. He explained this unusual ratio by the grain of the Flemish silver mark changing to match a new, slightly heavier English grain, when the pound was redivided into 5,760 gr., while that of the Flemish gold mark remained that of the French system.¹⁰⁴ If Miskimin is right this would mean that before 1320 the English troy pound had assumed its modern weight of 373.48 g and its division into 5,760 gr. Why should this happen and when?

The most likely reason would be to accommodate a slightly different weight for the sterling penny. 1279–80 was the first recorded occasion when 243d. were struck from the tower pound, and it is obvious that the intention was to make this arrangement permanent to accommodate higher charges.¹⁰⁵ If, as seems likely, the mint was still using up to 1279 a tower pound of 7,200 wheat grains, then its re-division into 243 pence presented the moneyers with a penny which, from their point of view, had an impossible weight to manufacture with any consistency, namely one of 29.63 gr. instead of 30 gr. This is most likely the reason why the wheat grain was replaced by the barley, or troy, grain, the other generally accepted unit of weight in northern Europe. By this substitution each sterling penny struck at 243 to the tower pound, would be allotted a more manageable 22 $\frac{1}{4}$ gr. A new technique which was introduced in 1279 also made it much easier to work with a weight that incorporated a quarter grain. It appears that instead of the coins being cut individually from square flans, droplets of silver were poured on to a plate, and then flattened. This process made it much easier to produce coins of a weight accurate to a quarter grain.¹⁰⁶ The disadvantage was, though, that a tower pound composed in this way of 243 pence would have weighed 5406 $\frac{3}{4}$ troy grains.

This was not only an awkward pound weight for bullion, but if these had been the old, lighter barley grains of 0.0637 g, then they would have produced a tower pound of only 344.4 g instead of 350 g. Rather than reduce the weight of the pound it appears that the decision was taken to increase the weight of the troy grain from 0.0637 g to 0.0648 g, an increase that was sufficient to maintain the traditional weight of the tower pound at 350 g.¹⁰⁷ Since it was important to maintain the link between the tower and troy weights, which was effected by the use of the same grain, they also increased the English troy pound to its modern weight of 373.48 g. The Flemish mints found it convenient for their silver mark to follow this change in the English weight standard, in the same way that they had followed it for two hundred years, because of the strong commercial links between the two countries created by the wool trade. They preserved, though, the French weight of their gold grain, thereby creating the unusual ratio between their two marks. By contrast, when the English mint began striking a gold coinage in 1344 it made sure that the weight of its gold grain was related to that of the troy grain of the silver coinage, so that the value of the gold and silver coins could be linked

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 95.

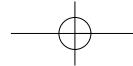
¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 70, n.1.

¹⁰⁴ Miskimin 1967, 41–2.

¹⁰⁵ Mayhew 1992, 134, Table 3.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 127.

¹⁰⁷ Simpson and Connor 2004, 349.



by a uniform weight standard. Accordingly the grain of gold was fixed at a weight which was the same as 60 silver grains of troy weight, or $2\frac{1}{2}$ troy pennyweights.¹⁰⁸

This consistent attachment to troy weight standards explains how sterling coins maintained a fixed exchange rate with several coinages in north-west Europe throughout most of the thirteenth century, and even beyond. For example 20 shillings sterling was worth 80 shillings in Tournois coins for most of this period.¹⁰⁹ Other coinages show similarly by the round sums in which they valued the English pound (as 20s. in Cologne in 1208; as 70s. in Artois in 1265; as 65s. in Flanders, and 60s. in Brabant in 1270–5) that despite the debasement of many of them there continued to be an easy and well-understood exchange rate with sterling, based on accepted standards of troy weight and fineness. This is confirmed by the finding of many French-made weights of about the year 1300 in the River Seine, near the Pont du Change in Paris, which weighed divisions of the English mark calculated at 24 pennyweights to the ounce, the troy weight. To emphasise this point some were even labelled Apothecary's.¹¹⁰

In summary this paper has argued that troy weight, based on the French troy pound, was restored to the English monetary system by Henry II from 1158 after a period when the Danish and Norman conquerors had used weight systems related to the Roman or Byzantine pound. Henry II made the change as an essential part of his design to unify the weight standards of his territories and to relate their varied coinages one to another. It also seems likely that at the same time Henry introduced the French wheat grain in place of the old English barley grain. He thereby created an English troy pound containing 7,680 gr., which many English sources attest was the standard in the thirteenth-century. However, it seems from the evidence of French weight standards, that the troy grain used by the English mints in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was lighter than it subsequently became. This meant that the English troy pound, which Henry had introduced as the bullion pound, weighed c.366 g and its 7,680 wheat grains each weighed c.0.0476 g. The difference in weight between this pound and the tower pound of 240 pence, which weighed 240×1.46 g = 350 g, allowed the king to levy 12d. in seigniorage and minting charges by means of which a fixed exchange rate could be maintained with the coinages of his other Angevin territories.

This system survived the break-up of the Angevin empire until Edward I's determination to profit more from his mints led to the replacement of the wheat by the barley, or troy grain, in the re-coinage of 1279–80. At the same time the mint increased the weight of the troy grain slightly so that both the sterling penny, and the bullion weight, or troy pound, should be divisible into a relatively easy number of grains, or half grains, that the moneyers could cope with in their work, and which would allow the crown to increase and vary its charges. Despite these changes in the weight of the grain there can be no doubt that the English penny and its pennyweight remained throughout this period related to troy standards of weight. Because of this the sterling coinage maintained its connections with the other coinages of western Europe, and directly influenced the weight standards used for the silver coinages of Flanders and Cologne.

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¹⁰⁸ Johnson 1956, 83.

¹⁰⁹ Spufford 1986, 209–10.

¹¹⁰ Dieudonne 1925, 10–11.

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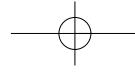
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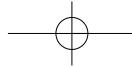
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COMMENTS ON PAMELA NIGHTINGALE, 'ENGLISH MEDIEVAL WEIGHT-STANDARDS REVISITED'

STEWART LYON

DR Pamela Nightingale is a distinguished economic historian well known for her publications on medieval monetary history.¹ Her article in this volume is a response to one published in *BNJ* 2006 in which reasons were set out for rejecting troy as a weight system used in England in connection with the Edwardian and prior coinages. In addition a new interpretation was proposed for Domesday payments *de xx in ora*.² Dr Nightingale has now restated her previous opinions on these subjects. The meaning of Domesday terminology is a continuing source of scholarly debate and it is better to leave others to judge the merits of our respective propositions. On the other hand, in seeking to reinstate the use of troy weight from the reign of Henry II she misinterprets the numismatic content of some of her sources to an extent that warrants an immediate reply. I am grateful to the editors of *BNJ* for exceptionally agreeing to publish this short critique in the same volume.

As will have been apparent, Dr Nightingale also takes issue with me on this critique, which was prepared in response to drafts of her article and led to further development of her arguments. There has not been time to extend these comments to correspond, given the proximity of the editors' deadline.

Henry II

Dr Nightingale has written persuasively on the significance of radical changes made by Henry II in 1158 to moneyers and minting policy, seeing them as part of an overall plan to extend royal authority over the mints.³ Using a similar approach in her latest article, she argues that since the troy mark was used as the bullion weight in the Angevin territories by 1147 an Angevin ruler bent on harmonising his minting policy had every incentive to introduce it as the bullion weight in England, so that a pound of twelve Paris or Troyes ounces weighing 252 pence of sterling fineness could have been exchanged by the mint for 240 pence, leaving 12 pence to be divided equally between minting costs and the king's seignorage.⁴ As an historian she is fully justified in considering whether and if so how Henry II or, for that matter, William I or Cnut might have wished to alter the weight systems they encountered on arrival in England so as to conform with practice in their homelands. However, establishing whether changes were actually made must depend on a valid assessment of the coins themselves and such documentary evidence relating to them as is available.

Although not necessarily relevant to the purchase of bullion, the contemporary and authoritative *Dialogue of the Exchequer* explains how a sheriff's render to the king (Henry II) was weighed and assayed.⁵ As was demonstrated in the 2006 paper, it clearly describes a process where the weight used was the standard of the minted coinage, which was certainly lighter than troy.⁶

Acknowledgments: I am grateful to Martin Allen for encouraging me to write this critique and providing several references and sources, and also to Christopher Challis for helpful clarification of a point of difficulty in an article of his that is discussed here. I have also enjoyed an extensive correspondence with Pamela Nightingale which has helped us to clarify some of our points of difference. However, I take full responsibility for my opinions expressed herein.

¹ See especially Nightingale 1982 and 1985. Dr Nightingale's papers on weight standards and other subjects have been republished in *Trade, Money and Power in Medieval England*, Variorum Collected Series, 894 (Aldershot, 2007).

² Lyon 2006.

³ Nightingale 1982, 48–50.

⁴ Nightingale 2008, 183 and 191.

⁵ Johnson 1983, 8–10.

⁶ Lyon 2006, 229.

Edward I-II

By the Edwardian period the evidence that troy weight was not being used in the London mint for the purchase of bullion is quite specific. Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, an Italian banker who travelled widely in the first half of the fourteenth century, was a director of his firm's London office from 1317 to 1321. During his long career he recorded in considerable detail relationships between weights in use for gold, silver and different classes of merchandise in cities across Europe and the Mediterranean.⁷ He says that in London silver plate, coin and bullion was bought and sold by the mark of the Tower of London, which was aligned with the mark of Cologne, and that no-one, neither citizen nor foreigner, could hold an exchange except the master of the mint.⁸ The restriction on exchange is confirmed by a surviving mint document on the recoinage of 1279–80, 'The Form of the New Money'.⁹ Pegolotti also mentions a mark $5\frac{1}{3}$ sterlings heavier than the Tower mark, which was used by London goldsmiths when silver objects were bought and sold in trade with the public,¹⁰ though if it had been an English troy mark the difference ought to have been twice as large.

Bury St Edmunds

Dr Nightingale argues that the Tower pound was created after 1158 as a result of the deduction of twelve pennyweights from every (French) troy pound of bullion brought to the exchanges.¹¹ She accepts that bullion was bought by Tower weight after 1279 but considers that this represented a change of policy and that troy weight continued to be used in measuring the fineness of silver and the amount of alloy to be added in the minting process.¹² In support of her case, she cites the verbal instruction given to the abbot of Bury St Edmunds when he was supplied with new dies in the first Edwardian recoinage. The Harleian manuscript which records the circumstances is basically a Latin document, evidently from Bury, which incorporates, apparently verbatim, two separate passages in Norman French.¹³ The first records a judgment by the king's council that the abbot of Bury should be provided with dies and informed by word of mouth of the minting standard. It is followed in Latin by a statement that Gregory de Rokesley (who was a warden of the London mint) was ordered by the council to do this. The second passage is what de Rokesley said to the abbot. Finally there is some explanatory detail in Latin that is presumably not a direct quotation.

In the record of his verbal instruction, de Rokesley describes the pound of money. This must be the Tower pound, because he says it has to weigh (or, rather, be minted into) 243 pence by tale, with a tolerance of no more than a penny either way. A departure of $1\frac{1}{2}$ gr. from the correct weight of an individual penny is allowed, but for no more than six heavy and six (exceptionally seven) light pence in a pound. The final (Latin) passage states that an ounce weighs twenty pence and a penny weighs 24 gr., with heavy and light pennies of $25\frac{1}{2}$ and $22\frac{1}{2}$ gr. respectively.¹⁴ If, as may be thought more than probable, this defines the upper and lower limits for the weight of the minted penny, the grains must be lighter than troy because the standard, when expressed in troy weight, was $22\frac{1}{2}$ gr.

⁷ Evans 1936.

⁸ Evans 1936, 255.

⁹ Johnson 1956, 57–8.

¹⁰ Evans 1936, 255.

¹¹ Nightingale 2008, 183.

¹² Nightingale 2008, 189.

¹³ Johnson 1956, 86–7.

¹⁴ *La livere de la moneye contene xii unces. En la livere deit estre de fin argent xi unces, ii esterlings, et j ferling, et lautre alay. E la livere deit peser monee xx.s. et iij.d. Issint ke nule livere ne seit outre xx.s. iiiij.d., ne meins ke xx.s. ij.d. par cunte. E deit la moneye estre talie ken la livere ne deivent estre ke vj. forz et vj. febles, de un grein e demid le fort, et de un grein e demi le feble, al drait dener. Et cil avient ke set seyent febles utre le grein et demi en la livere trove par le assaiur, ja pur ceo ne lesse kil ses ne delivere, si plus ni seient. E tele est la moneye le rey. // Uncia ponderat xx.d. Denarius ponderat xxiiij. grana. Denarius fortis ponderat xxv. grana et dimidium granum. Denarius debilis ponderat xxij. grana et dimidium granum. . . . Item nota quod xi uncie, ij.d., qd. debent esse de ita puro argento sicut est illud de quo fuit folia argentea. Et dicitur vulgariter tale argentum, argentum de Gutheron's Lane. (Johnson 1956, 87.) The pound was to contain as much as 11 oz. $2\frac{1}{4}$ dwt of silver of the fineness of the silver leaf of Gutter Lane, the home of the London goldbeaters, because that leaf was itself slightly less than 12 oz. fine; the addition of $17\frac{1}{4}$ dwt of alloy would then result in the metal having the standard coinage fineness of 11 oz. $1\frac{1}{2}$ dwt (Challis 1988, 82).*

Nevertheless Dr Nightingale argues that the grains are troy and relate to the standard of fineness of the coins,¹⁵ though it is not clear how that could be the case. She points out that the royal proclamation of 1526 which abolished Tower weight says that the troy pound exceeded the Tower pound by three-quarters of a (troy) ounce,¹⁶ from which she concludes that the Tower pound must have contained either 5,400 troy grains – as, of course, we think of it today – or their equivalent in wheat grains. However, a manuscript in the library of the Society of Antiquaries (an early seventeenth-century compilation of documents relating to mint affairs) includes a table expressing units of troy weight in terms of specific units of Tower weight.¹⁷ The table (Fig. 1) shows that the latter was based on grains, pennyweights,

Troy weight	Tower weight
A. gr. wt.	A. gr. wt. 8. mytes.
A. 1 ^d wt	A gr. wt. 1 gr. 1/2 c. 2. mytes.
A. gr. weight	A gr. wt. 2 grs.
A. 2d. oz.	1/2 oz. 16. grs.
A. 1/2. cwt.	1 oz. 1 dwt 2 grs.
A. the. wt.	12 oz. 16 ^d weight
A Journey wt 30 ^{lb}	32 ^{lb} weight
100 ^{lb} w. ^{tt}	106 ^{lb} w. ^{tt} 8. oz.

Troy Weight	Tower Weight	Meaning
A qr. w. ^{tt} [1/4 dwt]	A: qr. w. ^{tt} 8 mytes	1/4 dwt 1/20 gr.
A: 1 ^d w ^t	A: 1 ^d :w. ^t 1:gr: 1/2 & 2 mytes	1 dwt 1 1/20 gr.
A qr. weight [1 1/4 dwt?]	A: qr. w ^t 2 grs	1 1/4 dwt 2 gr.
A half: oz	1/2 oz 16. grs	1/2 oz 16 gr.
A. oz. w. ^{tt}	1 oz 1. ^d w ^t qr & 2 gr	1 oz 1 1/4 dwt 2 gr.
A lb: w ^t	12 oz 16. ^d weight	12 oz 16 dwt
A Journey w ^t 30. ^{lb}	32. ^{lb} weight	32 lb
100. ^{lb} w. ^{tt}	106. ^{lb} w. ^{tt} 8. oz	106 lb 8 oz

Fig. 1. Cottonian manuscript comparison of Troy and Tower weight (Society of Antiquaries MS 116, fo.162), with the present writer's transcription and interpretation.

¹⁵ Nightingale 2008, 187.

¹⁶ For the full wording of the proclamation, dated 5 November 1526, see Hughes and Larkin 1964, I, 160–1.

¹⁷ SAL/MS/116, item 11, fols 159–215, fo.162, noted by Ruding 1840, I, 7 whose transcription contains errors. According to the Society of Antiquaries' catalogue this manuscript, containing original documents and copies of documents from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries, was compiled mainly in the time of James I. It includes 35 items, a number of which, including item 11, bear Sir Robert Cotton's signature on the contents page. (I am grateful to the Society of Antiquaries and to Dr Elina Screen for help with this reference.) Also relevant is a mint document on gold coinage c.1350 or later (Johnson 1956, 83–5) which states that there are 24 carats in a pound of pure gold, each carat weighing as much as half an ounce of silver (*dimidia uncia argenti*) and containing four gold-grains (*iiij^{or} granis auri*). Johnson continues: 'and every gold-grain contains sixty light grains, whereof 24 gr. make a pennyweight'. However, the Latin says *unde quolibet granum auri continent lx grana argenti subtilia; unde xxiiij^{or} grana faciunt sterlincum in pondere*. Thus it does not refer to light grains as such, but silver grains that are described as *subtilia*, underlining the obvious point that they are smaller (or lighter) than the *grana auri* and 24 of them make the [standard] weight of a sterling.

ounces and pounds, all lighter by one-sixteenth than their troy counterparts, and unless it is a seventeenth-century concoction it demonstrates that the Tower pound actually contained 5,760 grains, as the mint documents imply, with 20 mites to a grain and 24 grains to a Tower pennyweight.

Although Tower and troy each had its own characteristic grain, the traditional approach in English historical metrology following the abolition of Tower weight in the sixteenth century has been to express previous Tower measurements in troy grains,¹⁸ much as troy weights are nowadays frequently converted to metric grams, and failure to appreciate this fact is reflected in Dr Nightingale's misinterpretation of references to grains in the Bury and other mint documents.

The Tower pennyweight is called a sterling by Pegolotti and is frequently referred to by that name in Edwardian mint documents. However, as Dr Nightingale points out, the sterling is consistently defined in treatises on weights and measures from Henry III to Henry VII as comprising 32 grains of wheat from the middle of the ear. Whether this was originally equivalent to the Tower pennyweight of 24 Tower (i.e. 22½ troy) grains or represented a pennyweight of 24 troy grains, and whether its equivalence could have changed over time as the use of troy weight became more general, are important questions that cannot be explored here.

The fineness and alloying of silver

For the supposed involvement of troy in assaying bullion, Dr Nightingale relies on an important article by Dr Christopher Challis which has as its focus 'the calculation of fineness in the English medieval mint and the elucidation of the documents which relate to it'.¹⁹ One of those documents, *A Treatise on the New Money* which dates from 1286–7,²⁰ describes the fineness in two ways: as the silver content of a pound of standard money in shillings, pence, fractions of pence and silver grains,²¹ or the number of pennyweights and grains of silver in a half-ounce of ten pennyweights.²² Since a pennyweight contained 24 grains and a half-ounce amounted to 240, it was convenient to make an assay of half an ounce so that the loss of a grain in the fire was equivalent to the loss of a penny in a pound of 240 pence or pennyweights.²³

Throughout his article, in which he clarifies previously obscure descriptions of the purchase of bullion according to its fineness, Dr Challis refers to pounds, ounces and grains as troy. However, fineness is a relative measure and is the same whether the scale by which it is measured is troy or Tower given that both pounds were divided into the same number of units, so Dr Challis's illuminating ready-reckoner tables are valid for either system.²⁴ It is unfortunate that the English translation of the Treatise in the *De Moneta* refers to the half-ounce of the assay as containing ten pennyweights, each of twenty-four grains, when the original Latin describes it as the weight of ten sterlings of that number of grains,²⁵ and Pegolotti's international comparisons leave no doubt that the sterling was a unit of Tower weight, not troy.²⁶

Just as fineness is a relative measure, so too is the number of pennyweights of alloy to be added to a given weight of pure or nearly pure silver to create a pound weight of coinage metal. Such a specification in the mint documents is valid regardless of whether the pounds and pennyweights are troy or Tower.

¹⁸ Simpson and Connor 2004, 328–9.

¹⁹ Challis 1988, 84.

²⁰ Johnson 1956, 65–81; but see Mayhew 1992, 123 for the date of this version of the Treatise.

²¹ Johnson 1956, 73.

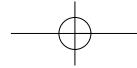
²² Johnson 1956, 67 and 73.

²³ Johnson 1956, 67.

²⁴ In a recent conversation Dr Challis explained to the present writer that it had been no part of his purpose to argue the case for troy weight when discussing fineness.

²⁵ *Modernis ergo temporibus fieri consuevit assarium de pondere x sterlingorum, scilicet ex dimidia uncia Sicut ergo uiginti quatuor grana faciunt unum sterlimum, sic xxiiij^{er} dimidie uncie efficiunt unam libram.* (Johnson 1956, 67).

²⁶ For example, the Bruges gold mark weighed 8 ounces 8 sterlings of the weight of the Tower of London and was the same as the Paris mark (Evans 1936, 245). The latter is well known to have weighed marginally less than eight English troy ounces.



Accounting for bullion

In the same article, Dr Challis discusses the way in which William of Gloucester, goldsmith to Henry III and warden of the London and Canterbury Exchanges, accounted for a weight of 23,907 pounds of bullion received at the London mint in 1261. The king's seigniorage at the rate of 6 dwt was 597 pounds weight. Coins at that time were sheared at 242 to the Tower pound, the extra 2d. going to the supplier of the bullion. For the minting of his seigniorage the king was the supplier, so in addition to £597 at face value he was paid £4 19s. 7d. for the shear.²⁷ Although recorded as separate sums it seems unlikely that they were counted out, for it would have been much easier for the king to be paid in minted sterlings with a total weight of 597 Tower pounds. Be that as it may, it is clear that the bullion was accounted in Tower pounds, which suggests that the moneyers who at that time were responsible for the purchase of bullion would have bought it by Tower weight.²⁸ If, as Dr Nightingale believes, there was a change in the thirteenth century from troy to Tower as the basis for such purchases,²⁹ it would have occurred no later than the introduction of the Long Cross coinage in 1247.

Conclusion

It is fair to say, notwithstanding Dr Nightingale's arguments, that none of the mint documents in the *De Moneta* provides evidence that troy weight rather than Tower is intended in any of their references to pounds, ounces, pennyweights or grains and it is hard to disagree with a statement elsewhere by Dr Challis, admittedly when referring to an Irish act as late as 1483, that the only pound used in the London Mint was the Tower pound.³⁰ Undoubtedly the minting process itself was based on Tower weight and, as Dr Nightingale has indicated in personal correspondence, the parallel use in the mint of two weight systems, each with a pound of 5,760 grains, would have caused confusion.

Indeed, far from troy having been involved before 1279 for the purchase, assaying and alloying of bullion and its use then discontinued solely for the purchase of bullion, the considered opinion of two recent writers on the subject is that commercial pressure from the important markets of the Low Countries almost certainly led to its formal introduction in the late fourteenth century and its alignment with the ounce of the Bruges silver mark; before this time the principal ounce used in England was the ounce of Cologne, one of the principal European bullion markets.³¹

APPENDIX

THE FLEMISH SILVER MARK

Although a detailed discussion of continental weight-systems is beyond the scope of this note, it is necessary to mention the small marks of Flanders. Pegolotti refers to a Bruges silver mark of six ounces, which he indirectly equates with 128 sterlings of Tower weight,³² and therefore the equivalent also of six English troy ounces. In Belgium, C. Wyffels has identified it with a silver mark first recorded in the eleventh century,³³ although not referred to as Flemish until 1164.³⁴ Furthermore, sources earlier than 1300 do not divide it into ounces but into four *fiertons*, each of four *lods*,³⁵ which points to a *lod* equal to eight sterlings-weights. In the twelfth century there appears a *petit marc de 10s. sterling*, or *marca legitimorum sterlingorum, decem solidorum pro marcha*, which Wyffels interprets as a mark of sterling silver with a value of 120 sterlings.³⁶ Following advice from Grierson on

²⁷ Challis 1988, 84, citing PRO. E372/100 m.20.

²⁸ Mayhew 1992, 116–7.

²⁹ Nightingale 2008, 186.

³⁰ Challis 1992, 222.

³¹ Simpson and Connor 2004, 328. For a recent major review of the subject, see Connor and Simpson 2004, 105–169 (Chapter 4: 'The Early Weights: A North European View').

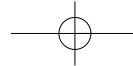
³² Combining the relationship between the Bruges gold and Bruges silver marks (Allen 1936, 237) with the Tower weight of the Bruges gold mark (p. 245) produces a Tower weight for the Bruges silver mark of $16/21 \times 168 = 128$ sterlings.

³³ Wyffels 1967.

³⁴ Wyffels 1967, 67–8.

³⁵ Wyffels 1967, 83.

³⁶ Wyffels 1967, 71–2.



English minting practice, he takes its value as implying that it would have weighed the same number of troy pennyweights, or half a troy pound,³⁷ in which case, *pace* Wyffels, it would have been the same as Pegolotti's silver mark of 128 sterling-weights³⁸ and would enable a further recorded mark, the *petit marc de x s. et viii d.*,³⁹ to be seen as yet another variant name.

A ratio of 128:120 between weight and value is equivalent to 256:240 and Dr Nightingale sees it as supporting her claim that in the twelfth century the king would have bought a troy pound of bullion of sterling fineness for a Tower pound of pennies, retaining the difference to cover his seignorage and minting costs.⁴⁰ It is circumstantial evidence and, by itself, does not prove that there was troy weight in England on which the *petit marc* could have been based.

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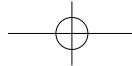
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³⁷ Wyffels 1967, 72.

³⁸ Wyffels calculated the *petit marc* to be 3 grams lighter than the silver mark because he assumed that English troy had the same weight as French troy (Wyffels 1967, 73).

³⁹ Wyffels 1967, 70 (n.26) and 73.

⁴⁰ A difference of sixteen pence between the two weights of twelve ounces is brought out by Flemish silver weight, against twelve pence if the Paris or Troyes weight of Henry II's Angevin dominions is used instead: compare Nightingale 2008, 191.



SARAH SOPHIA BANKS AND HER ENGLISH HAMMERED COINS

R. J. EAGLEN

Introduction

SARAH Sophia Banks is the most noteworthy female collector of coins and tokens this country has known. Besides numismatics her interests extended to many other spheres, and thanks mainly to her brother, Sir Joseph Banks, she moved in the most distinguished circles of Georgian England. This article makes no pretensions beyond giving an outline sketch of this remarkable woman, and peeping into a small but significant part of her large and diverse collection of coins, tokens and medals, assembled over more than thirty years.

Sarah Sophia Banks was known to her family as Sophie. Whilst not presuming to such unwarranted intimacy, the author will nevertheless take advantage of the modern habit of adopting Christian names upon the merest acquaintance and for simplicity refer to her throughout as Sarah.

Family background

Sarah was born on 28 October 1744, and died on 27 September 1818, shortly before her seventy-fourth birthday.¹ Fig. 1 shows her descent from her great-grandfather, Joseph Banks (I). He was a successful Sheffield lawyer who advanced his fortune and social standing by shrewd property investment.² In 1714 he acquired Revesby Abbey in Lincolnshire, which remained in the family throughout Sarah's lifetime but was later demolished and replaced.³

Joseph (I) is said to have had antiquarian interests, as beffited an upwardly mobile gentleman.⁴ His son, also called Joseph (II), further enhanced the importance of the family, becoming a Member of Parliament for Peterborough,⁵ and a Fellow of both the Royal Society⁶ and the Society of Antiquaries.⁷ As an antiquarian he took an interest in Roman coins.⁸ He married Anne Hodgkinson, an heiress, thereby adding Overton Hall, Derbyshire, to the family estates.⁹ They had three children: Joseph (III), the eldest, who died in his mid-twenties before

Acknowledgements: My warmest gratitude is extended to the following, whose selfless help has furnished the greatest part of any merit this article may possess. Dr Barrie Cook first drew my attention to Sarah as a worthy subject of study and with Marion Archibald supported me with practical help. Dr Catherine Eagleton made accessible the extensive and often fragile manuscripts compiled by Sarah about her collection, held in the Department of Coins and Medals at the British Museum, and drew my attention to the article by Pincott (see below). Dr Kevin Clancy and Graham Dyer, at the Royal Mint Museum, lent me books, photocopied for me a manuscript of Sarah's coins passed to the Museum after her death, had slides made for my presentation and welcomed me on several occasions to Llantrisant, where Sarah's numismatic books are kept. They also kindly read a draft of this article and espied various errors and infelicities. Those that remain are the responsibility of the author. Thanks are also due to Dr Martin Allen (information on the Tealby hoard), Dr Mark Blackburn (measuring purchasing power), Neil Chambers at the Natural History Museum (unpublished correspondence), David Dykes (Sarah's token collection and an extract of her will), Catherine Sheridan at the National Gallery of Ireland and Danielle Webb of DNW (portrait miniature of Sarah), Hugh Pagan (biographical information) and Sotheby (illustration of the Kauffmann portrait). Finally, I am particularly indebted to three published sources: *The Life of Sir Joseph Banks* by E.H. Smith (London, 1911), *Sir Joseph Banks* by H.B. Carter (London, 1988), for whom Banks was a life-long study, and the scholarly article 'The book tickets of Miss Sarah Sophia Banks (1744–1818)' by Anthony Pincott in the *Bookplate Journal* (2004).

¹ Carter 1988, 16, 520; Smith 1911, 322.

² Gascoigne 1994, 8; Pincott 2004, 3.

³ Pincott 2004, 3.

⁴ Smith 1911, 1.

⁵ Pincott 2004, 3.

⁶ Carter 1988, 13.

⁷ Smith 1911, 4; Carter 1988, 16.

⁸ Carter 1988, 13.

⁹ Pincott 2004, 3.

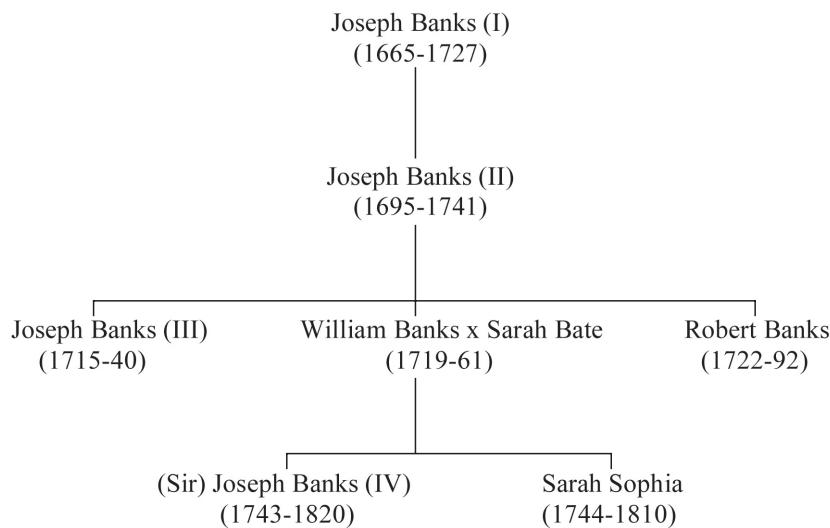
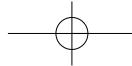


Fig. 1. Sarah's descent.

his father,¹⁰ William, Sarah's father, and Robert (Banks-Hodgkinson), the youngest, who inherited Overton Hall and at whose death in 1792 the property passed to his nephew Joseph (IV).¹¹ Robert, like his father, became a Fellow of the Royal Society and Society of Antiquaries.¹²

The second son, William, was barely of age when his father died in 1741. He likewise entered the House of Commons, as member for Grampound in Cornwall.¹³ Fashionably, he created a menagerie at Revesby Abbey¹⁴ and in 1741 wedded Sarah Bate, niece of Hannah Sophia Chambers, wife of the 8th Earl of Exeter, at Burleigh House, Stamford.¹⁵ These ladies were obviously the source of Sarah's first names. They had two children, Joseph (IV), born in 1743 and later to become the renowned botanist, and Sarah, born the following year. William, however, died whilst his children were still in their minority, his brother Robert and his widow assuming guardianship of Joseph and Sarah. The family's wealth was such that on reaching the age of twenty-one, Joseph (IV) was estimated to have an annual income of £5,000. By 1807 this had grown to £14,000 per annum, equivalent in today's terms to about £850,000.¹⁶

The Enlightenment

To place Sarah's life in context, she was a child when the British Museum was founded in 1753.¹⁷ From her teens her life was almost contemporaneous with the reign of George III and her prime coincided with the height of the Enlightenment in England and elsewhere in Europe. This was the age when new discoveries were stimulating an excited fascination with the physical world, when collecting and recording – first of curiosities and then more comprehensively – nurtured the understandable if optimistic belief that man through reason was master of that world.¹⁸ The rational outlook, meticulous observation and dedicated recording of the period undoubtedly laid the foundations for the scientific advances of the

¹⁰ Carter 1988, 13.

¹¹ Pincott 2004, 3; Gascoigne 1994, 8.

¹² Carter 1988, 20–1.

¹³ Pincott 2004, 3.

¹⁴ Carter 1988, 18.

¹⁵ Carter 1988, 13.

¹⁶ Gascoigne 1994, 8. £1 sterling in 1807 is estimated to convert to a purchasing power of £60.52 in 2006 (www.measuringworth.com).

¹⁷ O'Connell 2003.

¹⁸ Sloan 2004, 13, 17–25.

nineteenth century, in which, for example, Linnaeus was already a pioneering force. Sarah was both the child and embodiment of that age.

Joseph Banks IV

From 1780 onwards, when Sarah was in her mid-thirties, her life was so closely linked with and dependent upon her brother Joseph, that his career should be briefly recounted.

He was propelled to fame when, in his late twenties, he accompanied Captain James Cook between 1768 and 1771 on his voyage in the *Endeavour* to the South Seas. The expedition was primarily intended to observe the transit of Venus, but Banks and a small team sponsored by him were aboard as natural scientists and botanists.¹⁹ The specimens and descriptions of new flora and fauna observed and collected during the expedition dazzled the scientific community and society at large. Although he was not formally trained as a botanist, his renown, combined with his courteous and friendly manner, his dynamism, his practical outlook and his generous patronage of causes that fired his enthusiasm, resulted in his being elected as President of the Royal Society at the early age of thirty-five. Extraordinarily, he continued to hold the post until his death forty-two years later.²⁰

He became a close confidant of George III, effectively administering Kew Gardens on his behalf,²¹ and, particularly as a privy counsellor, advised the government on scientific and sundry other issues, including the currency.²² His lack of political aspirations and leanings made him acceptable to Whig and Tory alike and, doubtless, to the king.²³ Banks was widely respected both at home and abroad and was one of the pall bearers at Dr Johnson's funeral, into whose circle he had been introduced in 1778.²⁴ His only serious failing was a tendency, common in men of action, to be impatient of obstacles and opposition to his cherished aims.²⁵ There were also those in the scientific community who criticised his want of formal academic qualifications and theoretical knowledge. Sir Humphrey Davey described him with economical praise as 'a tolerable botanist',²⁶ but he comfortably survived a move to unseat him from the Presidency of the Royal Society in 1784.²⁷ **Pl. 5, 1** portrays him in later life wearing the Order of the Bath, a detail from a painting by Sir Thomas Lawrence.

In 1777, Banks acquired the lease of 32 Soho Square, London (**Pl. 5, 2**).²⁸ This comprised not only domestic accommodation but also space to house an extensive herbarium and library which became a mecca for botanists. Typical of the man, anyone with a genuine scholarly interest in the natural sciences was welcome there and could borrow his books.²⁹

Sarah

Pl. 5, 3 shows Sarah, in her mid-twenties, from a watercolour miniature painted by Horace Hone in 1768.³⁰ At that time she was a fashionable young lady,³¹ living mainly with her mother in Chelsea.³² Among her interests and pursuits then or later were horseracing, dancing,

¹⁹ Smith 1911, 15–17.

²⁰ Carter 1988, 146–7. For an assessment of Banks's character see Carter 1988, 326, 536–40; Smith 1911, 156–63.

²¹ Carter 1988, 278; Smith 1911, 94.

²² Carter 1988, 313, 520, 538–9; Smith 1911, 159.

²³ Smith 1911, 160.

²⁴ Carter 1988, 147; Smith 1911, 160.

²⁵ Carter 1988, 537; Smith 1911, 72.

²⁶ Smith 1911, 293.

²⁷ Gascoigne 1994, 12–13.

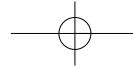
²⁸ Carter 1988, 331.

²⁹ Smith 1911, 288; Gascoigne 1994, 70. At his death Banks bequeathed approximately 22,000 volumes to the British Museum Library.

³⁰ National Gallery of Ireland.

³¹ Smith 1905, 231.

³² See manuscript letters from Banks to Sarah, 24 February 1773 and 21 September 1773, in the Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, Australia.



the theatre, music, heraldry and chess.³³ She was also reputedly a competent horsewoman³⁴ and expert archer. Archery remained an interest throughout her life, as did fishing, and she kept detailed records of both pursuits.³⁵

Pl. 6, 1 shows her in her mid-thirties, from an oil painting by Angelica Kauffmann, dated to about 1780.³⁶ This was an important year in Sarah's life. Between 1776 and 1778 her close relationship to her brother, as evidenced by surviving correspondence, became strained because of his intimate liaison with a widow, Mrs Sarah Wells.³⁷ However, when in 1777 Banks decided to acquire 32 Soho Square, his sister wrote a somewhat pathetic letter begging him to accept her 'thousand mites' towards acquiring the property or its contents.³⁸ This letter is of further interest in demonstrating Sarah's independent means. The following year, Banks ended his relationship with Mrs Wells and in March 1779 married Dorothea, daughter and co-heiress of William Hugessen of Norton, Kent. Soho Square became the couple's London home where they were joined by Dorothea's sister. When the sister left in July 1780 upon marriage, Sarah took her place.³⁹ This was the beginning of an inseparable relationship between Banks, Dorothea and Sarah, which lasted throughout Sarah's life. In a social context the three were invariably linked together. Banks habitually referred to 'my ladies', whereas salutations to Banks himself were habitually bracketed with 'the ladies'.⁴⁰ In her will Sarah summed up her own feelings towards her brother and sister-in-law with the words 'they are everything to me'.⁴¹

Thus from 1780, Soho Square became the main residence of Sarah and she was in consequence drawn into the circle of her brother's acquaintances, with all the advantages – especially for a collector – thereby ensuing. It also meant that Sarah, as well as Dorothea, could support Banks in his scientific pursuits. This is illustrated at Spring Grove, Heston, where Banks had acquired the lease of a house and forty acres and conducted various scientific activities, including the breeding of Merino sheep.⁴² Sarah was put in charge of the hothouses and conservatories there, and Dorothea the dairy, where she also kept her collection of old china.⁴³ Banks described his wife in a letter of 1803 as 'a little old china mad' and Dorothea may have felt the need to establish her own collecting domain to complement the avid pursuits of her husband and sister-in-law.⁴⁴

Pl. 6, 2 shows Sarah at the age of forty-four, from a pastel by John Russell. By this time she had become a keen collector. It may be ungallant to observe how the three portraits chart her increasing weight. However, this was true also of Dorothea and Banks himself. He recorded the weight of the family over many years and the only member remaining trim was Mab, the pet dog.⁴⁵

Pls 6, 3–4 illustrate a cartoon and detail from the same cartoon by Gilray, published in 1804 and entitled 'An Old Maid on a Journey'. This unflattering portrayal has frequently been said to depict Sarah, but the attribution must be seriously questioned. The scene is clearly venal, with a cockerel sprouting from a pair of breeches on the inn sign, doors labelled 'The Ram' and 'The Union', and the faces of the innkeeper and his staff wearing knowing expressions. A cartoonist's barb strikes home in exposing vice where virtue is hypocritically pretended but to insinuate vice where only virtue is to be found is neither apt nor amusing. There

³³ Carter 1988, 224; Pincott 2004, 6.

³⁴ Smith 1905, 231.

³⁵ Smith 1911, 233.

³⁶ See Sotheby, 7 June 2006, lot 233.

³⁷ Carter 1988, 152–3.

³⁸ Letter from Sarah to Banks, March/April 1777 (original), in Yale University (ref. JSB 920323/023. 19777). Part of this letter is quoted in Pincott 2004, 6.

³⁹ Carter 1988, 154.

⁴⁰ Carter 1988, 158; Pincott 2004, 6.

⁴¹ MS extract from the Registry of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury of Sarah's will, 21 September 1818.

⁴² Carter 1988, 337; Smith 1911, 104.

⁴³ Smith 1911, 317.

⁴⁴ Addressed to an official of the East India Company on 30 August 1803 (Smith 1911, 271).

⁴⁵ Pincott 2004, 10.

is no evidence to suggest that Sarah was other than chaste. On the contrary, after her death an obituary declared

Her moral worth, even more than her talents and knowledge, rendered her the object of esteem and regard to all who had the pleasure of being acquainted with her.⁴⁶

Two further objections could be levelled at the attribution. Firstly, as Sarah and Dorothea aged they both became more eccentric in their dress; for example wearing, on socially inappropriate occasions, outer garments made out of wool from Banks's sheep.⁴⁷ In a book published in 1845 – twenty-seven years after her death – the author penned this description of Sarah:

She was looked after by the eye of astonishment wherever she went. Her dress was of the old school: her Barcelona quilted petticoat had a hole in either side for the convenience of rummaging two immense pockets, stuffed with books. . . . A tall servant, with a taller stick in his hand, went with her everywhere.⁴⁸

It is improbable that Gilray would have hesitated to use such trademark imagery had he intended to portray Sarah. Furthermore, association of the Old Maid with Sarah was first alluded to in a book on Gilray published in 1830 and, in that, the author was scrupulous not to endorse the link.⁴⁹

Female collectors

Sarah and Dorothea were by no means unique as female collectors, but then, as now, such women in comparison with male collectors were in a tiny minority. Amongst members of the British Numismatic Society, since its foundation in 1903, only eight percent have been female, and some of those have been a husband and wife team.⁵⁰ Setting aside the possible effect of psychological differences between the sexes, the opportunity for women to collect has been strongly influenced by social circumstances. A woman generally had to enjoy independent means and leisure to pursue such an interest, arising either from spinsterhood or marriage to an affluent and considerate husband. The Duchess of Portland was in the latter category, the auction of her collections in 1786, including minerals, plants and fossils, extending over thirty-eight days.⁵¹ In the former category, the closest analogy to Sarah was the wealthy spinster, Helen Farquhar, who died at the age of ninety-four in 1953.⁵²

Sarah's collections

Sarah's collecting interests fell into four main categories: books, objects of natural history, ephemera, and coins, tokens and medals. After her death most of her books passed to the British Library, but those on numismatics were donated by Dorothea, the beneficiary, to the Royal Mint Museum and are now at Llantrisant.⁵³ The objects of natural history doubtless became absorbed into her brother's collection, assuming that they were even at her death kept separately.

Her ephemera, now in the British Museum, amount to approximately 20,000 items⁵⁴ and are of the utmost value as records of social history. They include cartoons (but not 'An Old Maid on a Journey'), advertising handbills, visiting and trade cards, playbills, bookplates and admission tickets.⁵⁵ The collection has not been comprehensively studied, but a flavour of its significance can be gathered from the examples reproduced in *London, 1753*, the catalogue of

⁴⁶ Smith 1911, 322.

⁴⁷ Smith 1905, 230.

⁴⁸ Smith 1905, 229.

⁴⁹ Anon. 1830, 293.

⁵⁰ Pagan and Farthing 2003.

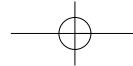
⁵¹ Fara 2004, 16.

⁵² Pagan and Farthing 2003, 227.

⁵³ Letters of Banks to J. W. Morrison dated 29 October 1818; see below, n.70 and n.72.

⁵⁴ Information from Dr Eagleton.

⁵⁵ Pincott 2004, 14; Smith 1911, 322–3.



the exhibition mounted in 2003 to celebrate the founding of the British Museum.⁵⁶ The last category is her extensive collection of coins, tokens and medals.

Sarah's coins, tokens and medals

Sarah's compulsion to compile records extended from archery scores and fishing catches through to the catalogue of her collection of coins, tokens and medals. The latter, now in the Department of Coins and Medals at the British Museum, was written up in about 1810 in her best hand in eight bound volumes, to which she made modest additions until her death in 1818. Pl. 7 shows a page from the section covering the Tealby pennies of Henry II. The comprehensiveness of the catalogue speaks eloquently of the importance she attached to the collection and her entries were so precise that no difficulty is usually encountered in identifying the pieces to which she was referring in the trays of the British Museum and Royal Mint Museum, as eventual recipients of her collection.

Table 1 shows the content of each volume. No one has so far counted the number of entries in the entire catalogue, but a measure of its extent can be judged from the fact that the first seventy-four pages of Volume I, which consists of more than twice that number of pages, lists 963 English hammered coins. Her collection of German coins (Volume II) was greatly enhanced by the gift of 165 coins in 1797 from Abbé Mann, a Belgian acquaintance and correspondent of her brother.⁵⁷ Her collection of American coins (Volume V) was particularly impressive and may have been helped directly or indirectly by family friendship with Benjamin Franklin.⁵⁸ Similar ties of friendship with Matthew Boulton resulted in a comprehensive representation of contemporary tokens (Volume VI).⁵⁹ Large parts of the collection still await detailed study, but Catherine Eagleton at the British Museum is currently working on the African coinage (Volume V).

TABLE 1. Catalogue of Coins, Tokens and Medals.

Volume	Content
I	England, Scotland, Ireland
II	Holland, Germany
III	Denmark, Sweden, Russia, Poland, Hungary, Italy
IV	Switzerland, Spain, Portugal
V	Africa, Asia, America and Siege Pieces
VI	Tokens
VII	Medals
VIII	Coins (misc.)

In addition to the catalogue of the collection, Sarah compiled three other sets of records: an alphabetical list of acquisitions, a 'list of coins etc which I have given away' and an alphabetical ledger of purchases.⁶⁰ These are naturally of great value, but were not as assiduously, comprehensively or neatly compiled as the catalogue. The list of acquisitions has entries from 1791 to 1818, with sparse additions after 1810, and does not distinguish between the numerous coins given to her and those purchased. The list of coins given away has entries from 1786 to 1817, and includes gifts to Her Majesty The Queen, Princess Elizabeth, the Revd Richard Southgate, and the coin dealers, Richard Miles and Henry and Matthew Young, with

⁵⁶ O'Connell 2003, 50–1, 89–90, 93, 95–6, 113–14, 171–4, 178–9, 221, 223–5, 257.

⁵⁷ Sarah's alphabetical manuscript list of acquisitions (see n.60 below), under M, 27 December 1797.

⁵⁸ Gascoigne 1994, 13.

⁵⁹ Carter 1988, 313; list of acquisitions, under B (multiple entries).

⁶⁰ These records are held in the Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum.

whom there was reciprocal generosity beyond a purely commercial attachment. The ledger of purchases, unfortunately, only covers the period between 1791 and 1795.

These records, however, throw a fascinating light upon the sources from which Sarah's collection was compiled. A leaf from the list of acquisitions is illustrated in **Pls 8 and 9, 1**. The entries include, apart from members of the royal family, Matthew Boulton, Lord Frederick Campbell, Lord Dundas, Sir William Hamilton, Lord and Lady Liverpool, William Wellesley Pole, John Rennie, John White and, touchingly, Mrs Harding, a cook-housekeeper. The entries under Jonas Dryander, Banks's curator and librarian at Soho Square, occupy no less than two pages.⁶¹ He was so well known as Sarah's agent, particularly when he travelled on the continent, that at his death the Bishop of Carlisle observed in a speech that

a collector of medals and coins for Mrs Banks ... could be found ... But someone with Dryander's bibliographical erudition ... did such a man exist?⁶²

The earliest date appearing in the records is 1786, in the list of coins given away. It would appear that this was about the time Sarah became seriously interested in forming her collection. Fortunately, her precise habits resulted in her inscribing the dates on which she acquired volumes for her library, and her numismatic books can still be consulted at Llantrisant. These show, for example, that in 1786 she was acquiring important earlier works of reference, such as the third edition of Folkes's *Tables of English Silver and Gold Coins* (London, 1763), and two years later the second edition of Leake's *English Money* (London, 1745). However, Noble's *Two Dissertations upon the Mint and Coins of the Episcopal Palatines of Durham* (London, 1788) was acquired in the same year and the second edition of Pinkerton's *An Essay on Medals* was inscribed as a gift to Sarah from the author in 1789, the year of its publication. One of the last works acquired by Sarah was Ruding's *Annals* (London, 1817) to which her brother but not Sarah herself had subscribed. Perhaps significantly, her copy is devoid of annotations.

There is little doubt that Sarah, between the mid 1780s and about 1810, was an assiduous collector and was able to use the network of contacts made through her brother to good effect. Banks himself referred to her in a letter to Matthew Boulton as 'a great pusher'.⁶³ In one exchange it is apparent that her correspondent felt he was being pressed to accept an unequal swap of tokens.⁶⁴ Her skill in numismatic identification is demonstrated by the account of a parcel of coins being left for her at Soho Square in her absence. A few hours later Sarah returned the parcel by coach to the owner because she had found nothing of interest to her.⁶⁵ Her knowledge and trained eye are also apparent from the annotations and corrections in her hand found in her wide-ranging numismatic library. The breadth of her interests, however, doubtless militated against her making innovative progress in the study of any particular series.

In addition to the catalogue and other records, Sarah also wrote out coin tickets, on discs printed with her initials SSB, reproducing her own way of writing the letters. However, no such tickets survive in the English hammered series considered below, possibly because they were discarded when Taylor Coombe went through that part of the collection at the British Museum after her death.

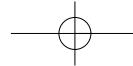
⁶¹ On Dryander, see Carter 1988, 141, 333, 457, 632; Smith 1911, 64, 243; Gascoigne 1994, 28, 105.

⁶² Carter 1988, 457.

⁶³ Pincott 2004, 14; Birmingham Assay Office, MSS, letter of 19 December 1791.

⁶⁴ MS in Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum.

⁶⁵ Smith 1905, 230–1.



Death of Sarah and disposal of her numismatic books and collections

As already explained, Sarah's interest in her numismatic collection was maintained, but with less zeal, in her last years. Her death arose as the unexpected result of an earlier mishap. On 25 August 1818 a drunken driver caused the coach in which Banks, Dorothea and Sarah were travelling to overturn and it was some time before they could be rescued. Although Sarah suffered a cut to the head they all appeared to be otherwise unharmed and resumed their normal lives within a few days.⁶⁶ However, something must have been amiss because on 21 September Sarah made her will⁶⁷ and six days later, on 27 September 1818, she died.

Her will began with the extraordinary request 'that I may not [be] buried till I change sufficiently that there may be no doubt of my being dead.' After desiring to be buried at Revesby Abbey, and leaving £20 to the poor of the parish, she continued:

I give and bequeath to my brother the Rt. Honorable Sir Joseph Banks Baronet and KB etc etc etc all of my property that will remain after payment of just debts and legacies to my sister Lady Banks two hundred guineas for a remembrance my dear mother's picture by Zinck⁶⁸ all my royal presents all my trinkets diamonds seals etc all my music all my coins medal[s] books tickets etc no two people ever contributed more to the happiness of others than they both have to mine they are everything to me... .

There are signs that the will was prepared in haste and, no provision having been made for executors, Banks was appointed administrator of the estate in October 1818.⁶⁹ Thereupon, on 29 October, Banks wrote to James Morrison, Deputy Master of the Royal Mint as follows:

In compliance with the intentions of my deceased sister Sarah Sophia Banks I send with this her books on the subject of coins and medals which I desire may be preserved in H. M. Mint as a legacy from her. The collection of coins which is considerable will follow as soon as the Librarian of the British Museum has selected from thence such parts of the collection as are wanting in the B. M.⁷⁰

It was subsequently realised that this letter was not in accordance with the terms of the will,⁷¹ and Banks substituted a letter, also dated 29 October, in similar terms but beginning with the words 'in compliance with the wish of Lady Banks... as a gift from Lady Banks.'⁷²

Disposition of Sarah's numismatic books and collection

It was thus that Sarah's numismatic library came into the possession of the Royal Mint. Banks himself had in August 1818 donated his modest personal collection of coins and medals to the Mint, in response to the desire of Wellesley Pole as Master to build up a reference collection of old coins to complement his systematic preservation of contemporary coins, medals and dies produced at the Mint.⁷³

Sarah's coins, tokens and medals were duly compared with those in the British Museum trays, an exercise directed by Taylor Coombe. The Museum not only selected coins unrepresented in their collection, but also better specimens of certain pieces already in their trays. The duplicates and those superseded by Sarah's pieces were packed and sent to the Mint, but the cases were not opened until Taylor Coombe had provided a catalogue of the contents in February 1820. This catalogue, now held at Llantrisant, does not distinguish between the two

⁶⁶ Smith 1911, 322.

⁶⁷ Lincolnshire Archives Office, 2 Haw 2/B/64, at pp. 1–2, quoted in full by Pincott 2004, 12–13.

⁶⁸ C.F. Zinck, the renowned eighteenth century portrait miniaturist in enamel (see Fawcett 1972, 590–1).

⁶⁹ Lincolnshire Archives Office, 2 Haw 2/B/64, at pp. 2–3.

⁷⁰ Transcript in Royal Mint Museum, Llantrisant.

⁷¹ Doubtless caused by the omission of an 's' after the word 'medal' in Sarah's will.

⁷² Transcript in Royal Mint Museum, Llantrisant.

⁷³ Dyer 1988, 8.

categories of coin, but happily Sarah's own catalogue was annotated by the British Museum to identify by the letters 'BM' the coins that the Museum had selected as hitherto unrepresented in their trays, and by the word 'exchanged' those that had been substituted (see **Pl. 8**). In consequence, it is usually possible to identify coins from Sarah's collection in both museums with confidence.

The Royal Mint was understandably grateful for the gift. Morrison wrote on 30 October 1818 in reply to the first version of Bank's letter of 29 October that 'our coin and medal cabinets . . . (which are poverty itself) will now be enriched with many scarce and beautiful specimens forming a collection worthy of the institution of the Royal Mint.' Wellesley Pole also wrote to Banks on 22 January 1819, in response to the second version, that

As Master of the Mint I beg you will have the goodness to express to Lady Banks my very high sense of the value of her present to the establishment, where their splendid addition is made to the valuable gifts of the same nature by you. It will possess a collection of very great importance and be rescued from the disgrace of having neither specimens of British Coins or works upon coins and medals to guide it in its operations or to stimulate its exertion or improvement.⁷⁴

The importance of pieces from Sarah's collection to the Royal Mint Museum may be judged from comparing the 1820 manuscript catalogue with two catalogues of their coins and medals published in 1874 and 1906.⁷⁵ The earlier of these was printed without acknowledgement of authorship but was, in fact, compiled by William Webster, a London coin dealer. Webster was allowed to acquire any duplicates coming to his attention.⁷⁶ Comparing his catalogue with the 1820 manuscript, sixty-two English hammered coins appear to have been culled, including forty-two Tealby pence, and not all of these were duplicates.⁷⁷ The identifying numbers in the later catalogue, compiled by W.J. Hocking, are normally used when referring to coins in the Mint's collection.

Sarah's English hammered coins

It is impractical, in a short article, to treat in detail the content of Sarah's collection, even by limiting the exercise to her English hammered coins. Accordingly, the scope of that part of her collection will be outlined statistically, the significant contribution made to her collection by four hoards considered and, finally, six important coins from her collection portrayed.

Table 2 shows the 963 English hammered coins in her collection, and their disposition between the British Museum and Royal Mint Museum. The significance of the four hoards (see below) will be immediately apparent. The reign of Charles I was also particularly well represented. Owing to the state of numismatic knowledge, Sarah categorised Short Cross coins as the first issue of Henry III and Long Cross as the second, but distinguished between **REX III** and **REX TERCI** coins, in that order. The silver pence of the first two Edwards were divided into those with large (Edward I) and small letters (Edward I or II) and coins of Henry IV, V and VI, were grouped together. But within the applied classification individual specimens were recorded with admirable precision.

⁷⁴ Transcript in Royal Mint Museum, Llantrisant.

⁷⁵ Anon. 1874; Hocking 1906.

⁷⁶ Dyer 1988, 22.

⁷⁷ The most striking disappearance was a penny of William I, reading Godwine on Lun.

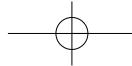


TABLE 2. Sarah's English hammered coins.

Category	Total	No. of coins British Museum	Royal Mint Museum
Ancient British	6	—	6
Sceattas	3	—	3
Burgred	1	—	1
Eanred	2	—	2
St Peter, York	1	1	—
Æthelstan	1	1	—
Edmund	1	—	1
Eadred	1	—	1
Eadgar	12 (a)	4	8
Æthelred II	3	3	—
Cnut	91 (b)	78	13
Edward the Confessor	4	3	1
William I	5	4	1
William II	1	1	—
Henry I	1	1	—
Stephen	6	5	1
Henry II (Tealby)	172 (c)	104	68
Short Cross	86 (d)	50	36
Long Cross	26	18	8
Edward I (large letters)	14	2	12
Edward I – II (small letters)	41	11	30
Edward III	21	4	17
Richard II	8	3	5
Henry IV – VI	12	4	8
Edward IV	16	5	11
Henry VI (2nd reign)	3	1	2
Richard III	4	2	2
Henry VII	14	4	10
Henry VIII	34	16	18
Edward VI	27	11	16
Mary	20	10	10
Elizabeth	(hammered 34) (milled 19) (E. India Co. 4)	57	51
James I	41	17	24
Charles I	(Tower 64) (Briot 19) (siege 14) (other 80)	177	72
Commonwealth	15	3	12
Cromwell	6	2	4
Charles II (1st coinage)	30	10	20
TOTAL	963	456	507

(a) Tiree hoard (1782)

(b) 82 ex Caldale hoard (1774)

(c) most ex Tealby hoard (1807)

(d) 22 ex Tiree hoard (1787)

Coins from four hoards

The four hoards noted in Table 2 – Caldale (1774), Tiree (1782 and 1787) and Tealby (1807) – contributed significantly to Sarah's collection, representing some 30% of her English hammered coins.

Tiree hoard (1782)

Apart from the twelve coins from the Tiree (Hebrides) hoard (1782),⁷⁸ the period from 925 to 1016, as Table 2 shows, is represented by only six coins. The hoard, amounting to several hundred coins,⁷⁹ was found on land belonging to the 5th Duke of Argyll whose donation to the British Museum in 1789 included fifty-four coins of Eadgar.⁸⁰ In 1807 his brother, Lord Frederick Campbell, gave the twelve coins of Eadgar to Sarah.⁸¹ In 1819 four of these were kept by the British Museum and the remaining eight passed to the Royal Mint.⁸²

Caldale hoard (1774)

The Caldale hoard, from Orkney, is said to have consisted of more than three hundred coins, many of which were dispersed before the hoard came to the notice of the landowner.⁸³ The remainder were presented to Thomas Dundas, whose father – Sir Lawrence Dundas, Bart. – had acquired large estates on Orkney and Shetland.⁸⁴ The scale of the hoard prompted the antiquarian and collector, Richard Gough FRS, FSA, (1735–1809), to publish a catalogue of Canute's coins in 1777. The Plate accompanying his catalogue reproduced five coins from the collection of John White (three Quatrefoil, one Pointed Helmet and one 'Cnut' Arms and Sceptre type), one engraving of a Short Cross obverse and forty-two of Short Cross reverses from twenty mints. Sarah obtained a copy of the catalogue in 1800, and in time this evidently led her to approach Thomas Dundas,⁸⁵ who had become a baronet on his father's death in 1781 and a baron in 1794.⁸⁶ On 19 August 1803 Lord Dundas gave Sarah eighty-two coins from the hoard,⁸⁷ all of Cnut's Short Cross issue (*BMC* xvi). Amongst the parcel were forty-one of the forty-two coins illustrated by Gough, only Figure 21 of the Plate (engraved as **PEDLOS ON L.INC**) not being included.⁸⁸

Sarah's annotations to Gough's catalogue illustrate her numismatic insight. Against the reading **SPEARTBRAND (ON) LV** she comments:

This penny I believe to belong to Lincoln. In the figure is only LI [in fact, LII] and I saw none among Lord Dundas' coins, with LV, but three with LI.

Again, here fluctuating between the first and third person, on **SPEARTINC ON LV** she further comments:

This also is, in my opinion, of Lincoln. Both the figure, and the coin now in Miss Banks's collection, have LII, which I take to be the beginning of LIN, there being not room enough for the remainder of the N.

Lord Dundas also donated thirty-two coins of the type to the British Museum. This must have occurred after the gift to Sarah because the British Museum examples are limited to the mints of Lincoln, London and Stamford, including a number duplicating Sarah's coins. The

⁷⁸ Ruding MS gives the year of discovery as 1780, quoted by Martin 1961, 232.

⁷⁹ Stevenson 1966, xxiii; Dolley 1959, 159.

⁸⁰ Martin 1961, 232. *SCBI British Museum Anglo-Saxon Coins* V lists fifty-two. Another thirty-six coins of Eadgar in the trays of the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland have also been attributed to the hoard (Stevenson 1966).

⁸¹ Sarah's MS register of acquisitions.

⁸² See Table 2 above.

⁸³ Gough 1777, 3.

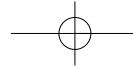
⁸⁴ Information from Hugh Pagan.

⁸⁵ Sarah's annotated copy, in Royal Mint Museum, Llantrisant.

⁸⁶ Information from Hugh Pagan.

⁸⁷ Sarah's MS register of acquisitions.

⁸⁸ A coin with this reverse reading was in the Mossop collection (see Mossop 1970, where a die duplicate is illustrated at Plate LVI, 9).



most likely date of the donation is thus between late 1803 and Dundas's death in 1811. Consequently, in 1819 the British Museum retained seventy-eight coins of Cnut from Sarah's collection before passing the residue (thirteen coins) to the Royal Mint. Since all Sarah's coins of Cnut were of the Short Cross issue (*BMC* xvi), except for one Quatrefoil penny (*BMC* viii), more than eighty-two of the ninety-one coins of Canute in Sarah's collection may have originated from the Caldale hoard.

The importance of the Caldale hoard in enhancing the British Museum's representation of Cnut's Short Cross issue is illustrated in Fig. 2, showing holdings of the type before and after both accessions from the hoard. It also shows the subsequent impact of the Wedmore hoard (1853), and coins from Scandinavian hoards acquired through the Morgan/Evans bequest (1915).

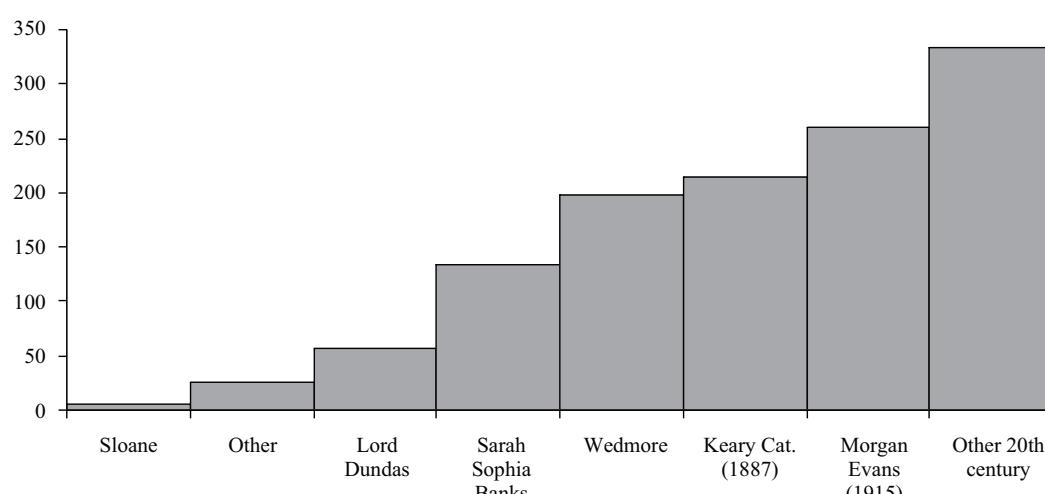


Fig. 2. British Museum: sources of Cnut Short Cross type (*BMC* xvi).

Tealby hoard (1807)

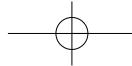
Disposal of the Tealby hoard (1807) was overseen by Sir Joseph Banks. This doubtless arose because he came to hear of it when he was at Revesby Abbey that autumn, only twenty miles south of Tealby as the crow flies.

On 27 August 1808 Banks wrote to the landowner, George Tennyson, rendering an account of the disposal of the coins as follows:

Melted at the Tower	5127
Disposed of to collectors	277
Reserved as a specimen [sic] of the general condition of the collection	20
Remains undisposed of	273
Collection delivered by Mr Dryander to Mr Tennyson	34
<i>Total</i>	5731

This total, counted by Dryander, was 333 coins short of the number (6,064) written upon a paper with the coins. The price paid to Tennyson for the first three items, consisting of 5,424 coins, was £99 15s. 11d., made up of £64 18s. 5d. for the ingot made of coins melted by the Mint, £34 12s. 6d., representing 277 coins sold to collectors at 2s. 6d. each, and 5s. for twenty 'ill struck pieces reserved from the melting' at 3d. each. Banks arranged for a cheque to the value of £34 17s. 6d. to be drawn on his bankers and for Morrison, as Deputy Master, to pay for the ingot and reserved specimens.⁸⁹

⁸⁹ See Sturman 1989, 51–2.



It is most regrettable that little over an eighth of the copious hoard escaped melting. Banks certainly perceived the main interest of the coins to lie in the lack of good workmanship they displayed, describing them as 'of much antiquary interest and in my opinion of amusement also', rather than in the opportunity to learn more about the coinage as such. He nevertheless mentioned to Tennyson his hopes that 'a friend will draw up an account of these pennies and print it in the *Archeologia*'.⁹⁰ This was duly accomplished with publication of a paper read on 24 February 1814 by Taylor Coombe, a copy of which the author presented to Sarah on 16 November 1815.⁹¹

In his paper Taylor Coombe related that

The best specimens of all the varieties of towns and mint masters were selected for the collections of Mrs Banks, the British Museum and also of a few private individuals; the rest, to the number of 5127, were melted at the Tower.

This sentence must allude to the 277 coins included in Banks's letter to Tennyson. Of these 238 can be accounted for:

Sarah	172
Taylor Coombe readings in 1814 paper	28
Other likely BM coins	38
<i>Total</i>	238 (86%)

All or nearly all of Sarah's coins of the Tealby issue must have come from the hoard. In her manuscript catalogue, coins of Carlisle, Launceston and Pembroke were given to Cardiff, Lancaster and Wainfleet respectively, as they were by Ruding in his *Annals* of 1817.⁹² In 1819 the British Museum retained 104 coins and passed sixty-eight on to the Royal Mint.⁹³

Tiree hoard (1787)

Sarah acquired eighty-six Short Cross pence, which she took to represent the first coinage of Henry III. Of these, twenty-two from the mints of Canterbury, London and Bury St Edmunds were the gift of Lord Frederick Campbell, who also gave her the coins of Eadgar from the Tiree hoard of 1782, referred to above. The hoard containing these coins was found in the Hebrides in 1787 and weighed 'several ounces', three ounces representing about sixty coins.⁹⁴ According to a note in the British Museum's copy of Thompson's *Inventory*, forty-three coins were acquired by the Museum, suggesting that their and Sarah's holdings represented the totality of coins discovered.

The five coins retained by the British Museum from Sarah's collection are still identifiable, but both Webster and Hocking catalogued only five of the remaining seventeen coins passed to the Royal Mint Museum. It thus appears that the twelve missing coins were most likely culled by Webster in 1874. The twenty-two coins recorded by Sarah in her manuscript catalogue as emanating from Lord Frederick Campbell are listed in Table 3. The dates on which the Museum and Sarah acquired the coins from Lord Frederick Campbell are not recorded.

⁹⁰ Sturman 1989, 51.

⁹¹ Coombe 1817. Sarah's pre-publication copy of the paper is in the Royal Mint Museum.

⁹² Ruding 1817. These attributions were still maintained in the third edition of 1840.

⁹³ See Table 2 above.

⁹⁴ Thompson 1956, 136.

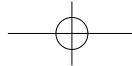


TABLE 3. Sarah's coins from the Tiree hoard (1787).

Type	Reverse reading	Destination
—	GOLDWINE ON C(A)	RMM
VIc2	HENRI ON CAN	BM
—	IOAN CHIC ON CA	RMM
VIIa3	IOAN ON CANTE	RMM (W115, H410)
—	NICOLE ON CA	RMM
VIIb1	ROGER OF R ON C	RMM (W116, H411)
—	ROGER ON CANT	RMM
—	ROGER ON CAN	RMM
VIIb2	ABEL ON LVNDE	RMM (W123, H378)
VIIb1	ADAM ON LVNDE	RMM (W124, H414)
VIIb2	ADAM ON LVND	BM
VIIa3	ELIS ON LVNDEN	BM
—	ILGER ON LVNDE	RMM
—	LANVLF ON LVN	RMM
—	NICOLE ON LVN	RMM
—	RICARD ON LVN	RMM
—	TERRI ON LVND	RMM
VIc1	WALTIER ON LV	BM
VIc1	WALTIER ON LVN	BM
—	WALTIER ON LVN	RMM
VIIa3	NORMAN ON SAN	RMM (W132, H418)
—	SIMVND ON SANT	RMM

Examples of important English coins from the collection

A few examples have been chosen to illustrate the importance and interest of Sarah's English coins, in addition to the significant hoard material already discussed.

1. Edward the Confessor, Sovereign-Eagles/Hammered Cross mule of the Lincoln moneyer Elfnetho (**Pl. 9, 2**, from Ruding's *Annals*).

This coin, now in the British Museum trays as *BMC* 723 (Plate xxvi.8) was included in the Appendix to Ruding's *Annals*, Plate 28, no. 3, originally engraved in 1803. In his preface, Ruding remarked:

The Rev Mr Blick, of Tamworth, was pleased to communicate a very rare coin of Edward the Confessor, from his valuable collection. A penny of similar type is engraved amongst the additions to the 28th Plate of Anglo Saxon money, No.3, from a specimen in Mrs Banks' select cabinet. The drawing was put into my hands by Mr Taylor Coombe.⁹⁵

This was one of only four coins from the reign of the Confessor in Sarah's collection, acquired from John Rennie in 1799. In her acquisition register the coin is described as 'unique'. John Rennie must have been the notable civil engineer who became an FRS in 1798 and was acquainted with Banks through his involvement with the Privy Council's reform of the coinage and their mutual interest in fen drainage.⁹⁶ Although Sarah's coin is still the only such mule recorded from Lincoln,⁹⁷ similar mules are known from Bedford, Hertford, Huntingdon, Malmesbury, Taunton, Wallingford and York.⁹⁸

2. Elizabeth I, Silver Crown, Sixth issue (1601–2), mintmark 1 (1601) Webster 287; Hocking 960 (**Pl. 9, 3**).

This coin has been selected as an example of a coin acquired by Sarah from the dealer 'Mr Young', on 12 February 1793, for which she paid ten shillings. This was probably Henry Young rather than his son, Matthew, also a dealer.

⁹⁵ Ruding 1817, xxiii.

⁹⁶ Dyer and Gaspar 1992, 456–8; Gascoigne 1994, 200.

⁹⁷ Mossop 1970, plate LXXVII, 9; Freeman 1985, 109.

⁹⁸ Freeman 1985, 277 (Bedford); 197 (Hertford); 283 (Huntingdon, and see also Eaglen 1999, 133); 440 (Malmesbury); 407 (Taunton); 460 (Wallingford); and 92 (York).

3. Charles I, Twenty Shilling Gold Unite, mintmark plume, with oval shield between C and R on the reverse. Webster 364; Hocking 1099 (**Pl. 9, 4**).

This coin was probably acquired from John Innocent, a London goldsmith and jeweller, on 19 March 1791 for £1 6s. Innocent's museum and entire stock was auctioned at Christie's in June 1807.

4. Charles I, Oxford pattern Crown, by Thomas Rawlins, 1644.⁹⁹ Webster 431; Hocking 1208 (**Pl. 9, 5**).

This coin, with no. 6 below, is one of the jewels of the Royal Mint holdings from Sarah's collection. Its provenance, however, is not recorded.

The two final coins represent the transition from hammered to milled coinage, when in the course of Cromwell's reign the hand-powered machinery of the Frenchman, Peter Blondeau, was used to strike coins engraved by Thomas Simon.

5. Cromwell, Unite of twenty shillings, 1656, by Thomas Simon. Webster 491; Hocking 1264 (**Pl. 9, 6**).

This coin was again acquired from 'Mr Young', in 1794 for the less than princely sum of £1 11s. 6d.

6. Charles II, Proof Petition Crown, 1663, by Thomas Simon. Webster 566; Hocking 1360 (**Pl. 9, 7**).

This spectacular coin was rejected in favour of an inferior bust and reverse design by Jan Roettiers of Antwerp, who had superseded Simon, in 1662, as engraver at the Royal Mint.¹⁰⁰

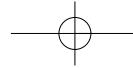
Sarah's coins, tokens and medals represent one of the most catholic and best-documented numismatic collections ever assembled, with the added virtue of not having been dispersed. As Table 1 demonstrates, however, this paper touches only upon a small part of the whole, leaving extensive areas of the collection awaiting fuller recognition.

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⁹⁹ Challis 1992, 282–3, 348, 352; Brooke 1950, 207, 234.

¹⁰⁰ Hocking 1906, 124.



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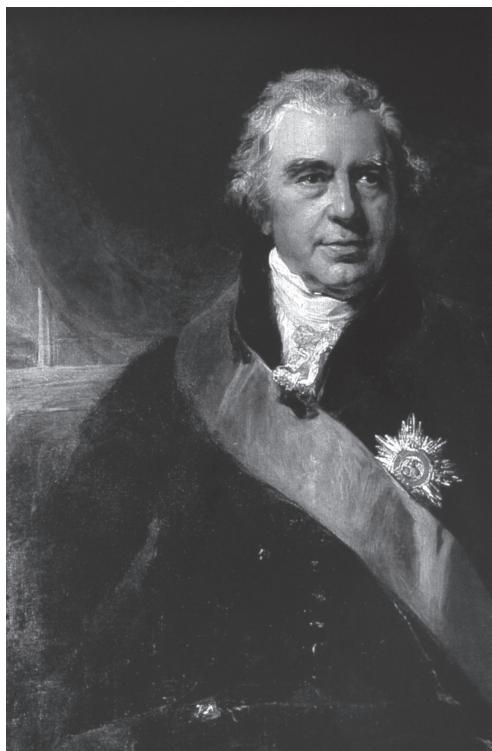
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PLATE 5



1



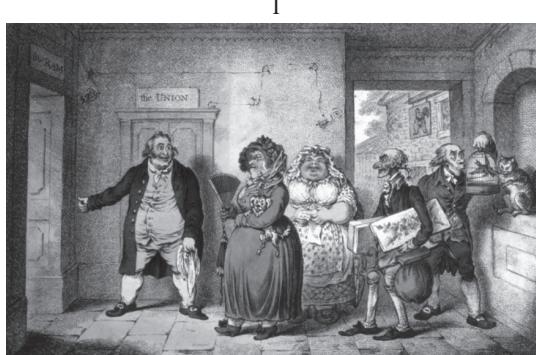
3



2

EAGLEN: SARAH SOPHIA BANKS AND HER ENGLISH HAMMERED COINS (1)

PLATE 6



EAGLEN: SARAH SOPHIA BANKS AND HER ENGLISH HAMMERED COINS (2)

PLATE 7

		3		England.		King Henry.		S		F		D		L	
96	Penny.	Northampton.	EII.	ND:	on: Northa	-	-	✓	(two)	-	-	-	-	-	1
98	D				Ingeras: on: Noram	-	-	✓	B.M.	-	-	-	-	-	1
	D				... on: Norha	-	-	✓	B.M.	-	-	-	-	-	1
100	D	Norwich.	Gilbert:	on: Norw	-	-	-	✓	B.M.	-	-	-	-	-	1
	D		Gilbert:	on: Nor	-	-	-	✓	B.M.	-	-	-	-	-	1
	D		Robert:	on: Norri	-	-	-	✓	B.M.	-	-	-	-	-	1
102	D		Hereber...	on: Nor	-	-	-	✓	B.M.	-	-	-	-	-	1
	D		Hue:	on: Norweic	-	-	-	✓	B.M.	-	-	-	-	-	1
	D		Hw.	... Norwi	-	-	-	✓	B.M.	-	-	-	-	-	1
104	D		Nic.	... on: Norw	-	-	-	✓	B.M.	-	-	-	-	-	1
	D		Picot:	on: Norri	-	-	-	✓	B.M.	-	-	-	-	-	1
	D		Picot:	on: Norev	-	-	-	✓	B.M.	-	-	-	-	-	1
106	D		Rein	... n. Nor.	-	-	-	✓	B.M.	-	-	-	-	-	1
	D		Ricard:	on: Norev	(exchanged)	-	-	✓	B.M.	-	-	-	-	-	1
	D		Willem:	on: No	(exchanged)	-	-	✓	B.M.	-	-	-	-	-	1
108	D	Biford	Adam:	on: Oxenfo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
	D		Adam:	on: Oxene	-	-	-	✓	B.M.	-	-	-	-	-	1
	D		Ase	... on: Oxen	-	-	-	✓	B.M.	-	-	-	-	-	1
110	D		Rogier.	on: Oxenf	-	-	-	✓	B.M.	-	-	-	-	-	1
	D	St Edmundsbury.	Henri:	on: S. Edm:	-	-	-	✓	B.M.	-	-	-	-	-	1
	D		Raul:	S. Ed:	-	-	-	✓	B.M.	-	-	-	-	-	1
112	D		Rouff:	on: S. Edm:	-	-	-	✓	B.M.	-	-	-	-	-	1
114	D		Willem:	S. Edmuni	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
	D		Willem:	on: S. Ed:	-	-	-	✓	B.M.	-	-	-	-	-	1
	D		Willem:	S. on: Ed: (a blunder for on: S. Ed:)	-	-	-	✓	B.M.	-	-	-	-	-	1
116	D		Willem:	on: S. Edm. White pl. 3. no. 1. (No. 1)	-	-	-	✓	B.M.	-	-	-	-	-	1
118	D	Salisbury.	Daniel:	on: Sale	-	-	-	✓	B.M.	-	-	-	-	-	1
120	D		Levrie:	on: Saleb	-	-	-	✓	B.M.	-	-	-	-	-	1
	D	Shrewsbury.		(o)n: Salopes	-	-	-	✓	B.M.	-	-	-	-	-	1

EAGLEN: SARAH SOPHIA BANKS AND HER ENGLISH HAMMERED COINS (3)

PLATE 8

EAGLEN: SARAH SOPHIA BANKS AND HER ENGLISH HAMMERED COINS (4)

PLATE 9

179
 1809. Jan. 8. Mr. E. Wheeler. a grant of King Edward IV. Bristol found in digging for a root house at,
 X
 1792. May 21. Mr. J. Wheeler. France. Petite Ecu. 1790. 30 sols. 15 sols. Medaille de
 France. Suede. 2 1/2 Rials Bell Metal. Sou. Suede. copper coin
 Aug. 12. France. Billet de confiance de la Maison de Secours, 20 sols. 2
 Dec. 14. - K. Henry III. Angel with B. on the Ship.
 1794. Aug. 24. - Birmingham 1/2 1792. Froenhain 1/2 1789. Macclesfield 1/2 1791. Wilkinson,
 Dec. 24. - Sheffield 1/2. Macclesfield, with a cleat rev. Lurek. Lurek of France. Fra
 1795. Jan. 26. before the Revolution Sou (3) after the Revolution Sou (5) Dutch. Duyk.
 Apr. 26. 3 to her. 2 Duros d'Argent. May 10. 2 Rikess. 1794. Jun 17. a medallion
 1800. Oct. 29. white metal 1/2 sol on the Union 1806. Carls. K. Charles I. Crown 1/2. coin
 1792. May 21. Mrs. E. Wheeler. ~~Alsat~~ Germany. Brabant. Coin (2)

1



2



4

6



3

5

7



EAGLEN: SARAH SOPHIA BANKS AND HER ENGLISH HAMMERED COINS (5)

SHORT ARTICLES AND NOTES

TRIBRACH PENNIES OF EADBERHT 'PRÆN' OF KENT AND EADWALD OF EAST ANGLIA

RORY NAISMITH

IN the aftermath of the deaths of Offa of Mercia in late July 796 and of his son and heir Ecgfrith shortly afterwards in December, Mercian control over some outlying areas of the expanded kingdom slipped into the hands of local usurpers: Eadberht 'Præn' in Kent,¹ and Eadwald in East Anglia. The rest of the Mercian kingdom passed into the hands of Coenwulf, a distant relative of Offa, who spent the first years of his reign restoring the dominant position Mercia had enjoyed in the south east earlier in the eighth century. Kent was not recovered until 798, when, the kingdom having been ravaged by war, Eadberht was captured and taken to the royal monastery of Winchcombe in Gloucestershire. There his hands were cut off and his eyes put out, and he is said to have remained in Winchcombe as a prisoner until 811.² The only evidence for events in East Anglia comes from coinage, which suggests that Eadwald came to power immediately after Offa's death, and remained in control for several years before the kingdom was retaken by Coenwulf – certainly until 798, and conceivably down to 805 or even later.³

The products of the moneyers of Canterbury and the East Anglian mint reflect the rise of these local rulers, and for the first years of his reign Coenwulf's coinage was restricted to London. Die-cutters at all three mints stuck initially to the design instituted in the last years of Offa of Mercia (Fig. 1a), which arranged the king's name and title in three horizontal lines divided by bars. Offa and Coenwulf's coins had an uncial M for *Merciorum* taking up the first of the three lines; a feature which was not adopted by the die-cutters of Canterbury and the East Anglian mint, who entitled their kings simply *rex* on the new coinage (Fig. 1, d, e and f). There was no major change in the complement of moneyers at any mint, and in general the only substantial break between the coinages of Offa and his successors was in the name of the king: moneyers, design and also weight and fineness remained quite stable.

Even among the scarce surviving specimens of Coenwulf's Three-Line coinage there are a number of coins that prefigure the full Tribrach type, which would become standard at London and Canterbury by the end of the century (Fig. 1, b). As the name suggests, this type was characterised by a reverse design featuring a three-branched design known as a tribrach. This shape could be charged with a great deal of significance: a three-pointed cross was commonly found in Christian art from an early date, and could be understood to signify the

Acknowledgements: The new coins of Eadberht Præn and the fragment of Eadwald published here are only known via the records and photographs of Derek Chick. Thanks are also due to Tony Abramson, who provided information concerning and images of an important sceat in his collection, and to Mark Blackburn, who read and commented on an earlier draft of this paper. A full catalogue and analysis of all southern issues from the death of Offa down to the Lunettes coinage is in preparation by the author, where some of the issues touched on here will be expanded.

¹ *Præn* means 'priest' in Old English, and presumably indicates that Eadberht had at some point been a priest, and thus theoretically was unable to rule as king. He may well be the English *Odberhtus presbiter* mentioned as an exile in Frankia and Rome in a letter written from Charlemagne to Offa earlier in 796 (Dümmler 1892, no. 100; and Whitelock 1979, no. 197), and was referred to as a renegade priest in another letter of 798 (Dümmler 1892, no. 127; and Whitelock 1979, no. 205).

² These events are recorded in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle s.a. 796 and 798 (Plummer and Earle 1892, I, 56–7; and Whitelock 1979, no. 1, pp. 181–2). See also Brooks 1984, 121–5; and Story 2003, 139–42.

³ The chronological problems of Eadwald's issues will be discussed below. On the chronology in general, see *MEC* I, 293. The fundamental study by Blunt, Lyon and Stewart 1963, 26 suggested that Eadwald's coins be dated 796–8, like those of Eadberht Præn.



Fig. 1.

(a) Offa of Mercia (757–96), Heavy Coinage 792/3–6, London, Ciolheard. Chick 2008, no. 203a. Ex Dix, Noonan and Webb auction 19.6.2002, lot 130.

(b) Coenwulf of Mercia (796–821), Three-Line type 796–797/8, London, Diola. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Ex Blunt.

(c) Coenwulf of Mercia (796–821), Three-Line type 797/8–805, London, Eama. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Ex Blunt.

(d) Eadberht 'Præn' of Kent (796–8), Three-Line type 796–797/8, Canterbury, Babba. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

(e) Eadwald of East Anglia (c. 796–?), Three-Line type 796–?, East Anglian mint, Eadnoth. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Ex Blunt.

(f) Beorhtric of Wessex (786–802), Alpha/Omega type, West Saxon mint, Weohthun. British Museum. Ex Lockett.

Trinity,⁴ or as an emblem of the choices – the two roads branching from one – that man faced in life, making it an *exemplum vitae humanae* according to Isidore of Seville (d. 636).⁵ A recently discovered sceat now in the Abramson collection (Fig. 2 below) foreshadows this widespread use of the voided tribrach at the end of the eighth century, as does an East Anglian penny of Offa,⁶ and it can also be found on a range of other Anglo-Saxon artefacts. Other coins of the same group of London Three-Line pennies include further highly symbolic designs, such as a tall standing cross on a unique coin of Pendwine,⁷ or an unusual variant of the tribrach on another unique coin of Winoth. This carries on the reverse a long pelleted cross with uncial-M-like devices at the terminals, with one of the limbs framed by two lines, creating another form of standing cross.⁸ Despite the lack of portraits or other figural elements, the crosses and tribrachs on this early London coinage clearly belong to a background in which variation and subtle meaning could be appreciated.

The beginnings of the Tribrach coinage can thus be found among the earliest Three-Line coins for Coenwulf of the London moneyers Ciolhard, Diola, Ibba and Winoth, who are only known in this earliest (796–7/8) phase from coins with a tribrach design on the reverse, suggesting that these types were current from the very beginning of Coenwulf's coinage. The



Fig. 2. Series Q variant (?).

Obv. bird (peacock?) stepping right within pelleted border.

Rev. voided two-line tribrach with curled finials; I and T in two angles.

1.01 g.

T. Abramson collection.

⁴ Gannon 2003, 163.

⁵ *Etymologiae* I.iii.7 (Lindsay 1911 I, 27).

⁶ Chick 2008, no. 162 (moneyer Botred).

⁷ EMC 1997.0115.

⁸ EMC 2005.0123.

date when the tribrach was combined with the new circumscription obverse type and made common to all moneymen was previously believed to be 798, coinciding with the recovery of Kent in that year.⁹ No other coins of Coenwulf from Canterbury used an earlier type,¹⁰ and it appeared that this new tribrach design accounted for all production at London and Canterbury until the establishment of a new portrait coinage in about 805.

A number of recent finds have altered this understanding of the introduction of the Tribrach type significantly, and have important ramifications for the nature of coin production in eighth- and ninth-century England. The coins in question include one Three-Line/Tribrach penny (Fig. 3) and two Tribrach pennies in the name of Eadberht Præn (Figs 4–5), and two unusual Three-Line pennies (Figs 7–8) and one Tribrach penny (Fig. 6) in the name of Eadwald. All were discovered in the last twenty years, but for various reasons have for the most part escaped publication until now.



Fig. 3. Eadberht 'Præn' of Kent (796–8), Three-Line/ Tribrach type.
Obv. [EĀ]D / BE[AR]HTE / REX in three lines, divided by beaded bars.
Rev. Eþ / EL / [N]OP in angles of two-lined tribrach.
British Museum.
Found in excavations at Burrow Hill, Butley, Suffolk, 1980s.
No wt. (fragments).



Fig. 4. Eadberht 'Præn' of Kent (796–8), Tribrach type.
Obv. EADBEARHTE REX around plain circle containing M̄.
Rev. DV / Dþ / M̄ in angles of two-lined tribrach moline.
Private collection. Chick archive.
Found in Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire, August 1996.
1.32 g.



Fig. 5. Eadberht 'Præn' of Kent (796–8), Tribrach type.
Obv. EADBEARHTE REX around plain circle containing M̄.
Rev. DV / Dþ / M̄ in angles of two-lined tribrach moline.
Private collection. Chick archive.
Found at Fordwich, near Canterbury, Kent, 24.9.1993 (EMC 2001.0953).
1.10 g (chipped), 270°.

⁹ Blunt, Lyon and Stewart 1963, 7.

¹⁰ One moneymen, Seberht, struck a type for both Coenwulf and Cuthred with an unusual reverse design similar to one used in Offa's heavy coinage based on a bone-like device separating the legend into two lines (Blunt, Lyon and Stewart 1963, 7). These unusual issues could belong early in the Tribrach coinage when more flexibility may have been tolerated, although Seberht's absence in earlier phases might indicate that his coinage began slightly later. Either way, the existence of these Two-Line coins combined with the survival of regular Tribrach-type pennies by Seberht for both Coenwulf and Cuthred and of Cross-and-Wedges pennies for Coenwulf alone suggests he probably produced coins for both rulers simultaneously.



Fig. 6. Eadwald of East Anglia (c.796–?), Tribrach type.
 Obv. **HEA[D]UÅLD R]EX** around **M** within beaded circle.
 Rev. **HEÅD[NOD]** inside curves of quatrefoil, divided by a beaded saltire (?).
 EMC 2008.0110.
 0.64 g (fragment).
 Found at Elmsett, near Hadleigh, Suffolk, early 1990s.



Fig. 7. Eadwald of East Anglia (c.796–?), Three-Line type.
 Obv. **EÅ+D || HΠΠÅΓD || REX** separated by beaded bars with opposed hooks at centre.
 Rev. **BO / TR / ED** around small cross in beaded inner circle, with three **M**-like ornaments splitting legend.
 Found at Ramsholt, near Woodbridge, Suffolk, August 1989. Illustration and information from Chick archive.
 No wt. (small fragment).
 Probably same reverse die as EMC 2007.0223.



Fig. 8. Eadwald of East Anglia (c.796–?), Three-Line type.
 Obv. **EÅ+D || HΠΠÅΓD || REX** separated by beaded bars with opposed hooks at centre.
 Rev. **BO / TR / ED** around small cross in beaded inner circle, with three **M**-like ornaments splitting legend.
 EMC 2007.0223.
 1.20 g (large chip), 90°.
 Found near Southwell, Nottinghamshire, 23.8.2007.
 Probably same reverse die as the fragment listed above.

The crucial point for the chronology is that the fully-fledged Tribrach type must have been introduced before the defeat of Eadberht Præn in 798. Given the rarity and tribrach reverse design of many surviving examples of Coenwulf's Three-Line type,¹¹ which must have been very short-lived indeed, it might be possible to push the introduction of the Tribrach type at London back even into 797. There can only have been a short time between the establishment of the Tribrach type and the end of Kentish independence, perhaps resulting in a short final phase of swift change and greater receptivity to different and widely-accepted coin designs at the Canterbury mint around 797/8, which saw certain moneyers adopt the new Tribrach design and related devices. This is suggested by the comparative rarity and limited uptake of Tribrach-influenced designs: only one Canterbury moneyer, Duda, is known from the full Tribrach type and another, Æthelnoth, from a Three-Line/Tribrach type, yet both of them also struck the regular Three-Line coins that account for most of Canterbury's production under Eadberht Præn (Fig. 1d). Æthelnoth's Three-Line/Tribrach penny spans the gap between the two designs, presumably inspired by coins of similar type from London: it bears

¹¹ Seven of fifteen known examples of this type, representing the work of two out of seven moneyers, bear a tribrach on the reverse. No moneyer struck more than one type in this phase, presumably because of its short duration.

a tribraч on the reverse,¹² and a variant on the standard Three-Line obverse design, with hooks on the horizontal bars that are universal on Three-Line coins issued at London (Fig. 1b).

Unfortunately, no clear chronological conclusions are possible for East Anglia at present. The Tribrach penny of Eadwald is a poorly-preserved fragment, found at Elmsett, Suffolk, in the early 1990s; and the two Three-Line/Tribrach pennies of Eadwald include one fragment (of which only line drawings are available) found at Ramsholt, Suffolk, in 1989, and an almost whole coin found at Newark, Nottinghamshire, in August 2007. The Three-Line/Tribrach pennies belong to the moneyer Botred, and like their Canterbury counterpart of the same type replicate the hooked bars of the London coins and an adapted form of the tribraч reverse – though in this case it is almost identical to a reverse design that had already been used by Botred in the light coinage of Offa.¹³ These are the only coins of Eadwald known for Botred, and presumably belong to much the same time as the other Three-Line issues from East Anglia, or perhaps slightly later. The Tribrach fragment bears the name of Eadnoth, a moneyer well-known from other issues of Offa and Eadwald,¹⁴ who was also responsible for the only other known type of Eadwald to deviate from the Three-Line obverse (Fig. 9): a Circumscription type, on which the king's name was arranged round a central cross (e.g. EMC 1989.1001, 1990.0196 and 2001.0150; one other specimen is known). This too must have been a small type, as all four surviving specimens are struck from two obverse and two reverse dies. The design of the Circumscription type bears a general resemblance to the Tribrach obverse, but is simple enough that it could have been created independently. All three of Eadnoth's designs use the same reverse design.



Fig 9. Eadwald of East Anglia (c.796–?), Circumscription type 796–?, East Anglia, Eadnoth. British Museum.

This and other aspects of the chronology and organisation of East Anglian minting will be revisited in more detail in future. The two separate but related questions that must be addressed for now are when and in what sequence Eadwald's coinage was produced, and when it ended and Coenwulf's East Anglian coinage began to be produced. In terms of date, there is nothing to confirm when after 797/8 the Tribrach and Circumscription types were struck: they could conceivably belong to 800 or after, and there are only portrait coins of Coenwulf from East Anglia, which would suggest that minting in that part of his kingdom did not begin until 805 or after, when a portrait type was adopted at all other mints under his control. An earlier date is not out of the question: East Anglia did not always keep in step with numismatic developments elsewhere, and the portrait type could have begun earlier than at other mints, or alternatively there could have been a hiatus in minting following Mercian reconquest. But general adherence to a common design was a significant concern under Coenwulf, as suggested by the adoption of the Tribrach type at Canterbury upon its reconquest, and in the time of Offa and Coenwulf it was more common for East Anglia to follow developments

¹² It is interesting that Æthelnoth's Three-Line/Tribrach coin bears a tribraч of two lines, whereas the full Tribrach pennies of Duda (probably struck at around the same time) have a tribraч of three lines. The Three-Line/Tribrach issues of London all use a three-lined tribraч, but there are many examples of two-lined tribraчs in the main Tribrach type from London moneys. Two- and three-lined tribraчs thus seem to have both been current from quite an early date, and there is probably no chronological significance to them.

¹³ Chick 2008, no. 162.

¹⁴ Another moneyer with the same name produced coins for Beornwulf, Ludica and Æthelstan of East Anglia in the 820s and later. He is presumably a different individual, though the shared name may indicate a familial connection of some sort – perhaps father and son.

at other mints than to set numismatic trends – which would imply a reconquest of East Anglia in 805 or after. At present, all that can be said with confidence is that Eadwald's coinage began c.796 and lasted for at least a couple of years, and conceivably for more than a decade.

Unravelling the relative chronology of the coins of Eadwald is problematic as well, and there is little evidence for how the Tribrach and Circumscription coins of Eadnoth related to those of other moneyers. It is possible that he alone continued to strike coinage later in Eadwald's reign, moving from one type to another after other moneyers had fallen by the wayside. Alternatively, several moneyers may have continued to produce Three-Line coins throughout Eadwald's reign, and Eadnoth was alone in changing type. This is perhaps more likely, as Eadnoth is also the sole moneyer of Eadwald who did not survive to strike coins for Coenwulf. Either way, the most probable internal chronology of Eadnoth's own types would put the Three-Line type first, as it is closest to the coinage of Offa and to that produced by other moneyers of Eadwald. Second comes the Tribrach type, and third the Circumscription type. The logic behind this arrangement derives from the interpretation of the Tribrach obverse design. This was based on a central uncial M, which completed Coenwulf's title of *rex Merciorum*, and was probably inspired by the design used on the coinage of Offa's queen, Cynethryth, produced a decade or so earlier at Canterbury.¹⁵ Obviously it is strange to find the kings of Kent and East Anglia theoretically styling themselves 'king of the Mercians', as is implied by straightforward adoption of the Tribrach type. It is possible that Eadnoth – or even Eadwald himself – noticed this oddity and altered the design accordingly to the more innovative Circumscription type. Sensitivity to the political significance of the Tribrach design was not unique to East Anglia. In contemporary Canterbury, coins of Coenwulf's brother, Cuthred, who was appointed sub-king of Kent in 798,¹⁶ omit the central M. Similarly, in Wessex the Tribrach type influenced the coinage of one moneyer of Beorhtric (786–802) by the name of Weohthun (or possibly Peohtun) (Fig. 1g):¹⁷ in this case, the central uncial M was subtly reinterpreted as an omega by conjoining it with an alpha, and an inconvenient political message was neutralised as a religious emblem whilst retaining general similarity with the dominant Mercian coinage.

The decade immediately after 796 stands out as one of the most eventful and best known in Anglo-Saxon history, and is extremely well served by coinage as well as letters, narratives and other sources. However, changing political fortunes in southern England may be followed more effectively through numismatics than any other single category of evidence, and the coins provide a vital counterpoint to the account extrapolated from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and other texts. One of the greatest benefits of coinage is that new evidence is constantly emerging to revise earlier interpretations and fill in some of the gaps in the story. Thus it can now be seen that the Tribrach type did not appear in the wake of Coenwulf's reconquest of Kent, but was already in existence by that time; indeed, it seems to have prompted a certain amount of emulation at Canterbury and in Wessex and East Anglia. Mercian coinage, and that of London in particular, evidently enjoyed some sort of special status, and it set the trend for design at the other southern mints for much of the late eighth century – perhaps as a reflection of the greater economic importance of London, or of the military and political strength of Mercia, or as a hangover from the reign of Offa, when it appears that London's die-cutter(s) exercised considerable influence.¹⁸ This is all the more striking given the relative size and output of the three mints: by the last years of Offa's reign London's production was already significantly smaller than that of Canterbury,¹⁹ and in the Tribrach phase of

¹⁵ Chick 2008, nos 138–48.

¹⁶ This can be deduced from the regnal years occasionally given in contemporary charters: Sawyer 1968, no. 40, for example was issued in July 805 and is dated to the eighth year of Cuthred's reign. However, it does not automatically follow that Cuthred produced coins from the outset of his reign: for the possibility of an early phase of coinage issued by Coenwulf alone, see Blunt, Lyon and Stewart 1963, 72.

¹⁷ Weohthun's coinage for Beorhtric is represented by just one surviving specimen in the British Museum; however, the moneyer is also known from two recently discovered pennies of Egbert (EMC 2008.0137 and 2008.0138 – see Naismith 2008).

¹⁸ Chick 1997.

¹⁹ Chick 2008.

797/8–805 London's output declined even further so that it became merely a fraction of that of Canterbury. East Anglia too came to eclipse London in productivity by the second half of Coenwulf's reign.

The new finds of coins from the period 796–805 discussed here also highlight the distance there could sometimes be between kings and moneyers. The apparently apolitical use of the Tribrach type in Kent and East Anglia reinforces the impression that those who designed and cut dies were not always particularly concerned by the political significance of what they were producing, and presumably received quite scant and sporadic instruction on design from the ruling authorities. The focus instead may have been on conforming to established standards of weight and fineness as well as appearance, and also on proper recognition of royal authority on coinage – though this normally did not go much further than including the appropriate king's name. For these reasons, the coins of this period are doubly valuable for providing a unique insight into not only high politics and the unfolding of historical events, but also into the more obscure workings of moneyers and die-cutters.

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BURGRED 'LUNETTE' TYPE E RECONSIDERED

GARETH WILLIAMS

IN December 2003, metal detectorists Mark Ainsley and Geoff Bambrook uncovered a small Viking hoard on a riverine site in North Yorkshire. This is a multi-period productive site, showing evidence of occupation/use from prehistory to the post-medieval period, but with a particular concentration of activity from the eighth to tenth centuries. The site has been investigated by the York Archaeological Trust (YAT), and forms the subject of a joint research project between YAT and the British Museum. This includes YAT's fieldwork, the hoard and other Treasure finds from the site, and a group of over 800 single finds from the site, uncovered over a period of several years, of which the majority are Anglo-Saxon or Viking. The Viking element of the finds assemblage has marked similarities with the assemblage from the Viking site at Torksey,¹ and is apparently of similar date, beginning with the take-over of an existing Anglo-Saxon site in the mid 870s, and remaining active into the early tenth century. A preliminary note on the hoard, which has been acquired by the British

Acknowledgements: I am grateful to Marion Archibald, Adrian Lyons, William MacKay and Hugh Pagan, all of whom made useful (if sometimes conflicting) comments on earlier drafts of this paper. Any mistakes are, of course, the responsibility of the author.

¹ Blackburn 2002.

Museum, has already been published in the *Treasure Annual Report*,² and a full report on the project is currently in preparation. The scope of the current note is therefore limited to a specific point of numismatic interest.

The core of the hoard (which was found together with a number of non-precious metal objects of Anglo-Saxon and Viking manufacture) was a group of precious metal items. This included a late Saxon gold stud with blue glass cabochon; one silver ingot; four ingot droplets (only two of which contain more than 10% silver), six pieces of hack-silver and ten coins.

Of the coins, one is a fragment of an Islamic silver dirham of the Umayyad dynasty (AH 41–132/AD 661–750), of the reformed coinage (AH 79–132/AD 690–749).³ Fragmentary Islamic coins are typical within Viking hoards of the late ninth and early tenth centuries from Britain, as well as from productive sites linked with Viking activity.⁴ These coins are often in fragmentary condition and should be regarded as hacksilver rather than as coins *per se*.

The remaining nine coins are all of the Lunette type, issued jointly as part of a monetary and political alliance between Mercia and Wessex during the reign of Burgred of Mercia (852–74).⁵ This type circulated freely in both kingdoms, and therefore across most of England south of the Humber (apart from East Anglia), although the Northumbrian system prior to its collapse in 867 was completely separate from that south of the Humber. Seven of the coins are in the name of Burgred, with two in the name of Alfred of Wessex (871–99).

The classification of the majority of these coins is straightforward:

Alfred, type A, moneyer Heremod

Alfred, type B, moneyer Cuthulf

Burgred, type A, moneyers Cenred, Cynehelm, Dudwine, Eadulf.

However, three of the coins (moneyers Beagstan, Beornheah and Tata) do not fit the main existing classification of the Lunettes type. This contains four main sub-types, classified by reverse designs, labelled A–D. Christopher Blunt identified a fifth sub-type, which has been labelled as E, but this is so rare that Hugh Pagan argued in his 1965 survey that it should perhaps be regarded as a variant rather than a separate sub-type, since it is similar to the reverse design of sub-type D, which contains a number of varieties.⁶

The three new coins all share a single reverse design, with strong similarities to Blunt's sub-type E. Like sub-type D, the three lines of the reverse inscription are divided by two horizontal lines with a crook at each end. On sub-type E, the top and bottom lines of the inscription are divided by a shape which may perhaps represent an elongated version of the uncial M common on Mercian coins of the eighth and ninth centuries, or perhaps simply another ornamental divider. The new design is very similar, but the 'M' shape is divided, with two uprights rather than one, suggesting more an ornamental divider than an M.

This reverse design is known, to the best of my knowledge, from only one other example, in the name of the moneyer Eadnoth, which was acquired by the British Museum in 1969. With only four examples, should this be considered as a distinct sub-type, or as a variant of sub-type E, or should both this design and sub-type E indeed be regarded as varieties of sub-type D?

There are a number of reasons for regarding the new variety as entirely separate from sub-type D. The fact that it survives in the names of four different moneyers indicates that it was

² Ager and Williams 2004.

³ I am grateful to my colleague Dr Vesta Curtis for this identification.

⁴ Lowick 1976; Brooks and Graham-Campbell 1986 (reprinted in Brooks 2000); Graham-Campbell 2001; Blackburn 2002; Naismith 2005. See also Williams 2008 (this volume), and Williams forthcoming.

⁵ Pagan 1965; Keynes 1998; Lyons and MacKay 2007; Lyons and MacKay 2008 (this volume).

⁶ Blunt 1958–9; Pagan 1965, 26. This classification by reverse type alone is unsatisfactory. Pagan discusses a wide variety of bust types and provides a partial descriptive classification, and Lyons and MacKay argue elsewhere in this volume for the need for a more comprehensive classification incorporating both obverse and reverse designs. Such a re-classification goes well beyond the scope of the current paper, and my interpretation is thus set within the current reverse-based classification framework.

produced on a significant scale, and it is notable that two of the four (Beornheah and Eadnoth) are only otherwise recorded in sub-type A, while Beagstan also issued in sub-type B (known from a single example), and while Tata alone issued coins of sub-types C and D as well as A. Tata also issued in types A, B and C for Alfred. Pagan's dating of the main sub-types of Burgred places C as the earliest sub-type, followed by D, followed by A, although he notes that there are exceptions.⁷ On this dating, the overlap of moneymen with sub-type A suggests that the new variety is also a late issue. Although the main typology is based on the reverse designs, it is also notable that the new coins have very similar busts to coins of sub-type A, although there is some variety in the drapery even within these few examples. This bust is also found on coins of sub-type D, but these represent very much a minority, with other bust types rather better represented.⁸ These associations with sub-type A rather than D are also consistent with the fact that the other Lunette issues in the hoard were of Burgred sub-type A, and Alfred, all of which point towards the latter part of Burgred's reign. In addition, it should be noted that while none of the new variety or existing type E coins have been fully analysed, all have a dark colour, and several have traces of green corrosion, and the overall impression is of a very base issue with a heavy copper content, which would again point towards the latter part of the series.

Furthermore, the most plausible dating for the Viking occupation of the site is in the period following Burgred's death. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* records that the Viking *micel here* over-wintered at Torksey in 872–3 and Repton in 873–4, and then divided in 874, with one part of the *micel here* going to Northumbria and the other to East Anglia. In 875, the Vikings under Halfdan divided up Northumbria and settled.⁹ Although the Vikings had earlier occupied Northumbria in 866 and 869, this pre-dates the Alfred coins in the hoard, while the scale of the Viking occupation of the site suggested by the single finds indicates that the hoard is unlikely to be entirely independent of the activities of the *micel here*.

Given that Burgred was forced to abdicate abruptly in 874,¹⁰ it is possible that the new variety should be seen as a substantive sub-type introduced at the very end of his reign, and then abandoned almost immediately as a result of his abdication and the temporary collapse of Mercian royal authority.¹¹ This would be consistent both with the striking of the variety by multiple moneymen, and also its rarity, and would also fit with the likely dating of the hoard. Irrespective of the precise dating, there seems to be little doubt that this variety represents a substantive sub-type, distinct from both D and A.

Whether it is distinct from Blunt's sub-type E is less clear. This sub-type is known from two examples, in the names of the moneymen Cenred and Ecgulf.¹² Cenred issued in sub-types A and D, and Ecgulf in A, while the bust on the Cenred coin is again similar to both sub-type A and the new variety. Stylistically, all of the coins are very similar, and all can be linked with a London die-cutting style shared by both Burgred and Alfred.¹³ The difference between the reverse design of sub-type E and the new variety is also minimal. If the element between the letters of the moneymen's name is seen as a decorative divider, rather than a stylised Mercian M, then the difference is even less significant, and with both varieties so rare in comparison to sub-types A–D, it seems more reasonable on current evidence to see the two as varieties of the same sub-type rather than as distinct sub-types, although that is something which might change in the light of further discoveries. For now, however, I propose to label the existing sub-type E as Ei, and the new variety as Eii.

⁷ Pagan 1965. Lyons and MacKay argue elsewhere in this volume that the division into sub-types is more geographical than chronological, but since the two articles have been prepared at the same time, and I have not been able to consider their arguments fully, it seems more appropriate to accept the established position, with the caveat that this may need to be revised, rather than to follow uncritically a new interpretation which has not yet been widely accepted.

⁸ For discussion of the bust varieties, see Pagan 1965, *passim*.

⁹ *ASC*, sub 873[872], 874[873] and 876[875] (MSS. A and E).

¹⁰ *ASC*, sub 874[873] (MSS. A and E).

¹¹ This was fairly quickly revived, at least in part, again in alliance with Wessex, but with a clear break in the coinage: Keynes 1998; Blackburn 1998; Blackburn and Keynes 1998; Blackburn 2003.

¹² Blunt 1958–9, 10–11; *SCBI 17 (Midlands)*, no. 94. The Ecgulf coin, in Nottingham Museum, is represented in the *Sylloge* by a reverse drawing only.

¹³ See Lyons and MacKay 2008, this volume.

Accepting the two varieties as a single sub-type, the question remains as to where it should be placed in the series. There are no coins close in style in either the Gravesend hoard (deposited c.871) or in the St Albans hoard (deposited c.873/874?). The new type is also absent from the Croydon hoard of c.871–2.¹⁴ This would suggest that sub-type E is either too early to be included in Gravesend and Croydon, placing it between the end of D and the beginning of the main group of A, or that it was issued after the St Albans hoard, and therefore towards the very end of Burgred's reign. The arguments for placing it at the end of the reign have already been mentioned, and the rarity of the issue combined with the variety of dies and moneymasters provides a convincing picture of a substantive sub-type which was quickly aborted, which seems more likely to fit the later dating.

However, all of the coins of sub-type E are struck on wide flans, while the latest coins of Burgred otherwise seem to have been struck on rather smaller flans (e.g. SCBI (*South-Eastern Museums*) 659, 662, 670, 677 from the St Albans hoard). The larger flan size is more consistent with an earlier dating, and would have required a move back to a larger flan size right at the end of the reign if the later dating is preferred.¹⁵ Nevertheless, an earlier dating on the basis of size does not account so readily for the rarity of the type, still less for the absence of the type from hoards and site finds of the early 870s. The evidence is thus ambiguous. There can be no doubt that the type is relatively late in Burgred's reign, but dates of c.870 and 874 are both feasible, depending on which element of the evidence one sees as the most important. My own preference remains on balance for the later interpretation, but in the absence of further evidence this remains uncertain.

One last point of interest concerning the three examples of Eii from the North Yorkshire hoard, although unrelated to typology, is that each has been centrally pierced, although the other coins in the hoard have not. The most likely explanation in my opinion is that this was in preparation for use as insets in lead coin-weights of a type common in the late ninth century.¹⁶ These coin-weights include a type where the coins are secured to the lead with pins, and the sort of piercing present in these three coins would be appropriate for use in this way. Analysis by my colleague Sue La Niece established that there were no traces of lead on the surface of the coins which would indicate that they had been so secured, and the presence of lead weights both with the hoard and amongst the stray finds indicates that lead might have been expected to survive if it was present. However, the weight assemblage does include lead weights with insets, and the finds generally indicate that metal working took place on the site,



Fig. 1. Coins of Burgred, sub-type E.

a–c) The three new types from the North Yorkshire hoard, sub-type Eii (Beagstan, Beornheah, Tata)

d) Coin of the same type, findspot unrecorded (Eadnoth)

e) Penny of sub-type Ei, findspot unrecorded (Centred)

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¹⁴ Brooks and Graham-Campbell 1986.

¹⁵ I am grateful to Hugh Pagan for raising the question of the hoard comparisons and the flan size of the coins.

¹⁶ Archibald 1998; Williams 1999.

so it is perfectly possible that these coins had been prepared for use in weights, but had not yet been used. It is also possible that the coins had been pierced for suspension as ornaments, although single or double piercing towards one edge would be more typical for this.¹⁷ Given the base appearance of all of the sub-type E coins, it is also conceivable that they were marked so dramatically to indicate that their silver content was unsatisfactory, although if that were the case it is surprising that they were then hoarded with other more satisfactory coins. The finders have suggested an alternative possibility that the central piercings represent a symbolic 'killing' of the coins, reflecting the defeat of Burgred and the take-over of Mercia. This would be difficult to substantiate on the basis of the coins alone, and has no parallel elsewhere, and seems to me to be considerably less likely than the other possibilities suggested above.

CORPUS OF TYPE E

Ei

1. Moneyer: Cenred
 Obv: **‡BVRGREDRE**
 Rev: **M|ON / CENRED / ET|A**
 Weight: 1.13 g
 Diameter: 22 mm
 Die axis: 0°
 Provenance: C.E. Blunt (pres.)
 Location: British Museum, BM 1962, 11-18, 1

2. Moneyer: Ecgulf
 Obv: Unrecorded
 Rev: **M|ON / ECCVLF / ET|A**
 Weight: Unrecorded
 Diameter: Unrecorded
 Die axis: Unrecorded
 Provenance: Excavated at Stoke Bardolph, Notts., 1955.
 Location: Nottingham Museum, *SCBI* 17, no. 94
 Comments: Badly chipped around edges and so fragile that it was embedded in a perspex disc to prevent further deterioration.

Eii

3. Moneyer: Beagstan
 Obv: **BVRGREDRE**
 Rev: **NM|ON / BEA[G]ZTA / ET|A** (NM ligated)
 Weight: 0.85 g
 Diameter: 23 mm
 Die axis: 0°
 Provenance: 2004 hoard from North Yorkshire productive site.
 Location: British Museum, 2008, 4199, 7
 Comments: Pierced with large hole centrally. Green corrosion clearly visible.

4. Moneyer: Beornheah
 Obv: **BVRGREDREX**
 Rev: **HM|ON / BER_EA / ET|A** (HM ligated)
 Weight: 1.37 g
 Diameter: 22.5 mm
 Die axis: 180°
 Provenance: 2004 hoard from North Yorkshire productive site.
 Location: British Museum, 2008, 4199, 8
 Comments: Pierced with large hole centrally. Green corrosion clearly visible.

¹⁷ Archibald 1998, 15. On piercing for jewellery, see also Moorhead 2006, 99–110.

5. Moneyer: Eadnoth
 Obv: BVRGR[E]DRE
 Rev: M|ON/ EADNOÐ/ ET|A
 Weight: 1.08 g
 Diameter: 21 mm
 Die axis: 270°
 Provenance: Findspot unrecorded. Ex Mrs Baker.
 Location: British Museum, 1969, 5–6, 1
 Comments: Chipped and cracked, signs of green corrosion.

6. Moneyer: Tata
 Obv: +BVRGREDRE
 Rev: M|ON / TATA / ET|A
 Weight: 1.26 g
 Diameter: 22 mm
 Die axis: 180°
 Provenance: 2004 hoard from North Yorkshire productive site.
 Location: British Museum, 2008, 4199, 9
 Comments: Pierced with large hole centrally. Green corrosion clearly visible.

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THE COINS FROM THE VALE OF YORK VIKING HOARD: PRELIMINARY REPORT

GARETH WILLIAMS

IN January 2007, metal detectorists Andrew and David Whelan discovered the most important Viking hoard in England since the Cuerdale Hoard (*tpq c.905–10*) in 1840. The precise identity of the findspot is being protected at the request of the finders and landowner, and the name Vale of York Viking Hoard has been selected to avoid confusion with other hoards in the region. The hoard attracted substantial publicity when it came to inquest in July 2007, at which point it was still known as the Harrogate Area Hoard, as it was found within the jurisdiction of Harrogate Coroner's District. The hoard was declared to be Treasure on 18 July 2007. It is intended that the hoard should be acquired jointly by the British Museum and the York Museums Trust, but at the time of writing the Treasure valuation has not been completed, so the future disposition of the hoard is not yet certain. Full cleaning and conservation will not be carried out until the hoard is acquired, and the detailed study of the hoard will begin then, but the hoard has generated so much interest that it seems appropriate to make available a listing of the coins in the hoard, together with some initial comments.

Overview of the hoard

The hoard is in many respects a typical mixed Viking hoard of the early tenth century, containing intact jewellery, ingots and hack-silver, as well as 617 coins. Discussion here will largely be confined to the coins, but the non-numismatic contents of the hoard are also of interest. The most important piece is a silver-gilt Frankish vessel of the mid-ninth century. This is decorated with six roundels, each of which contains an animal, with bands of stylised vine-scrolls above and below, and stylised foliage in between. Comparison with other Frankish vessels of the period suggests that this may be a church vessel of some sort, perhaps a pyx. This vessel contained virtually all the hoard, with the exception of a few ingots too large to fit in. Fragments of lead found with the hoard may have formed some sort of outer container, or cover.

The other particularly important item is a gold arm-ring. The ring is of typical Viking workmanship, with punch-marked decoration on a flat strip, and has parallels in style in both the British Isles and Scandinavia. Viking ornaments are well known in gold as well as silver, but it is unusual to find gold ornaments within predominantly silver hoards. The presence of two such high-status items in the hoard, both intact, may point to the hoard being the personal property of a wealthy high-ranking individual, since otherwise one might expect them to have been broken up for bullion.

The hoard also contained five silver arm-rings of various styles, together with ingots and ingot fragments, and a wide variety of hack-silver. In common with other Viking hoards from northern England, the hack-silver is made up of fragments from all over the Viking world, including amongst other things a fragment of a so-called 'Permian ring' from northern Russia (with a parallel in Cuerdale), and fragments of penannular brooches from the Irish Sea area, with parallels in several hoards from northern England, including Cuerdale.¹

Acknowledgements: I am particularly grateful to Barry Ager for helpful discussion of the hoard as a whole. I have also benefited from discussion of different aspects of the numismatic component with Marion Archibald, Mark Blackburn, Jayne Carroll, Stewart Lyon, Michael Sharp, Veronica Smart and Lord Stewartby. However, the interpretation presented here is mine, as is the responsibility for any mistakes.

¹ Interpretation of the non-numismatic items and the Islamic coins in the hoard follow the respective contributions of my colleagues Barry Ager and Dr Vesta Curtis to the Treasure report 2007 T2, which is not yet published.

The coins

The make-up of the coinage is also what one would expect of a hoard from the Danelaw in the early tenth century, although it is very slightly later than other recorded hoards of related type, with a fairly firm date of *c.927–9* (see below). The coins are predominantly Anglo-Saxon, ranging from Alfred's London Monogram type to the *Rex Totius Britanniae* type of Athelstan, although the majority (over half the hoard in total) are Two-Line issues of Edward the Elder. There is also a significant group of Viking issues, all from the northern Danelaw, and including no St Edmund coins, issues of the Cuerdale phase, or Swordless St Peters. There are also four Carolingian deniers, and fifteen Samanid dirhams (several of them fragmentary). Totals are listed in the summary catalogue below (pp. 232–4). Since, as previously stated, the coins have not yet been thoroughly cleaned, the identifications on this list should be regarded as provisional, rather than as definitive. No attempt has yet been made to divide the Edward Two-line issues by period, or to study dies within the hoard.

The coins are mostly in good condition, having been preserved inside the silver vessel. However, a number of them had fused together, and were separated during the initial phase of conservation at the British Museum. In most cases, this separation was entirely successful, but one of the coins (a Two-line type penny of Athelstan, fused to a dirham of Ismail b. Ahmad) proved to be unusually fragile, and broke into three pieces during conservation. One of these remains attached to the dirham, and additional conservation will not be attempted at this stage. Many of the Islamic coins are fragmentary, having effectively been converted into bullion in the Viking period. The coins produced in England include three cut halves and one half of a coin which was broken in antiquity. A few other coins show cracks and minor buckling, but none are fragmentary, and the later coins in particular show little sign of circulation.

Dating

The dating of the hoard is unusually clear, with close agreement in dating between the different components of the hoard. The Anglo-Saxon component ends with a single coin of the *Rex Totius Britanniae* type of Athelstan, together with thirty-six examples of another Athelstan type showing a building, usually interpreted as a church. All of these show only minimal wear, and were clearly relatively freshly minted when the hoard was deposited. Within the Church type, twenty-two coins carry a clear York mint signature, and the type has been plausibly interpreted as the first issued by Athelstan after he gained control of Northumbria in 927.² The type is normally extremely rare, suggesting that it was relatively short-lived, and the concentration of coins of this type in freshly minted condition suggests very strongly that the hoard was deposited relatively shortly after the type was introduced. This impression is reinforced by the single *Rex Totius Britanniae* coin in the hoard. Similar regal styles were also adopted by Athelstan in charters, and it appears likely that the style was introduced following a meeting between Athelstan and other kings from around northern Britain and Wales at Eamont Bridge near Penrith on July 12th, 927.³ According to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Athelstan 'brought into submission all the kings in this island'.⁴ While the title 'King of all Britain' certainly exaggerates Athelstan's position following the meeting, it is likely that the other rulers present acknowledged some form of overlordship, which probably involved the payment of tribute, although not necessarily on a regular basis. By contrast with the Church type, the *Rex Totius Britanniae* type is extremely common, and was apparently minted throughout the latter part of Athelstan's reign. To find a single example in over six hundred coins suggests that the hoard must have been buried very shortly after the type was introduced. On the basis of both these types, the hoard can not pre-date 927, but is unlikely to be much later, and I would suggest that a date of *c.927–9* is appropriate.

² Blunt 1974, 55.

³ Blunt 1974, 55–6.

⁴ *ASC, sub 926 (MS D)*, 107.

The Viking component in the hoard reinforces this, with no coins that can be dated before the 920s, with four different Sword issues from the northern Danelaw.⁵ These issues would have been current in Northumbria immediately before Athelstan took control, and again show little sign of wear, indicating a short circulation period. A number of the coins listed below as uncertain/blundered are probably anonymous Danelaw imitations, and the hoard also includes a new imitative type, which crudely copies the Church type of Athelstan discussed above. Once again, this was freshly struck when deposited.

While the Carolingian coins do not permit such precise dating, they are entirely consistent with the dating suggested by the Anglo-Saxon and Viking coins. The Islamic coins cover a date range between the reign of Nasr b. Ahmad I (AD 864–892) and Nasr b. Ahmad II (AD 913–932). The latest firmly dated Islamic coin is a dirham of Nasr b. Ahmad II, issued in al-Shash in AH 303/ AD 914–5. There is generally a delay of between ten and fifteen years between the latest issue date on Islamic coins and their deposition in Danelaw hoards of the early tenth century,⁶ so this is entirely consistent with the deposition date of AD 927–928 proposed above. While the undated fragment of Nasr b. Ahmed could conceivably be a little later, there is no reason to assume that this is the case, and the earlier part of his reign is again entirely consistent with the suggested deposition date.

This makes the Harrogate area hoard the latest in a growing group of Viking hoards dating from the mid-late 920s, including Warton (Carnforth), Lancs. (c.925), Thurcaston, Leics. (c.925), Goldsborough, N. Yorks (c.925),⁷ Flusco Pike 2, Cumbria (c.925) and Bossall/Flaxton, N. Yorks. (c.927).⁸ It is also the largest of these hoards by a distinct margin, although it is considerably smaller than the better known hoard from Cuerdale, Lancs. (c.905–10).

Interpretation

There seems little doubt that the hoard was deposited a short while after the meeting at Eamont Bridge in 927. Although contemporary chronicles say little of what followed, and imply by their silence that Athelstan had firm control of the kingdom of Northumbria thereafter, more detailed accounts appear in various twelfth-century chronicles, which clearly had access to an earlier chronicle from the north of England which is no longer extant. These indicate that there was an attempt by the Viking ruler Guthfrith, supported by Earl Thurferth, to gain control of the kingdom of Northumbria of which Guthfrith's brother Sihtric had previously been king. He failed to gain control of York, and was forced to retreat.⁹

The hoard was deposited along the valley of the River Nidd, which provides a natural route to cross the Pennines to the relative safety of the Irish Sea. Interestingly, Goldsborough lies on the same route, and several other Viking hoards of the early tenth century lie along similar east-west routes. While there is insufficient evidence to associate the hoard directly with Guthfrith or Thurferth, it is clear that there was continued disturbance in the area around York in the period following the Eamont Bridge meeting, and it seems reasonable to assume that the hoard was deposited for safety by a Viking of high status during that period.

The picture of substantial but incomplete authority for Athelstan in that period also provides a plausible context for the minting of the imitation of Athelstan's Church type. Coins of the moneyer Ragnald, both in the Church type and the *Rex Totius Britanniae* type, show that official minting in York was firmly under Athelstan's control, and the other official coins of the Church type should probably be associated with other mints in the northern Danelaw.

⁵ For a recent comprehensive discussion of the Sword issues, see Blackburn 2006.

⁶ Williams forthcoming. The gap appears to be a few years shorter in the late ninth century: see Naismith 2005.

⁷ A date of c.925 was long accepted for the Goldsborough Hoard (see, for example, Shetelig 1940). A re-dating to c.920 proposed by David Wilson (Wilson 1957, 72–3) has generally been accepted in more recent publications. I am not aware of any published arguments to support this earlier dating, which seems too early to me on the basis of the numismatic evidence, and I have argued for the restoration of a date of c.925 in the discussion of the hoard in the forthcoming publication of Cuerdale and related hoards in the British Museum, and in Williams forthcoming.

⁸ Williams forthcoming, *passim*.

⁹ E.g., Whitelock 1955, 280.

Given the rarity of the type, and its limited circulation, it seems likely that the imitation was produced in the same region. The imitation is much cruder work than the official issues, and probably not the work of a practised die-cutter, and may reasonably be interpreted as an indication that while Athelstan had control of all official minting, his authority within the northern Danelaw was not sufficient to prevent the minting of unofficial issues. However, this does not mean that the imitative coin was issued by a political rival rather than an opportunist would-be moneyer. Nor does a single coin indicate widespread minting.

Detailed analysis of the hoard as a whole must wait on further research, but a few points of numismatic interest can already be identified. Firstly, the hoard probably represents at least two separate parcels, or periods of hoarding, rather than simply representing what was current in Northumbria in the late 920s. Given the number of Edward the Elder coins in the hoard, together with the strong presence of Athelstan's coinage, coins from the middle and late periods of Edward's reign appear to be under-represented. This needs to be seen together with the complete absence of coins of the early Danelaw types, and also the limited date-range of the Kufic coins. This is in marked contrast to the mixed contents of the Bossall/Flaxton hoard, also deposited in Yorkshire around the time that Athelstan took control of the kingdom of Northumbria, although probably slightly earlier than the Vale of York hoard.¹⁰ The initial impression is therefore that the Vale of York hoard contains a significant component, representing a purely Anglo-Saxon hoard (or other store of wealth), ending comparatively early in the reign of Edward, and certainly before the 920s. This was then combined, at some point before the hoard was finally deposited, with coins in circulation in Northumbria in the 920s, including Danelaw issues, coins of Athelstan, the imported coins, and some of the earlier Anglo-Saxon material. Clearly there is no way of stating definitively which of the earlier coins falls into which group, since one would expect some early coins still to be in circulation in the 920s.

Also of interest is the presence of an apparently literate but previously unrecorded Sword type, relating to the St Peter and Sihtric issues. The reverse, which has a cross design, has the inscription **OTARD MOT**. Otard is a Continental Germanic name, and **MOT** is a normal contraction for **MONETA** in this period, so the reverse is entirely literate. This encourages confidence in the obverse, which appears to read **RORIVA/CASTR** in two lines, separated by the sword, with a Thor's hammer in the bottom line as on St Peter issues, although here it is between the **S** and the **T** rather than a letter forming the handle as on the St Peter coins. This shows that the type is secondary to the St Peter types, as one would expect given the comparative rarity.

The initial letter is unusual, and might conceivably be taken as an **h** or a **D**, but it has parallels with manuscript forms of lower-case **R** from the period, and this seems the likeliest interpretation. This gives an apparently literate place name ending in **-castr**, derived from Latin *castra* (fortification). The form in **-castr**, rather than **-ceastre**, appears to be Old Norse, and is peculiar to the Danelaw, and the same element is visible in blundered inscriptions of the Sihtric group. Although the form *Rorivacastr* is otherwise unrecorded, I believe that it can most plausibly be identified with Rocester in northern Staffordshire, for reasons which I shall discuss in more detail elsewhere.¹¹

It may or may not be significant that this new type has a cross reverse, and all of the St Peter coins in the hoard also have cross reverses. Since this is the latest Danelaw hoard of the Sword phase, and since all the Sword/cross coins appear relatively freshly struck, this is at least suggestive that the Sword issues with cross reverse are later than those with hammer or mallet reverses. However, this is not conclusive. It is also notable that the hoard contains two coins of Sihtric, one with mallet and one with hammer. In his recent discussion of the Sword types, Mark Blackburn argued that the Sihtric coins were issued south of the Humber, and one element of his argument was that Sihtric coins do not appear in hoards north of the

¹⁰ Stewart 1991.

¹¹ Williams 2008.

Humber.¹² The new hoard, and another recent hoard from the Penrith area, provide evidence to the contrary, although this does not necessarily affect Blackburn's general argument.¹³

A final point of interest at this stage is what the hoard tells us about currency in the York area in the late 920s. It has become customary to refer to the 'Kingdom of York' (although contemporary documentary sources still tend to refer to the kingdom as Northumbria), and to argue for a distinction between coin-issuing York on the one hand and the North-West with its links to the mixed economy of the Irish Sea on the other. This distinction is entirely artificial, with both coin-hoards and mixed hoards in both Yorkshire and the North-West.¹⁴ The presence of another mixed hoard (along with Goldsborough and Bossall/ Flaxton) in the hinterland of York is a useful reminder that minting does not necessarily equate with the exclusion of imported coinage, or even of other forms of currency.

Further research

Although the hoard already raises a number of issues, its full significance will only be apparent following much more extensive research. A number of directions for that research are already emerging. Firstly, the hoard contains over four hundred coins of Edward the Elder and, not surprisingly, appears to contain a number of new moneys. Together with hoards from Brantham, Essex (2003), Flusco Pike, Cumbria (2005) and Lewes, East Sussex (2006), the Vale of York hoard provides a significant addition to the corpus of Edward's coinage, and it will be necessary to establish whether the new evidence supports or challenges the established interpretation set out by Stewart Lyon in 1989.¹⁵ Secondly, as discussed above, the additions to Blackburn's recent corpus of the Sword types may add to our understanding of both the chronology and minting places within the group. Thirdly, the cluster of types around the period of Athelstan's assumption of authority north of the Humber have the potential to clarify both the numismatic and political history of the northern Danelaw in the mid-late 920s. Finally, the hoard will undoubtedly add new dimensions to the ongoing discussion of the nature of Viking silver economies and the classification of Viking hoards, and it is hoped that the hoard will provide a focus for a major comparative study of Viking hoards in Britain and Ireland.

These different strands of research will take some time to deliver. However, it is already clear that the Vale of York Viking hoard has the potential, especially when taken together with other recent finds, to make fundamental changes to our understanding of coinage and economy in the early tenth century.

SUMMARY CATALOGUE

Anglo-Saxon

Alfred (871–99)

<i>London monogram (without moneyer)</i>	3
<i>Two-Line</i>	47
Æthered × 10, Æthelwulf × 7, Byrholm × 3, Deorwald, Dunna, Hereferth, Heremund, Hunberht, Wulfred × 21, Uncertain	
<i>Rex Doro</i>	1
Diarwald	

¹² Blackburn 2006, 212.

¹³ Williams forthcoming.

¹⁴ The distribution and classification of hoards is discussed at some length in Williams forthcoming.

¹⁵ *CTCE*, 20–96.

*Edward the Elder (899–924/5)**Two-Line*

Æthelferd × 6, Æthered × 39 (one cut half), Æthelsige, Æthelstan × 3, Æthelwald × 2, Æthelwine, Æthelwulf × 22, Badda × 6, Beahred × 5, Beahstan × 8, Beornere × 13, Beornferth × 2, Beornwald × 7, Beornwulf, Beorhtred × 2, Beornard, Beornred × 4, Beorhthelm × 2, Bonus Homo, Brece × 3, Byrnelm × 4, Byrnelm (probably), Cenbreht, Ceolwulf, Ciolhelm × 2, Clip × 3, Cynestan, Deorwald × 16, Diormod Dryhtwald × 4, Dunning × 3, Eadelm, Eadgild × 2, Eadmund × 5, Ealdwulf × 2, Ealhstan × 5, Eclaf × 3, Egenulf × 2, Eigmund × 2, Fritheberht × 11, Fulchrad × 2, Gareard × 4, Goderic, Grimwald × 3, Gundberht × 2, Gunter × 4, Hanno, Hathebald, Heardmer × 1, Hrodger, Hunfreth × 2, Igere, Iohann × 5, Landac × 4, 'Liedulm', Liofhelm × 3, Londbriht × 3, Magnard × 2, Manent, Megenfrith, Melland, Merlain, Ordulf, Osbear, Ossere × 2, Pastor, Pitit, Regenulf × 19, Rihard, 'Rothnard', Samsun × 8, Sigebrand, Snel × 3, Sprov × 3, Stefman × 2, Thegn, Thurlac × 2, Tila × 8, Torhthelm × 3 (one broken half), Walter × 2, Warmer, Wewardhelm × 3, Wigere, Wighard × 3, Wihtmund, Wihtwulf, Wilric, Winegar × 2, Wulfgar, Wulfheard × 7, Wulfric, Uncertain/blundered 17 (one cut half).

340

Bust

Andreas, Beahstan × 3, Byrholm × 3, Deorwald × 3, Dudig, Ealhstan, Eawulf, Gareard × 2, Liofhelm × 3, Man, Manna, Wulfred × 21, Uncertain × 6

48

Floral varieties

Æthelstan, Brece, Doiga

3

Burh

Walter, Wulfsige (cut half)

2

Rose

Wulfheard × 9

9

*Athelstan (924/5–39)**Two-Line*

Ælfred, Æthelferd, Æthered, Æthelsige, Æthelwulf × 2, Abba × 2, Alfeau × 2, Berhthelm, Biornard × 2, Byrholm × 4, Byrnwig, Cenbreht, 'Cia_elm', 'Cioehecm', Deorwald, Dryhtwald × 3, Eadmund × 2, Garwulf × 3, Grimwald, Heremod, Hungar, Igere × 2, Iohann × 8, Man, Mana, Regenulf, Sigebrand × 2, Sigeland × 2, Snel × 2, Thurlac, Tiotes, Torhthelm × 3, Wealdhelm × 3, Wulfheard × 4

67

Bust

Æthered

1

Church, with York signature

Ragnald × 22

22

Church, moneyer only

Adalbert × 5, Etram × 4, Frotier × 2, Turstan, Wytsige × 2

14

Rex Totius Britanniae

Maegred

1

Archbishop Plegmund (890–923)

Æthelfred × 2, Æthelwulf, Bierhtelm × 2, Wilric × 2, Uncertain

8

Anglo-Viking*Sword St Peter (c.921–927)*

Cross reverse

22

<i>St Martin (c.921–27)</i>	1
<i>Sihtric I (921–926/7)</i>	
Hammer reverse	1
Are	
<i>Mallet reverse</i>	1
Uncertain	
<i>‘Rorivacastr’ sword type</i>	1
Otard	
<i>Danelaw imitation, Athelstan Church</i>	1
Uncertain	
 Carolingian	
<i>Sancta Colonia</i>	1
<i>Gratia Dei Rex (post 864)</i>	3
Corbie, Quentovic, Uncertain	
 Islamic (Samanid dynasty)	
<i>Nasr b. Ahmad I (AD 864–892)</i>	1
<i>Ismail b. Ahmad I (AD 892–907)</i>	3
<i>Ahmad b. Ismail II (AD 907–914)</i>	4
<i>Nasr b. Ahmad II (AD 913–932)</i>	2
<i>Nasr b. Ahmad (I or II)</i>	1
<i>Caliph Al Mu’tamid (AD 870–892)</i>	1
<i>Uncertain Samanid</i>	3
 Total	617

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AN ENIGMATIC PENNY OF HENRY I

ERNEST W. DANSON



Fig. 1. Penny of Henry I, Profile left/ Cross Fleury type (approx 2:1).

THE illustrated penny of Henry I, Profile left/ Cross Fleury type, *BMC Norman Kings* ii, actual diameter 17 mm, was found near Newark, Nottinghamshire, in April 2007, by Mr and Mrs W. Severn using a metal detector. The find was duly reported to the Portable Antiquities Scheme and is registered in the Fitzwilliam Museum's Corpus of Early Medieval Coin Finds as EMC 2007.0156.

The specimen shows little sign of wear, is well centred and generally well struck up with the obverse reading +HENRI[R]. The form of the reverse legend is here more exactly rendered:

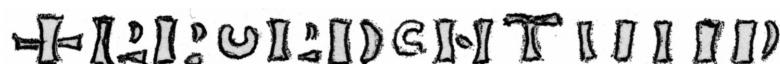


Fig. 2. Line drawing of reverse legend.

The end of this may be normalized as **ON TAMP** and interpreted as 'at Tamworth', as on Tamworth mint coins of William II, Cross in Quatrefoil type, *BMC Norman Kings* ii.¹ However, what should be the moneyer's name poses considerable problems. The first letter has a wedge jutting horizontally from the base of the upright, rather than from the crescent, as is more usual for an R. Without the crescent it would clearly represent L. The fourth letter appears to be the same and the second letter is somewhat similar, although both the crescent and the wedge have lost their shapes to form an almost colon-like group. The small O, from a broken punch, leaves no room for doubt; it reappears in the ON. So letters 3, 4 and 5 could read **ORD** or **OLD**, suggesting that letter 2 might be a wen (ꝝ), making the name perhaps **LWORD** or **LWOLD**, with a contraction mark after the first letter.

However, these musings suggest no convincing moneyer and the impression grows that the die-sinker deliberately blundered the name. If this really is a case of evasion, the reliability of the Tamworth mint attribution is thrown into doubt. No coins of the Tamworth mint are known to have been struck between the issues of William II *BMC Norman Kings* type ii and Henry I *BMC Norman Kings* type xiv, a span of c.1093–1131, except for a specimen by the moneyer Lefwine of Henry I *BMC Norman Kings* type xiii, which type has recently been

Acknowledgements: The writer wishes to thank the finders, Mr and Mrs W. Severn, for allowing him to examine the coin and also for supplying photographs. He is also grateful to Dr Martin Allen for commenting on the piece and encouraging the writing of this note.

¹ *SCBI* 17 (*Midlands*), no. 747, moneyer Bruninc, and no. 749, moneyer Colinc.

redated by Mark Blackburn to c.1101–1103 and therefore close to the probable date of issue of the coin under consideration.²

There seems little doubt that the dies of this coin were prepared by a competent worker, using possibly official punches, and that the striking itself was done with more than average care. However the weight, 1.02 g, is very low,³ and, although the fineness of the metal has not been tested, the suspicion remains that this is a product of the nefarious minting practices for which this reign is notorious.

Postscript

Subsequent to the writing of the above Note, the coin in question has appeared in Dix Noonan Webb sale 77, 12 March 2008, lot 196. In the catalogue entry, the moneyer's name has been read as LPORD and expanded to Lifword.

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SCBI 17 (Midlands). See Gunstone 1971.

TWO NEW COIN BROOCHES OF TOURNOIS TYPE

B.J. COOK

THE production and use of a particular type of coin brooch in England in the later thirteenth century is now well-established. The coins utilised are typically either the new groats of Edward I (1272–1307), introduced in 1280, or gros tournois of the French kings Louis IX, Philip III or Philip IV. The cross side of these coins (the reverse of the groats and the obverse of the gros tournois) is gilded, to be the side on view, and a pin and catchment are attached to the other side. Usually these attachments have not survived, although portions of the base or signs of where they were fixed are often visible. Included in the illustrations is an image of a replica of a groat of Edward I with an attachment in place (Fig. 1). This was shown at the British Museum in the late 1980s, when the replica was made, although it was not possible to acquire the item. It subsequently entered trade and the gilding and attachment were removed, presumably for commercial advantage: it is recorded by Martin Allen in his survey of the Edward I groats in this later condition.¹



Fig. 1. Groat of Edward I with an attachment.

² For discussion, see Eaglen 2006, 76–7.

³ *BMC Norman Kings*, II, 270–1. The six specimens of this type catalogued vary in weight between 1.21 g and 1.37 g with an average of 1.27 g. For this note, the recorded grains have been converted to grammes.

¹ Allen 2004, no. 41 at p. 37.

Although single coins are not normally regarded as eligible to be considered as Treasure, coins converted to other purposes are so considered, following the passage of the Treasure Act in 1996. Coin jewellery has thus been treated like other precious-metal decorative items as falling within the purview of the Act, allowing the better recording and, sometimes, the acquisition of these items by museums. The purpose of this note is to publish two relatively recent finds of coin-brooches that have passed through the Treasure system and which represent new types of coin for the phenomenon. Each has been, or will be, covered in volumes of the *Treasure Annual Report* (hereafter *TAR*), but it seems worth flagging up their status in more detail in this *Journal*.

Brooches from thirteenth and fourteenth-century England are overwhelmingly annular or ring brooches.² In the six existing volumes of the *Treasure Annual Report*, published 1997–2004, there are 117 later-medieval brooches of gold, silver gilt or silver which are annular, or otherwise consist of a frame (rectangular, heart-shaped, hexagonal, etc) and a pin; the other types of brooch represented are six coin brooches and two brooches with figurative designs, one a fragmentary item that is perhaps a pilgrim souvenir (if it is a brooch at all: *TAR* 2000, no. 127) and the other an unusual piece depicting a man fighting a lion (*TAR* 2003 no. 145). Coin brooches, therefore, form a quite distinct and unusual group and it is possible they were intended for use by a specific group of people or in a specific context. It is probably a legitimate assumption that they were intended to express a religious message, since, without exception, they were created in such a way as to emphasise the cross depicted on the original coin.

A number of coin brooches of the gros tournois type have now been published in successive volumes of the *TAR*: gros tournois of Louis IX (*TAR* 2001, no. 89, Hants); Philip III (*TAR* 2000 no. 116, Norfolk) and Philip IV (*TAR* 2000, no. 132, Norfolk), issued 1285–90.³ A number of older examples are also known, such as one of Philip IV from North Walsham in Norfolk reported in the Coin Register 1998, no. 189, and another fragmentary one, though with two hooks still *in situ* on the back, discovered in the nineteenth century and now in the Department of Prehistory and Europe in the British Museum (ex Charles Roach Smith Collection, BM registration number 1856,0701.2745).

It has also become clearer that a range of differently-sized coins was utilised in this way, not just the groat-sized pieces. A demi-gros of Marguerite of Constantinople, Countess of Hainaut, issued in the period 1275–80 was recovered in 2007 and will be published in a future *TAR* by Dr Adrian Marsden. The number of English pennies transformed in this way is also accumulating: Edward I, class 2 (*TAR* 2000, no. 117, Norfolk) and Edward I, class 3 (*TAR* 2004, no. 141, Isle of Wight). The latest-issued English coin treated in this way so far recorded is a penny of class 9b, Canterbury mint, first shown at the British Museum in 1991.⁴ Also, there is a penny of class 4b converted into a pendant, rather than a brooch (*TAR* 2000, no. 151, Kent): the cross side is still the focus, but there is evidence that fragments of coloured glass may have been added to the centre and ends of the cross for further decoration. This item has been acquired by the Department of Prehistory and Europe in the British Museum (registration number 2001,1108.1). A denier tournois of Philip IV pierced with 3 holes was recovered from West Rudham in Norfolk (Coin Register 1994, no. 338) – this may have been sewn onto something or else the holes might have been for rivets, as described in the *TAR* entry for the Isle of Wight find just mentioned.

The coins presented in this note, however, are full gros, but versions issued by lesser rulers, rather than by the French kings; these coins are not in themselves commonplace.

² See comments in Hinton 1982, 16.

³ Published also in Popescu 2001, no. 55 at p. 692.

⁴ Information from the records of Marion Archibald.



Fig. 2. Gros tournois of Henry VII, Count of Luxemburg (1288–1309) (2003 T236).

1. Wickmere, Norfolk (2003 T236)

Gros tournois of Henry VII, Count of Luxemburg (1288–1309), struck at Méraude (Fig. 2).

This coin-brooch was found by Mr E. Snyder while metal-detecting in August 2003 at Wickmere in Norfolk. The coin is a silver gros tournois issued by Henry VII, Count of Luxemburg (1288–1309) and was struck at the mint of Méraude (also known as Poilvache) no earlier than 1300, since it was in that year that Henry shifted his coinage to the tournois standard.⁵ It was first published by B.J. Cook and J.P. Robinson in *TAR* 2003, no. 161.

Obverse: Cross in centre (significant remains of gilding)

Inner legend: +MARCHIO ERLOM

Outer legend: +HENRICVS COMES LVCEBVRGENSIS ET RVPE

(In both legends **M** is represented by reversed **N**)

Reverse: Border of five-petaled roses within circles; stylised castle in centre; the remains of an attachment are present

Legend: MONETA M[]AVDE

(reversed **N** in **MONETA**; legend partially hidden by attachment)

Wt: 4.05 g Die axis: 200°

Ref. Weiller 1977, 18–19, no. 24i

Acquired by the Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum (2008,4095.1)



Fig. 3. Gros au portail of Gui IV, Count of Saint-Pol (1292–1317) (2007 T626).

2. Paull, East Riding of Yorkshire (2007 T626)

Gros au portail of Gui IV, Count of Saint-Pol (1292–1317), struck at Élincourt, 1300–1317 (Fig. 3).

This brooch was discovered by Mr D. Everingham in September 2007 while metal-detecting on cultivated land; it was recovered at about 2 inches below the surface.

In 1300 Gui IV of Saint-Pol inherited the lordship of Élincourt in the Cambrésis, a region belonging to the Holy Roman Empire and technically under the suzerainty of the bishops of Cambrai. He opened a mint there which was maintained by his successors for decades, despite the protests of the bishops.

Obverse: cross in centre (remains of gilding visible)

Inner legend: +G COMES SPAVLI

Outer legend: +GRACIA DOMINI DEI NPI FACTV SS II

(No punctuation in either legend, in outer legend Lombardic **M** in **DOMINI**, **P** in place of **R** in **N(OST)RI** and unbarred final **M**)

Reverse: Border of five-petaled roses in circles; stylised castle in centre

Legend: +MOHE[]LINET

(Legend partially hidden by remains of attachment; Lombardic **N** in **ELINET**)

Wt: 3.95 g Die axis: 70°

Ref: see de Mey 1987, 89, H2, though different in details of punctuation and lettering.

Acquired by the Hull & East Ridings Museum.

⁵ Weiller 1977, 15.

The find-spots of these items are interesting, in that the brooch from Yorkshire, added to other finds from Kent and Hampshire, at least suggests a wider usage of this type of item than might have previously seemed the case. The dominance of East Anglian, and specifically Norfolk, find-spots is manifest, but it seems likely that this is, in part at least, a distortion created by the biases of the reporting record.

The significance of these two new brooches, other than their relatively unusual points of origin, is their period of issue. Neither can have been produced before 1300, which would appear to demonstrate that the production period of the brooches extended perhaps a decade or two into the fourteenth century. Some, at least, of the converted gros tournois of Philip IV might belong to the post-1300 period, but none of the examples I have examined belongs to the issues that have been identified as probably belonging to the end of the reign, according to Van Hengel's classification.⁶ These new finds do, therefore, have a useful contribution to make to the chronology of this phenomenon.

The largest single group of this type of object appears to be that represented by groats of Edward I: fourteen out of Allen's corpus of 59 examples show signs of mounting and/or gilding. This is a good proportion and furthermore is likely to be an under-representation, given the evidence that the gilding and mounting are sometimes removed in modern times. This coinage was concluded by 1281. A small number of Long Cross pennies are known to have been converted in this way. The Edwardian pennies converted into jewellery known by the author range from classes 2 (1279) to 9b (c.1299–1301), though the latter is the only one later than class 4b (1282–9). There is a tradition that gros tournois of Louis IX were popular as amulets within France, especially around the time of his sanctification in 1297 and were reported as still being in use in the seventeenth century. It is unclear how accurate this tradition is, but it might well support a late thirteenth-century date even for the conversion to jewellery of such earlier gros.⁷

A very tentative chronology might suggest that this particular manifestation of the fashion for coin brooches in England became significant, if it did not begin, in or around 1280, possibly even inspired by the appearance of the new groat. At this point, furthermore, there would still be pennies of the previous Long Cross coinage, recalled in 1279, available for a similar conversion. As the groats ceased to become available, the French gros tournois took their place. Of course, there could easily have been a chronological overlap, but the two new finds published here may perhaps help to support the idea that the utilisation of non-English coins might have come somewhat later. It is the case that we are dealing with a relatively restricted body of material, and as more is recognised and assembled, the patterns will likely become clearer.

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⁶ Van Hengel 1997, 9–50, especially p. 14.

⁷ See Beaune 1991, 108.

'ABJECT ORTS AND IMITATIONS': SOME VARIANTS IN THE 'BLACK FARTHING' COINAGE OF JAMES III

N.M.MCQ. HOLMES

Introduction

THE small copper coins which are grouped together under the collective heading of 'black farthings' have been described in general terms in various reference works on Scottish coinage,¹ and in one specialist paper devoted to the copper money of the later fifteenth century,² but they have never been the subject of an in-depth typological study, and indeed such a study would at present serve little purpose. The small size of the flans and the poverty of the die-sinking and striking, combined with the corroded condition of so many of the surviving specimens, preclude any serious attempt to classify the coins in any greater detail than the five varieties which have been familiar to students of the Scottish series for many years. However, a number of individual coins which have come to light during recent decades, and which display features which may be regarded as non-standard, do suggest that the overall picture may have been somewhat more complicated, and it may therefore be helpful to bring together descriptions of all these coins in one place for future reference.

The coins which will be described and discussed here are all variants or imitations of just two of the five varieties, none being related to the three types which have traditionally been described as 'ecclesiastical' issues. Nonetheless, it may be useful to outline the overall picture as represented in previous publications, in order to place these coins into context. Edward Burns described and illustrated three specimens of each of two varieties,³ quoting from various Acts of the Scottish Parliament which referred to 'black money'. The earliest of these, dated 9 October 1466,⁴ authorised the striking of copper coins 'four to the penny' and included this description of the intended designs: '... on the *ta parte* the crois of Saint Androu and the croune on the *tother parte*, with superscripcione of Edinburgh on the *ta parte* and ane R with James on the *tother parte*'. An Act of 12 October 1467⁵ called for the cessation of striking of black money, but subsequent Acts make it clear that the coins continued to circulate. Further information is provided in the account for the period up to 22 June 1468 submitted by the moneymen Alexander Tod and William Goldsmith.⁶ This refers to copper coins which had first circulated as halfpennies before being reduced in value to farthings.

Farthings of Burns's first variety bear a crown on the obverse, surrounded by a legend comprising a version of the king's name and title. On the reverse is a large saltire with a much smaller one to either side; the legend is a version of **VILLA EDINBURGH** (Fig. 1). The legends of the second variety are similar, but the obverse design comprises a crown above the letters **IR**. On the reverse is a crown superimposed on the upper part of a large saltire, with smaller saltires in the side and bottom angles (Fig. 2).



Fig. 1. James III farthing, first variety (National Museums Scotland collection) (enlargement; actual diameter 15.0 mm).

¹ Burns 1887, vol. II, 167–70; Stewart 1967, chapters VII and VIII; Bateson 1997, 90–3; Holmes 1998, 22–5.

² Murray 1997.

³ Burns 1887, vol. II, 167–70, and vol. III, Pl. XLIII, 560, 560A and 560B, pl. XLIV, 574, 575 and 576.

⁴ Cochran-Patrick 1876, vol. i, 31–2, document II.

⁵ Cochran-Patrick 1876, vol. i, 32–3, document III.

⁶ Cochran-Patrick 1876, vol. i, 44–5, document XXIII.



Fig. 2. James III farthing, second variety (National Museums Scotland collection) (enlargement; actual diameter 14.0 mm).

The remaining varieties of black farthing were not brought to the attention of scholars until after the recovery of a quantity of them during excavations at Crossraguel Abbey, Ayrshire, in 1919.⁷ In addition to nine specimens of each of the above two varieties, along with twenty specimens in brass, the excavated coins included eighty-seven copper and five brass specimens of farthings which George Macdonald (later Sir George) believed to have been minted at Crossraguel, and which are still regularly described today as 'ecclesiastical' types. The first of these bears the same obverse design and legend as Burns's second variety, but on the reverse is a long cross pattee with crowns and six-pointed mullets in alternate angles; the legend is **MONE PAVP** (money of the poor) (Fig. 3). The other two Crossraguel types (Macdonald's third and fourth varieties) bear on the obverse a trefoil, with a fleur-de-lis on each leaf and a five-pointed mullet in the middle. A crown is set in each of the upper spandrels. The reverse bears a floriate long cross with a five- or six-pointed mullet in each angle. The legend is either **MONE PAVP** or **MO PAVPER** (Fig. 4).



Fig. 3. 'Crossraguel'/'ecclesiastical' farthing, type I (National Museums Scotland collection) (enlargement; actual diameter 13.0 mm).



Fig. 4. 'Crossraguel'/'ecclesiastical' farthing, type III (National Museums Scotland collection) (enlargement; actual diameter 13.0 mm).

In the first edition of *The Scottish Coinage* Ian Stewart (now Lord Stewartby) followed Macdonald in classing the Crossraguel types as ecclesiastical issues, but by the time the revised version was published, he was inclining to the belief that they had in fact formed part of the regal coinage, with one coin of type II or III apparently having **IACO** in the reverse legend.⁸ This theory was supported by Mrs Joan Murray in her paper published in the

⁷ Macdonald 1920, especially pp. 37–8.

⁸ Stewart 1967, 197 and 208.

proceedings of a 1977 Oxford symposium.⁹ In the same paper she suggested that the first of the farthing issues published by Burns might have pre-dated the 1466 Act of Parliament, and might thus have been the coins which had initially circulated as halfpennies, with the second variety immediately following the Act. Some of the coins to be described below, which are mules combining the obverse of the second type with the reverse of the first, may be regarded as supporting the idea that the two issues were not greatly separated in time. In the absence of any surviving contemporary documents relating to the 'Crossraguel' type farthings, however, there is very little evidence to assist in dating these issues.

Descriptions of variant coins

All the coins described here have been recovered during archaeological excavations or by metal-detectorists in Scotland, and all except the example from St John's Tower in Ayr have been examined by the writer. For a description and photographs of the Ayr coin I am grateful to Dr Donal Bateson, of the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow. As is often the case with copper coins excavated from Scottish soil, these examples are mostly in poor condition, and it is appreciated that details which were evident when the coins were examined may not be apparent in the photographs, some of which are old images of coins no longer accessible for new photography. On occasions such as this it is necessary to request that readers grant to the writer a modicum of trust in terms of what he has personally observed on the coins. Present locations of the various coins (where known) are appended to the descriptions, in case sceptical readers should wish to check the latter for themselves.

1. Variant of second variety, with royal titles on both sides (Fig. 5).

Obv.: [+I]ACOB[]DEI[GR[]]; crown above I R
 Rev.: +IACOBVS·DEI·GR[]; crown over upper part of large saltire; small saltires in side and lower angles
 14.0 × 15.0 mm; 0.67 g; die axis 270°

From excavations at St Giles Cathedral, Edinburgh, 1981 (Holmes 2006, no. 5)
 Edinburgh City Museums and Galleries



Fig. 5. James III farthing, second variety variant with royal titles on both sides (St Giles Cathedral, Edinburgh).

2. Mule of second variety obverse and first variety reverse (Fig. 6).

Obv.: legend illegible; crown above I R
 Rev.: +VI[L]L[·]DIN[B]VR; large saltire with small saltire to either side
 15.0 × 14.0 mm; 0.46 g; die axis 0°
 Metal-detector find from The Glebe, Aberlady, East Lothian (Holmes 2004, 265)
 National Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh (reg. no. H.1992.307)

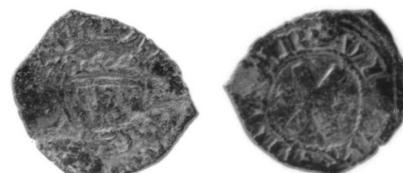


Fig. 6. James III farthing, second/first variety mule (Aberlady, East Lothian; National Museums Scotland collection).

⁹ Murray 1977, 120–1.

3. Another similar, but much damaged (Fig. 7).

Legends illegible, but designs still distinguishable

From Scottish Urban Archaeological Trust excavation at Blackfriars Wynd, Perth (list of coin finds omitted from published report)

Perth Museum and Art Gallery

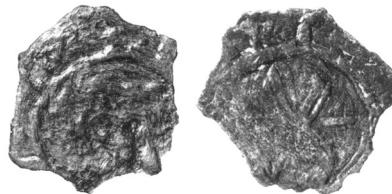


Fig. 7. James III farthing, second/first variety mule (Blackfriars Wynd, Perth) (enlargement; actual diameter uncertain).

4. Another similar, possibly a contemporary forgery (Fig. 8).

Legends illegible, but designs still distinguishable

Struck on angular and mis-shapen flan; 0.36 g

From excavations at St John's Tower, Ayr, 1986 (Bateson, forthcoming)

Present location unknown



Fig. 8. James III farthing, second/first variety mule (? contemporary forgery; St John's Tower, Ayr) (enlargement; actual diameter c.10.5 mm).

5. Another similar, apparently a contemporary forgery (Fig. 9).

Legends illegible, but designs clear

Struck off-centre on an undersized and angular flan; 0.28 g

From excavations at Linlithgow Friary, 1984 (Holmes 1989, no. 279)

Present location unknown



Fig. 9. James III farthing, second/first variety mule (? contemporary forgery; Linlithgow Friary) (enlargement; actual diameter c.10.0 × 11.0 mm).

6. Very crude contemporary forgery, apparently as first variety (Fig. 10).

Designs comprise arrangements of rectangular and lozenge-shaped blocks, apparently forming the outline of the upper part of a crown on one side, and approximating to part of a large saltire between two small ones on the other. Rectangular marks in 'legendary' circles.

Squarish flan with cut corners; 1.19 g

From excavations at Whithorn, Kirkcudbrightshire, 1987 (Holmes 1996, 348 no. 28)

Stranraer Museum



Fig. 10. Crude forgery of a James III farthing, first variety (Whithorn, Kirkcudbrightshire) (enlargement; actual diameter c.13 mm).

Discussion

Coin no. 1 is a normal second variety farthing except for the presence of the king's name and titles instead of the mint name in the reverse legend. This is, to the writer's knowledge, the first recorded example of this phenomenon on a coin of this type (although, as stated above, Stewart had by 1967 encountered an 'ecclesiastical' farthing with IACO on the reverse). Since the majority of excavated farthings have legends which are illegible as a result of a combination of poor striking and corrosion, it is at present impossible to state whether coins with the royal title on both sides constitute distinct varieties, or whether the known coins are simply the result of die-sinkers' errors.

The four coins (nos 2–5) which combine a second variety obverse with a first variety reverse make up an intriguing group, but since each of the coins is very different in appearance from all the others, it is difficult at present to know what to make of them. In particular, it is uncertain how many of them are official issues and how many are contemporary forgeries, but such doubt also exists in relation to many coins which belong to the previously defined types. There is considerable variation in diameter and weight, as well in style, between individual specimens. There is but one surviving documentary reference to counterfeit black money at this time,¹⁰ and it is hard to understand why anyone would have taken the trouble to strike such items, given the frequently attested unpopularity of the coins and the severity of the penalties for those convicted of forgery. (Copies of the roughly contemporary 'Crux Pellit' coppers are generally accepted to be of continental manufacture, and are very rarely found in Scotland.) Nonetheless, it seems probable that counterfeiting did take place, as some of the coins are clearly the products of very crudely engraved dies. Coin no. 5, from Linlithgow Friary, comes into this category, and no. 4, from Ayr, may do so as well, although its poor condition obscures details of the designs, particularly on the obverse. Coin no. 2, on the other hand, is relatively well struck, with a literate legend on at least the reverse, and this seems likely to be a product of an official mint. It is worth noting that these 'mule' coins can be seen to conform more closely to the description in the 1466 Act of Parliament than does either of the normal varieties. On one side ('the ta parte') are the saltire (the cross of St. Andrew) and the Edinburgh legend, and on the other side ('the tother parte') are the crown and an 'R with I' (for Iacobus/James).

Coin no. 6 is clearly open to various interpretations. Had it not been found during an archaeological excavation which also yielded many other fifteenth-century coins, including black farthings, there would have been no particular reason to associate it with these coins at all, but given its provenance the 'eye of faith' may be permitted to see an extremely crude attempt to reproduce the designs of a first variety farthing. Aside from the designs, this item resembles many genuine farthings in size and weight, and in having an angular flan. It would certainly not have fooled anyone who looked closely at it, but in the context of a religious building, and given the well-attested propensity for people to deposit foreign and counterfeit coins in church collections, its identification may perhaps be regarded as credible.

¹⁰ Cochran-Patrick 1876, vol. i, 35, document VII.

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A FARTHING OF HENRY VII WITH MINTMARK

LORD STEWARTBY

IN spite of the advent of metal detectors farthings of Henry VII have remained very rare. When the weight of a silver penny was lowered from 15 gr. to 12 gr. in Edward IV's recoinage, the farthing was reduced to 3 gr. At this weight the coin was so small as to be almost impracticable, and it is therefore no surprise that very few farthings seem to have been struck under Edward after 1464, or under Henry VII.

Lawrence was concerned about the difficulty of distinguishing between halfpence and farthings of this period.¹ He quoted Ruding's remark that, when a new type was adopted for the farthing in 1523, confusion between the two smallest denominations had been due to the fact that 'farthings and halfpennies were struck with one coin'.² This he very reasonably interpreted to mean that the same dies had been used for the striking of both denominations. He therefore suggested that the only means of telling them apart was by weight – if above 3 gr., halfpence; if below, farthings.

There is, however, a surer way of resolving the issue. Since it is now clear that the same dies were not used for both halfpence and farthings, the latter can be shown to have been struck from smaller dies. The key is the measurement of the beaded inner circle, 8–9 mm on halfpence, 6–7 mm on farthings. The difference is usually obvious to the eye.

All farthings of this reign published hitherto³ seem to be without mintmark, and to read *henric Di Gra Rex*, or *Rex A*, with or without saltire stops. However, a specimen that I was so fortunate as to obtain from Messrs Baldwin in 1999 shows a mintmark before the king's name and a consequent shortening of the inscription, *henric () Gra R*, with a saltire before *R*. The arch of the crown is lost in the dotted circle, but the cross on top of it is clear. To its right is a horizontal shank, terminating at the left end with two arms and a small point in the centre. The right end of this object is not fully visible as a result of ghosting of the reverse cross-end at this point, but it seems to have another limb on the lower side. This object is certainly not a letter, or part of one, since the *h* of the king's name is level with the side of the crown and

¹ Lawrence 1919, 265–8.

² Ruding 1840, I, 302.

³ e.g. *BNJ* 31 (1962), 122; Withers and Withers 2004, 45.

not above it. The only Henry VII mintmark that would fit what can be seen on the coin is anchor, which was probably introduced not long before 1500. The excrescence at the lower end on the right would be one of the flukes, while the two arms at the other end would represent the anchorstock.

The new farthing weighs 0.173 g (2.67 gr.), the deficiency of weight being at least in part due to its having a broken edge between 180° and 270°.



Fig. 1. Twice actual size.

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THE 1533 ISSUE OF JAMES V PLACKS

N.M.MCQ. HOLMES AND LORD STEWARTBY

IN the revised edition of *The Scottish Coinage*, I.H. Stewart (now Lord Stewartby) described and illustrated an example of a previously unknown type of billon plack, which he had obtained at the dispersal of the collection of H.J. Marr by Messrs Spink in 1965.¹ Despite the reverse being of the type normally found on placks of James IV, this coin was attributed to a post-1526 issue of James V, of which at that time no documentary record was known. Although discussion of this coin by Stewart, by R.B.K. Stevenson and by Mrs J.E.L. Murray continued in the late 1960s and early 1970s, nothing further was ever published. The recent acquisition by the National Museum of Scotland of a second coin of this type,² from different dies, has provided an impetus for this full publication of both coins along with an outline of that earlier research and the conclusions to which it led about the probable date of issue.

The two coins are illustrated in Figure 1. Although they are from different obverse and reverse dies, and the reverse of the Stewart coin shows evidence of double-striking, the readings appear to be identical and are as follows:

Obverse: + IACOBVS : DEI : GRÆ : REX : SCOTORVM; shield of arms of Scotland within tressure of four arcs; crown above and to each side of shield; annulets in upper two spandrels

Reverse: : VILL / A : DE : / EDIN / BVRG; floreate cross fourchée with plain saltire in middle; crowns in all four angles



Fig. 1. James V 1533 issue placks: (1) Stewartby collection, (2) National Museum of Scotland collection.

¹ Stewart 1967, 203 and 210, and Pl. XXII, 301.

² A metal-detector find from Seton Sands, East Lothian (2004); Bateson and Holmes 2006, 183 and 192.

The lettering is basically Roman in form, with lob-topped **A** as on the normal placks of James V, but the **G** is of a more Gothic form, resembling a figure 6 with incomplete loop. On the coin published by Stewart the **REX** has been overpunched on **SCO** in the die, but this is not the case on the NMS specimen.

One notable difference between the two obverse dies concerns the punches used for the crowns. On the Stewart coin the same large punch was used for the three crowns around the shield as was used for the reverse die (as noted by R.B.K. Stevenson in 1966; see below). On the NMS coin, however, there are two different crowns, with those on either side of the shield from a smaller punch than that used for the crown above the shield and those on the reverse.

The two coins are also markedly dissimilar in other respects. The Stewart coin is struck on a full flan, measuring 23.5 × 24.5 mm in diameter, with a weight of 2.06 g and a die axis of 315°. Its appearance is very coppery. The NMS coin is on an undersized flan of 23.0 mm diameter, with a weight of 1.57 g and a die axis of 120°. Surface enrichment remains, giving the coin an overall silvery appearance.

At the time when the first example of this issue came to light, R.B.K. Stevenson was already studying the plack coinages. His first recorded observations, in a letter to Stewart dated 18 August 1966, included a suggestion that the reverse die must have been made early in the reign of James V, since the design was that of the previous reign but the trefoil ornament at the end of the cross arms was as that on early placks of James V. Stevenson suggested that it must have been set aside as having an incorrect design and subsequently put into use, possibly in around 1526, in association with the groats with annulet stops, on account of the presence of the annulets on the obverse of the plack. After a period of further study of the series, Stevenson wrote again to Stewart on 20 March 1967. This letter included a more detailed comparison of aspects of the new coin with those on normal issues of James IV and V, but no further suggestions on dating.

A breakthrough came in the form of the discovery, by Mrs Murray, of a documentary reference which provided a context for the coinage. This was discussed, along with details of the Stewart coin, in a paper read by Mrs Murray at a meeting of the British Numismatic Society in January 1971. The following is an extract from the typescript of this paper.

In March 1533 the king ordered a coinage of billon, 120 stone weight coined, in placks or otherwise.³ The [specified] fineness, at two deniers, was probably lower than at the beginning of the reign, but presumably the currency value was again 4d. This may reflect the rise in the silver price, or a desire for an even higher rate of profit, to meet the urgent necessities which the king claimed; the stated reason for this coinage was frankly to raise money, both for ordinary expenses and for 'the resisting of our auld inemyis of Ingland quhilk dailie invadis our realme'.⁴ I suspect that the defence aspect was brought in to put the case in the most favourable light possible, since the history books don't mention any invasion then.

I found this record not long after Mr Stewart had secured a remarkable plack, which we independently decided must be dated to the period of James V's groats and abbey crowns.

Crowns and central saltire agree with James IV, but regnal numeral absent. Villa [instead of Oppidum in the reverse legend] would at first suggest not later than class I groats, but may be the result of copying from an earlier issue of placks. Annulets in spandrels, otherwise unknown. Lettering – ornamental O, C very distinctive, S that of the groats, not earlier Roman lettering placks. Broad unpeaked D and waisted I as late class III groats, broken I in class IV. Colon stops. Lion's tail. [The latter is a reference to an apparent annulet on the tail, as noted in Stevenson's letter of 20 March 1967, where he compared it with this feature also found on a few James IV placks with Old English lettering. He subsequently discussed this detail in his published paper on the groat coinage of James V.⁵]

If the whole of the 120 stones authorised in 1533 were struck, this issue of placks may have been spread over several years, but the lack of any other known specimen suggests that the issue was in fact smaller.

Mrs Murray did not remark on the difference in the form of the letter **G** from that used on other Roman letter placks, but this is not distinct in either legend of the only coin then available for study, although comparison with the NMS coin, on which this letter is particularly clear on the reverse, does demonstrate that the same letter form was used on all four dies.

³ The documents recording this are: *Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum* (RSS) vol. II, no. 1514; *Acts of the Lords of Council in Public Affairs* (ADCP), p. 399, 2 March 1533. The latter states the 'urgent necessite and defalt of money to furnis our expens'.

⁴ RSS II, 1514.

⁵ Stevenson 1991, 45.

The fact that, forty years after the publication of the first recorded specimen of this coinage, there is still only one other known to exist, despite the number of coins recovered by metal-detectorists in the intervening period, would tend to support the idea that far fewer of these coins were actually struck than had been authorised, but the possibility remains that others may not yet have been recognised, having been assigned to the reign of James IV without the detailed examination necessary to establish their true identity. Since we now know that at least two discrete pairs of dies were used for this coinage, it seems reasonable to assume that further examples of the issue remain to be discovered.

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MEDIEVAL AND LATER COINS FROM NEAR ORFORD CASTLE, SUFFOLK

RICHARD KELLEHER

Introduction

THE coins discussed below were found with the aid of a metal detector by Mr Alan Calver in fields surrounding Orford Castle in Suffolk over a period of 10 years. Mr Calver has exclusive access to fields around the castle by permission of the landowner and the present writer is indebted to him for kindly making his finds available for examination and reporting.

Site background

Orford Castle near the River Ore at Orford on the Suffolk coast is one of the iconic fortifications of the twelfth century. It was built between 1165 and 1173 by Henry II at a cost of over £1,413. The building of a castle at this location has traditionally been seen as an attempt by Henry II to assert the power of the crown, particularly as the powerful baron Hugh Bigod, earl of Norfolk (1095–1177) dominated the area from his castle at nearby Framlingham.¹ The period of castle building at Orford was accompanied by a series of other local alterations and improvements which are helpfully documented in the Pipe Rolls. These included the draining of surrounding marshland which helped shelter the port and provide extra farmland, and the building of a causeway and a tidal mill. These works signify a shift in the significance of Orford, at least in the short-term. In Domesday Orford was a part of the manor of Sudbourne and is not mentioned as a separate entity until the market and tolls of Orford were granted by Robert Malet to a priory at Eye between 1071 and 1100.² In the following centuries Orford became a thriving little port.

The coins

Figure 1 shows the location of the castle and its immediate environment, indicating the fields in which the coin finds were made. Precise findspots were not recorded for each coin but the general trend, as observed by the finder, was that the medieval pieces clustered in field A

¹ See Allan Brown *et al.* 1963. Recent research suggests that the positioning of the castle might also have served to protect the coastline against invasion by continental allies of Thomas Becket during his exile: Potter *et al.* 2002, 36.

² Potter *et al.* 2002, 44.

and diminished in number through fields B and C. The seventeenth-century material was said to have been found almost exclusively in the south-western edge of field C, along with contemporary objects such as musket balls.

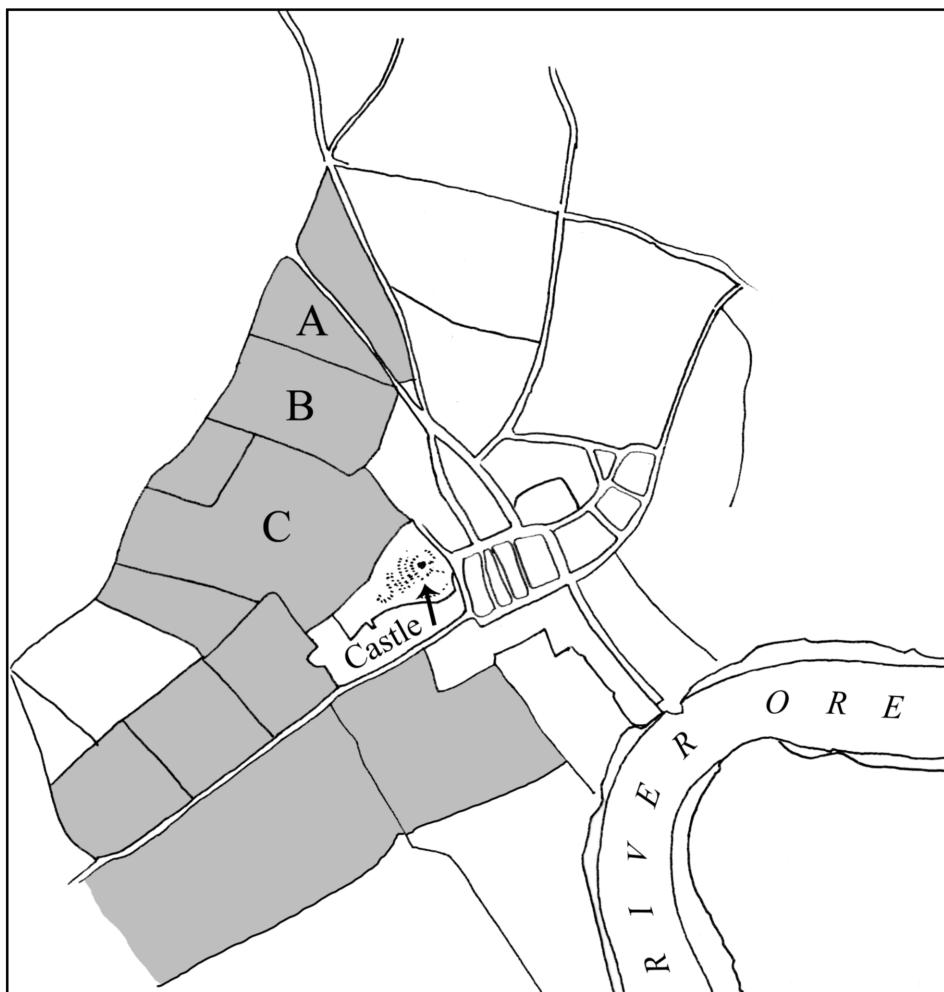


Fig. 1. Location map showing Orford Castle and the fields where coins have been found (indicated by shading).

Seventy-seven coins and five jettons have so far been recovered from the area and the coins are summarised in Tables 1 and 2 below. They fall broadly into two groups; the first peaks with issues struck in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and the second from around 1560.

TABLE 1. Medieval coins by period.

	<i>Penny</i>	<i>Halfpenny</i>	<i>Farthing</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Total</i>
Short Cross	8	1	2	—	11
Long Cross	0	5	2	—	7
1279–1351	5*	3	1 ³	—	9*
1351–1412	3*	0	0	—	3*
1412–1464/5	1*	1	0	—	2*
1464/5–1544	1*	0	0	1	2*
<i>Total</i>	18(+3)	10	5	1	34(+3)

* three coins could not be definitely attributed but fall somewhere in these periods

³ Although not a common occurrence, this coin appears to have been deliberately cut into a quarter penny. This practice belongs to the earlier Long Cross phases and preceding times, when no provision was made for striking fractional denominations.

TABLE 2. Post-medieval coins by reign and issue.

	12d	6d	4d	3d	2d	1½	1	¼	Total
Henry VIII – 3 rd coinage	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	1
Mary	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	2
Elizabeth I – 1 st issue	–	–	3	–	–	–	–	–	3
Elizabeth I – 2 nd issue	–	5	–	3	1	3	1	–	13
Elizabeth I – 3 rd issue	1	1	–	–	3	–	–	–	5
James I	–	–	–	–	2	–	1	–	3
Charles I AR	1	–	–	–	2	–	2	–	5
Charles AE	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	3
Charles II	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	1
1685–1800	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	1
1801–1900	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
<i>Total</i>	3	6	7	3	8	3	5	3	38

Despite the intense level of activity that would have accompanied the castle-building phase we have no coin finds in our area until the class 4b Short Cross penny of John (struck c.1200–1204). The Cross-and-Crosslets coins of the previous issue are, in comparative terms, much more of a rarity than Short Cross, but even so one might have expected to make finds, consistent with the presence of a large workforce in Orford for a period of some years in the 1160s and 70s. Perhaps the masons were careful with their wages, or maybe our later finds represent losses that allude to a rather more everyday activity – a market site. It was suggested above that the medieval finds concentrate in field A; it could further be suggested that the coins are losses accumulated by the presence of a minor market in or close to field A. As noted above an early market is mentioned at Orford in a grant of the late eleventh century, but there is little else to confirm its existence until 1298, when one is recorded as being held by Robert de Ufford.⁴ If the market was already in existence prior to 1298 then the chronological spread of coin finds could suggest just such a phase of activity in the hundred or so years up to and following this date. The site lends itself to such activity, located on the main road on the northern fringe of the village. When documentary evidence is completely absent, market and fair sites can sometimes be posited from coin finds alone. A site at the Albany near Ipswich yielded 45 coins, and has been interpreted as the location of an otherwise undocumented minor fair.⁵ The finds at the Ipswich site show a broadly similar pattern to Orford in the dominance of late twelfth to late thirteenth century pieces.⁶

Figure 2 shows the consistent pattern of losses with a clear peak in the Short Cross phase (12 coins). Although the Long Cross phase has only seven coins, one must remember this period is shorter than its predecessor, and calculating coins lost per year gives results of 0.18/year against 0.17/year respectively. The Edwardian sterling period then follows with ten finds, which is probably less than we might expect given their comparative proliferation as metal detector and excavation finds. The final three periods see minimal loss but this does not necessarily signify an economic downturn as several factors could contribute to this pattern. The bullion famine in this later period meant that many coins struck after 1279 continued in use through the weight reductions of 1351, 1412, and 1464/5; this is supported by copious excavation, single-find and hoard evidence over the country as a whole. Most of the pennies of Edward I and II at Orford are of good weight, indicating they were lost earlier rather than later, but the halfpennies of Edward III do show wear, suggesting longer use and deposition in the fifteenth century. A curious piece is illustrated as Figure 3 below. It is a sterling penny

⁴ S. Letters, *Online Gazetteer of Markets and Fairs in England Wales to 1516*, citing *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem*, iii, no. 469.

⁵ Newman 1994, 129.

⁶ Ibid. The Albany losses begin somewhat earlier than those at Orford with a single cut farthing of Stephen. Direct comparisons between the two sites are impossible because the Cross-and-crosslet and Short Cross issues up to 1216 are combined in the Albany table, as are the 1216–47 Short Cross and Long Cross issues, and the reigns of the three Edwards.

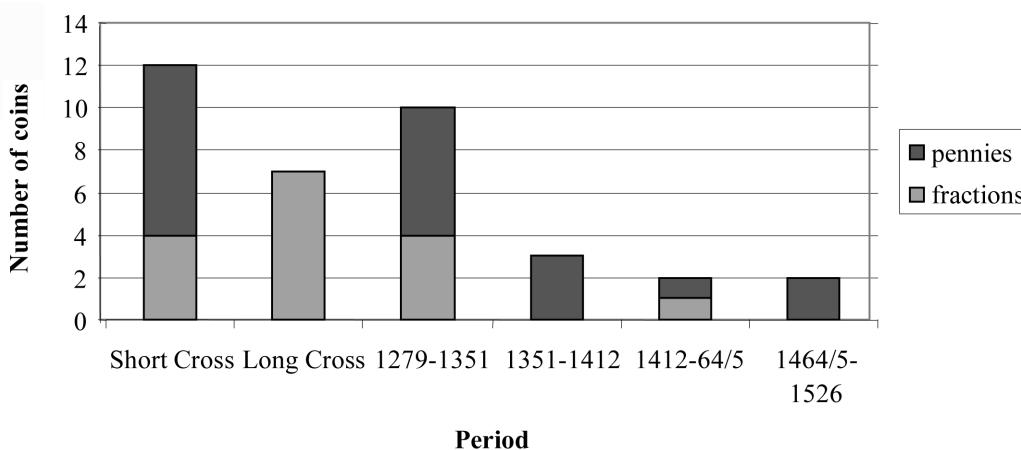


Fig. 2. Denominational and chronological spread of medieval coin finds.

of Edward I which appears to have been cut down to form either a halfpenny which was subsequently broken or an intentional farthing in the same fashion that we see in the issues before 1279.⁷ If this is genuinely cut (and the straight edges certainly give that impression) then it supports contemporary concerns over the lack of provision of halfpennies and farthings after Edward's recoinage, which proscribed the cutting of one's own change. Cut coins of this type are uncommon but comparable examples have been found at Meols on the Wirral coast.⁸



Fig. 3. The 'cut' sterling penny.

There are also three pennies that cannot be more accurately identified than to the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries. The full penny to fraction ratio is 21:16. It has been suggested elsewhere that a coin loss profile with a significant proportion of cut halves and quarters is an indicator of a degree of sophistication in coin use.⁹ If so the Long Cross phase is distinctive in its coins being cut fractions only, and this might therefore represent a more active phase at the site.

The post-1526 profile is modest apart from the peak of thirteen coins of Elizabeth I's Second issue. At first glance an explanation of this could be that some or all of the coins are from a purse hoard scattered by the plough. While not disregarding the possible presence of a purse hoard within this group it is more likely that the majority are in fact single losses made up until the great recoinage of 1696, when all the old hammered issues were removed from circulation. The survival of Tudor small change (especially of Mary and Elizabeth) into the

⁷ E. Screen (*pers. comm.*) has suggested that examination of the edges under a microscope could indicate whether the coin had been cut or broken. This method has been successfully applied to Anglo-Saxon coins: see Screen 2006.

⁸ Metcalf 1977, 10; a recent listing of the Meols material with discussion by Simon Bean appears in Griffiths *et al.* 2007, 304–50. This includes coins of Edward I–III cut into halfpennies (4), a farthing (1) and a round halfpenny cut in two, *Ibid.*, 318. A discussion of the small change shortage in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries appears in Allen, 2007, 192–4. He describes a petition of 1445–6 which asserts that 'travellers were being obliged to break pennies in two to pay for a halfpenny purchase . . . '.

⁹ Bateson 1989, 183.

Stuart period and beyond has been discussed by Barrie Cook for South Ferriby,¹⁰ and the finds from Orford should be viewed as subject to the same processes. Both assemblages show similarities in the low number of royal farthing tokens of Charles I: there are just three at Orford, against a much larger proportion of contemporary silver issues.

Conclusion

Small assemblages where find spot information is known have a part to play in illuminating something of the past character and development of sites. The physical remains combined with documentary evidence tell us of the castle building at Orford, and archaeology is beginning to fill the gaps regarding the more prosaic elements of the structure of the town. What detector finds can add is some indication of the prosperity and function of particular locations around the town; in this case revealing a potential candidate for Orford's medieval market.

CATALOGUE

Coins on display in Orford Castle Museum and unavailable for examination are indicated by schedule numbers in bold in the catalogue. Numbers 10 and 77 were only recently discovered and were identified from a low-resolution scan. Conventions are as follows: underlined = ligatured; nr = weight not recorded; c = corroded; f = fragment; sw = some wear; w = wear; ew = extremely worn; b = broken; ds = double struck; ch = chipped; cl = clipped; p = pierced; i = incomplete.

Short Cross coinage (1180–1247)

1. 4b	London	Willelm	1d.	+WILLELM.ON.LVND	1.04 g
2. 5a2	Lincoln	Alain	1d.		1.30 g
3. 5b1	Canterbury	Goldwine	1d.	+GOLDWINE.ON.C	1.19 g
4. 7bD	London	Elis	1d.		1.34 g
5–8.			1d.		nr
9.			½		nr
10.			½	[]NLVNDE	nr
11.			¼		nr
12. Irish			¼		

Long Cross coinage (1247–79)

13. 1–4	uncertain	uncertain	½	[]E	0.26 g	c,f
14. 3a	London	Nicole	½	[]OLE ONL	0.65 g	
15. 3a-c	Shrewsbury	Peris	½	PER[]SE'	0.59 g	
16. 3c	London	Nicole	½	[]OLE ONL	0.71 g	
17. 3–4a	uncertain	Nicole	¼	[]HIC[]	0.38 g	
18. 4–7	London/Cant	Nicole	¼	[]OLE[]	0.23 g	
19. 5a–7	Canterbury	uncertain	½	[]ON CAN	0.64 g	w

Edward I-II (1272–1327)

Pennies

20. 4a-c	Canterbury				1.19 g	w,ch
21. 9b ¹	uncertain		this coin appears to have been deliberately cut		0.29 g	b?
22. 10cf	London				1.32 g	
23. 10cf ²	London				1.22 g	
24. 10cf ^{3a}	London				1.22 g	
25. 10cf ^{3b}	London				1.07 g	

Edward III (1327–77)

Second 'star-marked' coinage halfpennies (1335–43)

26. 4b	London	* after ANG and DON	0.55 g	w
27. (?)4	London		0.53 g	w,ch

Florin coinage (1344–51)

28. halfpenny	London		0.49 g	b
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Pre-treaty series (1351–61)

29. Series C penny	Durham		1.05 g	
30. Series C penny	London		0.55 g	b
31. Series D penny	London		0.40 g	b,ch

¹⁰ Cook *et al.* 1998, 105.

14th-15th century uncertain

32. Penny	York		0.84 g	w, ch
33. Penny			0.48 g	w, cl

Henry IV – Edward IV uncertain

34. Penny			0.45 g	w, cl
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Henry V (1413–22)

35. Penny, class G (?)	York		0.73 g	w, ch
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Henry VI (first reign 1422–61)

Leaf-trefoil issue (1435–38)				
36. Halfpenny	London	saltire stops, leaf on breast	0.41 g	

Henry VII (1485–1509)

37. Groat, profile			2.01 g	w, i
38. 'Sovereign' penny	Durham (Abp Sherwood), D to left of shield		0.57 g	w

Henry VIII (1509–47)

Third coinage (1544–47)				
39. Penny	London	no i.m.	0.29 g	b

Mary (1553–58)

40. Groat (sole reign 1553–4)			1.87 g	ds
41. Groat (sole reign 1553–4)			1.01 g	ew

Elizabeth I (1558–1603),***First issue (1558–61)***

42. Groat	156?	i.m. martlet	1.91 g	
43. Groat	?		1.40 g	w
44. Groat	?		1.10 g	vw

Second issue (1561–82)

45. Sixpence	1561	i.m. pheon	2.59 g	w
46. Sixpence	1561	[i.m. pheon]	nr	
47. Threepence	1562		nr	
48. Sixpence	1563	i.m. pheon	2.71 g	sw
49. Threepence	1563		0.52 g	
50. Threepence	1563		nr	
51. Threepence	1564		nr	
52. Sixpence	1565	i.m. coronet	2.59 g	w
53. Penny	1567–70	i.m. coronet	0.52 g	sw
54. Sixpence	1575		nr	
55. Threepence	157(8?)	i.m. plain cross	1.23 g	
56. Threepence	1582	i.m. sword	1.43 g	p
57. Halfgroat	1582/3	i.m. bell	0.83 g	w

Third issue (1583–1603)

58. Halfgroat	1589/90–91/2	i.m. hand	0.77 g	
59. Halfgroat	1589/90–91/2	i.m. hand	0.72 g	vw
60. Sixpence	159[]			

Uncertain

61. (?) halfgroat	illegible		0.50 g	vw
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Irish 'fine' coinage of 1561

62. Shilling			0.15 g	f
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James I (1603–25)***First coinage (1603–04)***

63. Halfgroat	i.m. thistle		0.74 g	
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Second coinage (1604–19)

64. Halfgroat	i.m. illegible		0.76 g	w
65. Penny	no initial marks		0.53 g	sw

Charles I (1625–49)

66. Shilling	group D, fourth bust	i.m. ?harp (1628–9)	4.52 g	w, c
67. Halfgroat	group D, fourth bust	i.m. star (1640–1)	0.81 g	w
68. Halfgroat	group D, fourth bust	i.m. star (1640–1)	0.75 g	w, ch
69. Penny	group D, fourth bust	i.m. pellet	0.50 g	p
70. Penny	group D, E or G	i.m. two pellets	0.48 g	w, ds
71–3. Rose farthing tokens		i.m. crescent	0.93 g, 0.80 g, 0.70 g	

Charles II (1660–85)

74. Fourpence	1679	nr	ch
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Anne (1702–14)

75. Fourpence	1710	2.02 g
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Victoria (1837–1901)

76. Shilling	1860	surface appears to have been heavily beaten
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3.05 g

SCOTLAND*Alexander III (1249–86)*

77. Penny	Second coinage (c.1280–), probably class Mb	nr	ch
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Jettons

78. France (c.1364–1422)	Mitchiner 429 var.	1.92 g
79. France (c.1380–1422)	Mitchiner cf. 465	3.21 g
80. France – Tournai (c.1415–97)	Mitchiner 624	6.13 g
81. France – Tournai (c.1497–1521)	Mitchiner 756	6.25 g
82. Nuremburg – Matheus Laufer (Master 1612, died 1634)	Mitchiner 1695	1.49 g

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A TOKEN-ISSUING MERCER OF WITNEY

ALAN WERGE-HARTLEY

THE family history of a seventeenth-century token issuer in Witney, Oxfordshire, connects him with an issuer in Burford, Oxfordshire, and also to Scandinavia or Germany. His copper-alloy tokens,¹ which may be assumed to have been farthings, have on each of two obverses a shield bearing the Maiden (the device of the Mercers' Company) surrounded by the name RALPH·WERGE, and on their common reverse the inscription OF·WITTNEY·1653 around ·W·R·M· (see Fig. 1).

¹ Williamson 1889–91, 937, Oxfordshire 244; Milne 1935 nos 180–1; Norweb 1993 nos 3849–50.



Fig. 1. Obverses A and B, Reverse 1.

These letters stand for Werge, Ralph and Mary, see below. The second obverse die could indicate an output of more than £20 worth of farthings, unless the first wore out prematurely.²

Ralph Werge was indeed a mercer of Witney in the middle of the seventeenth century. The Worshipful Company of Mercers is the premier livery company of the City of London, with records dating back to 1348. The term 'mercery' was first mentioned in the 1130s with the meaning 'wares or merchandise', but it came to refer specifically to luxury fabrics. The Maiden of the Mercers' Company appeared in 1425 on their first seal.³

The Werge family was located in Oxfordshire from the sixteenth century.⁴ Their name is of Scandinavian or German origin, and can still be found in southern Norway, Denmark, and northern Germany. In those countries, although the spelling may be the same, the pronunciation is *vergay*, but in sixteenth-century England it was quickly anglicized, the *v* becoming *w*, and pronounced *werg* with a hard *g*, or *werj* with a soft *j*, and with a variety of spellings.⁵ Seventeen variants are known, and even Ralph used or permitted the use of *Wirg*, *Wirge*, *Werg*, *Werge* and *Wyrge*, the last being the signature on his will.⁶

Ralph Werge, the youngest son of Thomas and Margaret Wirge of Chipping Norton in Oxfordshire, was christened in the parish church on 27 July 1604, in the second year of the reign of James I. The town was a major wool trading centre, with a market established in the thirteenth century, and in 1607 the town was granted a Royal Charter.⁶ Both of his parents had been born in the town, and his grandfather Thomas Wyrge lived there. On 5 April 1630, at the age of twenty-six, Ralph married Mary Goodwin at Great Rollright, four miles to the north, and they moved south to Witney on the river Windrush, a town noted for blanket-making. There his wife bore him two sons and four daughters, who were all christened at the parish church of St Mary.⁷

He was a mercer in Witney for thirty years. In 1653 he issued his farthing token, presumably to cope with the shortage of small change under the Commonwealth. The Ashmolean Museum *Catalogue of Oxfordshire Seventeenth-century Tokens* refers to his hearth tax payments, the variations in his signature appended to the minutes of Vestry meetings of St. Mary's, and to his service as churchwarden in 1638 and 1659.⁸ Milne concluded that Ralph Werge was buried on 30 September 1685, but this is incorrect.

² Thompson 1994, 110–12.

³ <http://www.mercers.co.uk>. The sole surviving complete impression from the 1425 seal is illustrated in Sutton 1998, 8.

⁴ Wills from 1559 naming individuals called Wirge [Wearge, Weerge, Werge, Wergg, Wergge, Wirg, Wrigge, Wyrge] are indexed in Barratt 1981–85, 589.

⁵ Bahlow 1967, 135, 138, 521 relates Verg(e) to Ferg and Fehr, meaning 'ferryman'.

⁶ Weinbaum 1943, 93.

⁷ Oxfordshire Family History Society, *Witney births, marriages and deaths* [microfiche].

⁸ Milne 1935, 47.

He made his will on 9 August 1664, 'being sicke of body but of perfect mind and good remembrance', and it may be assumed that he died almost immediately since the will was proved on 28 September 1664 at the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.⁹ The actual date and place of his burial are not known because there is a gap in the Witney burial records from April 1652 to August 1678, but the grave would have been within the parish church since his widow Mary, in her 1682 will, expressed a wish to be buried 'in the parish church of Witney aforesaid by my late husband Ralph Werge deceased'.

His sons John and Ralph predeceased him. His eldest daughter Elizabeth married John Sindrey of Burford in 1652; the second daughter, Mary, married Richard Broome of Oxford in 1664; Hester was born and died in 1643; and the youngest, Sara, born in 1648, was still unmarried at the age of thirty-four when her mother made her will in 1682.

Ralph Werge was reasonably prosperous, owning houses and land. His will ensured that Mary had a generous provision for life and, in what must have been a mark of his confidence in her abilities, made her the sole executor. He gave thoughtfully to his relations (including his second-best hat), donated alms to eighty of the parish poor,¹⁰ and asked to be buried in the church or churchyard.

Ralph's son in law John Sindrey was a member of the Worshipful Company of Grocers (or Grossers), who were bulk importers of spices, drugs and tobacco, and were responsible until 1666 for regulating the use of the King's Beam for weighing heavy imported goods.¹¹ He issued a token in 1653 which had many similarities in design to the token of his father-in-law, and they may have been ordered at the same time. Other Oxfordshire tokens dated 1653 may be noted, even though they shed little light on the process by which tokens were ordered from the moneymen in the Tower of London:¹²

Banbury: Manasses Plumton, Fruiterers' arms (Milne 15), or **MANASLES** with a tree (Milne 16; Dickinson 14A; Norweb iv.3574).

Burford: E[dmund] C[astle] at the Three Sugar-loaves (Williamson 47; Milne 45; Norweb iv.3607).

Burford: John Sindrey, Grocers' arms (Williamson 52; Milne 53; Norweb iv.3602).

Obv. ·JOHN·SINDRIY· around the Grocers' arms

Rev. ·OF·BVRFORD·1653 around ·S· above I · E, signifying Sindrey, John and Elizabeth [née Werge] (Fig. 2).

Deddington: Thomas Nutt, mercer (Williamson 82; Milne 84; Norweb iv.3630).

Thame: John Burges, Unicorn (Williamson 195; Milne 123; Norweb iv.3787).

Witney: Ralph Werge, Mercers' arms (Williamson 244; Milne 180–81; Norweb iv.3849–50).

Woodstock: T[homas] P[aynter] at the Three Cups (Williamson 249; Milne 186; Norweb iv.3860).



Fig. 2. Token of John Sindrey of Burford.

⁹ PRO/National Archives, Prob/11/315.

¹⁰ 'Item I give and bequeath more unto my said brother Robert Werg my best cloake to be delivered unto him presently after my decease together with my second best hatt. Also it is my will that the three pounds herein bequeathed to Sara Werg daughter of Charles Werg of Witney shall be paid unto her father Charles Werg for her use within three yeares next after my decease. Item I give and bequeath unto the poor people of the parish of Witney forty shillings to be paid unto them att my funerall or the morrow next after by six pence a house. And lastly I give and bequeath unto Mary Werg my wife all the rest of my estate whatsoever unbequeathed. And I make her whole and sole executrix of this my present will. And I entreat my loveing friend Mr John Dodd and my loveing cosen Thomas Werg to be my overseers of this my present last will and testament. And for their paines taking herein I give and bequeath unto each of them two shillings and six pence apeece to buy them gloves.'

¹¹ <http://www.grocershall.co.uk>.

¹² Thompson 1989.

Mary Werge probably died in December 1687, for the parish records note the burial of a Mrs Werge on 16 December, the honorific, and the lack of a Christian name, probably indicating a proper respect for a prominent and aged parishioner. Her will was proved by her son-in-law Richard Broome on 17 April 1688 at the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.¹³ Despite much of her property being hers only for life (as indicated in Ralph's will), she was able to leave her unmarried daughter Sarah well provided for, with many items of furniture and £300, together with further bequests to her daughter Mary, her grandchildren, and others, amounting to £75 10s. 0d. Her house was evidently well furnished, and the proper disposal of the contents was important to her, as can be seen in the detailed descriptions of pieces bequeathed to specified persons, and the fact that, five years before her death, many items were marked in chalk with the initials of the intended recipient.¹⁴

Ralph and Mary Werge were two ordinary people who lived during an eventful period of English history: the reign of James I; Charles's problems with Parliament, followed by the Civil War when the royal court was centred on the Oxford colleges (1642–46); the Commonwealth of the Lord Protector Oliver Cromwell, who slighted the defences of Oxford in 1651; the Restoration of the monarchy in the person of Charles II, and the brief reign of James II. Ralph was born the year after Queen Elizabeth I died, and Mary died the year before the Glorious Revolution ushered in the joint rule of William and Mary. In the midst of change and turmoil they seem to have lived quiet, God-fearing lives of service to their family, and to the town of Witney, leaving two wills, and some tokens.

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¹³ PRO/National Archives, Prob/11/391.

¹⁴ 'Item. I give and bequeath unto my daughter Sarah Wirge three hundred pounds of lawfull English mony to be paid her within six moneths next after my decease by my executor hereinafter named. Moreover I give and bequeath unto my said daughter Sarah Wirge one bedsted standing in my best chamber with the curtaines and valense and all the other materialls thereunto belonging and alsoe one feather bed two flock beds foure bolsters foure blanquets two greene ruggs foure pillowes one compter-paine four carpets one red coverlid one round table all the chaires and stooles fringed with greene and yellow all my wrought chaires and stooles which usually stand in my best chamber six cushions marked with the letters S W and all other things whatsoever marked with the same letters and the two chests in the hall chamber and alsoe one paire of andirons one paire of tongs one fire shovell and one paire of fire doggs standing in my best chamber a folding bed and foure joint stooles my biggest brasse pann one brasse kettle and all manner of brasse pewter linnen and woollen with all other things that shall bee found at my decease within the chest given to her by her uncle John Kendall deceased. Likewise I give her all my books not already bequeath and one halfe of my wearing clothes and the other halfe of them I give unto my said daughter Mary Broome to bee equally devideid betweene them except such as I shall by order other wayes dispose of.'

'Item. I give to my neice Elizabeth Goodin one trunke marked with E G with chalke and all that shall be found therein at my decease to be delivered to her when shee shall bee sixteene yeaeres of age.'

OCTAGONAL TOKENS FROM WAPPING FOUND NEAR SHUDY CAMPS, CAMBRIDGESHIRE, AND ASSOCIATED FINDS

R.H. THOMPSON

THE seven octagonal tokens of the seventeenth century recorded here were kept together because they could not be identified by the finders, Mr and Mrs Bob Spall, who also found the Ashdon hoard.¹ Identification of the tokens, however, raises as many questions as it answers. They were not found together but singly, over more than twenty-five years, while metal-detecting in an area which, though only about sixteen miles wide, extends from South Cambridgeshire (Shudy Camps) into north Essex.

Yet all seven are from the same dies of the same rare type. The low relief, of the engraved obverse in particular, makes reading and photography difficult, but reading *Greene* in the third line took one via an index of 'Token Toponyms' to Green Bank in Wapping, which still exists in London E1, curving with the Thames just north of Wapping High Street. The token is not in Williamson, but is catalogued in Dickinson as London 3321B.²

Michael Dickinson, amongst other help, kindly reports that this derived from John Wetton's reporting of his specimen ('Unrecorded' no. 9, according to Nigel Clark) as:

*Oby. John Packman at ye Greene Bancke in Wapinn
Rev. HIS.HALF.PENY I.E.P. Woman holding Anchor. Octagonal.*

By mistake in the abbreviated entry D.3321B he gave the denomination as a farthing. The surname is corrected below, but from none of the specimens is it possible to be sure of *at ye* (though there is space for that), to read a final *e* to *Bancke*, or a second *n* to *Wapinn*, but happily the location is not in doubt.

It is likely that the Wetton specimen was the same as that in Roger Shuttlewood's collection, auctioned by Spink in 2001, although only *John* was certain on the obverse. The destination of that specimen has not been ascertained.³ The token seems to have been known only from this and one other specimen until the finding of seven in South Cambridgeshire or nearby. These are unexplained, but seven finds remote from their place of origin probably indicate a dispersed hoard, even though nothing in the finding suggested a hoard. Their condition varied, with verdigris present on just two specimens. Perhaps there was dumping of rubbish from Wapping when it became feasible to transport it the length of Essex, or the deposit of spoil from excavations in Wapping for the London Docks, opened in 1805. It is believed that there have been no such deposits since London Docks were closed in 1969, and redeveloped from 1981. In the same metal-detecting area a few other London tokens have been identified, from St Clements Lane and Turnmill Street.

Associated finds

The following six tokens were also unidentified by the finders:

1. Cambridge: Bryan, William, 1652. Williamson Cambs. 20, as Norweb i.370.
2. Catworth, Gt: Talbott, John, 1668 1/2d. Williamson Hunts. 3, as Norweb iii.2314.
3. Goswell Street (Finsbury): Haines, Robert, nd 1/2d. Williamson London 1193.
4. The Grange (Bermondsey): Red Cow: Price, Tho., nd 1/2d. Williamson Southwark 238N, as Norweb v.4917.
5. Bartholomew Close (City, Farringdon ward Without): [Kempe, Richard?], 1664.

Acknowledgements: I owe the challenging photography to the skills of Mr Philip Mernick.

¹ Blackburn 1989, 13-14.

² Dickinson 1986, 155.

³ Spink 15 March 2001, lot 649 (part).

Obv. Turk's head, no letters visible

Rev. ·IN· | GREAT·ST^T | BARTHOL | MEWES | CLOASE | 1664

Williamson -, cf. London 129 and Norweb vii.6521 (1666 1/2d.). Chipped and pierced.

6. *Obv.* ·WILL·GIVE·FOR·THIS·A·PENY·1670 around arms

Rev. ·HIS·HALFE·PENNY·1667 around merchant's mark. Overstruck by the dies of Williamson, Shropshire 5, = Norweb iv.3879.⁴

Examination of the octagonal tokens

Obv. John [clear beyond doubt]

Prestman [Pre. . . man is clear in a slanting light, and st is likely]

... Greene [before that word any letters are illegible, but at y^e is possible]

Banck in [there seems to be corrosion between the two words]

Wappin [both ppin and any subsequent letters are uncertain]

Rev. ·HIS·HALF·PENY around an anchor supported by the right hand of a facing figure in a long dress with a belt around her waist (or wearing a jacket), on her head a 'bun' of hair or a small hat, upon her extended left hand two birds, and below it the letters P | I E. *Octagonal.* 21–22 mm.



Fig. 1.

Weights (corrected to two decimal places):

0° (1): 1.23 g.

180° (5): 0.96, 1.57, 1.89, 2.06, 2.67 g.

? (1 with obverse totally obscured by verdigris): weight not recorded.

On signboards a female figure accompanied by an anchor personifies Hope, as suggested by Hebrews 6:19, 'Which hope we have as an anchor of the soul', and the usual name of the sign is Hope & Anchor.⁵ The only token in the Norweb Collection with such a device is the halfpenny of Richard James in Nightingale Lane.⁶ The two birds may be doves from Noah's ark, so reinforcing the message of hope. They do not have the appearance of crows, birds which were associated with Hope through supposedly calling *Cras, cras*, Latin for 'Tomorrow, tomorrow'.⁷ This particular establishment was named, vice versa, as the Anchor & Hope, the earliest evidence for which seems to be the tokens. Otherwise the tavern was recorded from 'before 1746' to 1855, noted by Dodsley as having given its name to Anchor and Hope Alley.⁸ This alley ran north off Green Bank from at least 1695 (see the will below); it was shown at no. 41 on Gascoyne's 1703 map 'The Hamlet of Wapping Stepney', and also on later maps until it was absorbed in 1891 into Red Lion Street. This street in 1938 became Reardon Path and Reardon Street.⁹

As a variation on round tokens John Prestman's belongs to the last phase of the phenomenon, octagonals in particular being dated 1667–71.¹⁰ The following in the published parts of the Norweb Collection bear witness:

⁴ On the reverse at least, see Dickinson (forthcoming).

⁵ Larwood and Hotten 1866, 333; 1951, 202; Dunkling and Wright 1987, 127.

⁶ Williamson 1889–91, London 2072.

⁷ Hall 1974, 156.

⁸ Lillywhite 1972, no. 2234, citing 'Dodsley 1761' in the typescript at Guildhall Library.

⁹ Gascoyne 1995; LCC 1929, 425, 573; 1955, 623, 865.

¹⁰ Boon 1992, 345; Greenall 1993.

1667: i.516; iii.2565, 2777; v.4807.
1668: ii.1346, 1422; iii.1955, 2575–6, 2759; v.4200, 4220, 4741, 4999, 5076; vi.5635–6; vii.7602, 7608, 7668.
1669: i.259; ii.1625, 1680–1, 1706; iii.2158, 2406, 2739, 2785, 2951–4; iv.3430, 3596, 3911; v.4214, 4365 [clipped], 4832–3, 5290; vi.5908, 6376.
1670: i.520; ii.1765; iii.1981; iv.3431–4; v.4201; vi.6380.
1671: iii.2824; v.4235; vi.6039–40.

Documentation

The will of John Presman senior, mariner, dated 14 February 1694[–5], was proved in the Commissary Court of London on 16 August 1698 by his daughter Anna Maria Clarke:

To son John Presman that messuage he now lives in, at the lower end of Salters Alley near Green Bank, and one shilling;
 to granddaughter Elizabeth Beckford one messuage containing five rooms in Anchor and Hope Alley;
 to granddaughter Rachel Barber two messuages in Anchor and Hope Alley and Pump Alley;
 to granddaughter Mary Clarke the house next that I live in now (all in Stepney);
 to daughter Anna Maria Clarke household stuff and the residue of the estate; she to be executrix.¹¹

Presumably his son was the John Presman of Stepney, carver, aged about 26, who intended on 3 May 1676 to marry Mary Wilkinson of the same parish, widow, aged about 28.¹²

Thanks to the finding of seven specimens near Shudy Camps, Cambridgeshire, the description of the token can be (incompletely) revised as follows.

WAPPING (Middlesex). Green Bank

[*Anchor & Hope tavern*]: Prestman, John, [mariner, d. 1695x8]. Undated 1/2d. [1667x71].

Obv: John | Prestman | [at y^e?] Greene | Banck in | Wappin |

Rev: · HIS · HALF · PENY around an Anchor supported by the right hand of [Hope], a facing female figure, on her extended left hand two birds, and below her hand P | I E *Octagonal.*
 Dickinson, London 3321B but *Prestman*, 1/2d., *Banck*.

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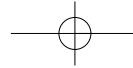
LCC: London County Council, 1955 (4th edn). *Names of Streets and Places in the Administrative County of London* (London).

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¹¹ Commissary Court of London, Register of Wills, 1698–1699 (Guildhall Library MS 9171/49), f.175v.

¹² Harl. 34, 1892, 168.



COIN REGISTER 2008

EDITED BY MARTIN ALLEN, IAN LEINS AND SAM MOORHEAD

THE Coin Register provides a platform for the publication of unusual and remarkable single coin finds from Britain and Ireland. All Celtic, pre-conquest Roman, Roman silver prior to AD 64, Roman gold and late Roman silver coins from the fourth century onwards are welcomed, as are Anglo-Saxon, Norman or Plantagenet coins and their continental contemporaries (down to and including the Cross-and-Crosslets (Tealby) type of Henry II), and most later medieval continental coins. However, coins outside these categories will still be considered for their numismatic interest. As always, the essential criterion for inclusion will be that the coin is new, by virtue of either being newly found or (if previously discovered) being hitherto unpublished. Single finds from archaeological excavations may be included if it seems that there would otherwise be a considerable delay in publication.

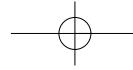
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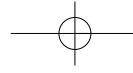
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BMCCC	D. Allen, <i>Catalogue of Celtic Coins in the British Museum with Supplementary Material from other British Sources</i> , ed. M. Mays, 3 vols (London, 1987–95).	North	J.J. North, <i>English Hammered Coinage</i> , vol. I (3rd edition, London, 1994).
BMCIA	R. Hobbs, <i>British Iron Age Coins in the British Museum</i> (London, 1996).	Poey D'Avant	F. Poey d'Avant, <i>Monnaies féodales de France</i> , 3 vols (Paris, 1858–62).
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CKN	E.J.E. Pirie, <i>Coins of the Kingdom of Northumbria, c. 700–867</i> (Llanfyllin, 1996).	Scheers	S. Scheers, <i>Traité de la numismatique celtique II. La Gaule belgique</i> (Paris, 1977).
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Elias	E.R. Duncan Elias, <i>The Anglo-Gallic Coins</i> (Paris and London, 1984).	<i>Abbreviations</i>	
Giard	J.-P. Giard, <i>Catalogue des monnaies de l'empire romain. III. Auguste</i> (Paris, 1976).	CCI	Celtic Coin Index
Lafaurie	J. Lafaurie, <i>Les monnaies des rois de France</i> , 2 vols (Paris, 1951–6).	cuir.	cuirassed
LRBC	P.V. Hill, J.P.C. Kent and R.A.G. Carson, <i>Late Roman Bronze Coinage AD 324–498</i> (London, 1960).	diad.	diademed
Martini	R. Martini, <i>Collezione Pangerl: contromarche imperiali romane (Augustus-Vespasianus)</i> (Milan 2003)	dr.	draped
Mayhew	N.J. Mayhew, <i>Sterling Imitations of Edwardian Type</i> , RNS Special Publication 14 (London, 1983).	EMC	Corpus of Early Medieval Coin Finds AD 410–1180 (www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/coins/emc)
MEC	<i>Medieval European Coinage</i>	ex.	exergue
Metcalf	D.M. Metcalf, <i>Thrymsas and Sceattas in the Ashmolean Museum</i> , Oxford, 3 vols (London, 1993–4).	helm.	helmeted
MIB	W. Hahn, <i>Moneta Imperii Byzantini</i> , 3 vols (Vienna, 1973–81).	HER	Historic Environments Record
		I.	left
		laur.	laureate
		M/d	M/d
		PAS	Portable Antiquities Scheme
		r.	right
		rad.	radiate
		SMR	Sites and Monuments Record
		std	seated
		stg	standing
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Celtic Coins

Note: Iron Age coins continue to be recorded by the Celtic Coin Index at Oxford and by the nationwide finds liaison officers of the Portable Antiquities Scheme. From January 2008 the CCI, PAS and BM have begun a new integrated approach to the recording of this material. The British Museum is recording hoards of Iron Age coins, and single finds are being reported to the PAS in the first instance, and collated by Ian Leins at the BM. The CCI, now maintained by Dr John Sills (The Institute of Archaeology, 36 Beaumont Street, Oxford, OX1 2PG), is mainly involved in the documentation of old finds and hoards and the addition of material recorded in the trade. All of this material will eventually be recorded on index cards at the CCI in Oxford with a parallel record on the new online database of the CCI (www.finds.org.uk/CCI) in due course. The material presented here represents a sample of the interesting Iron Age material recorded during 2007, mainly by the PAS.

1. Gallo-Belgic AB 'Broad Flan' gold stater, Sills Ab1, class 5, mid-late 2nd century BC
Obv. Abstract head derived from head of Apollo 1.
Rev. Abstract horse with stylised charioteer 1.
 Weight: 7.10 g.
 Cranbrook, Kent. M/d find, 3 August 2007.

The findspot of the present coin is entirely consistent with the expected distribution of Gallo-Belgic A staters, which is centred on Kent, London and Essex. (PAS KENT-3F6108) I.L.

2. Gallo-Belgic XB1 gold stater, Sills Xb1, class 2, c.200–125 BC

Obv. Cruciform pattern.

Rev. Blank.

Weight: 7.48 g.

Isle of Wight. M/d find, 26 March 2007.

The so-called Gallo-Belgic XB staters are thought to have originated in southern parts of Gallia Belgica. Around ten have been recorded with UK provenances, including one other example from the Isle of Wight. (PAS IOW-D35422) I.L.

3. Copper alloy potin, attributed to the Remi, DT 154, late 2nd century BC

Obv. Figure, running r., holding torc and spear.

Rev. Animal r.

Weight not recorded.

Longwick cum Ilmer, Buckinghamshire. M/d find, before March 2007.

A number of other UK provenances have been recorded for coins of this type (see for example CCI 69.0640, found at Offley in Hertfordshire).

(PAS BERK-9FD3C7) P.de J/I.L.

4. Copper alloy potin, British 'Thurrock' type, cf. VA 1402, c.100 BC

Obv. Head l.

Rev. Bull.

Weight not recorded.

Osbourney, Lincolnshire. M/d find, 2007.

The closest parallel for this late Thurrock type potin is CCI 00.0452. The present example, however, sees the obverse as well as the reverse designs obscured by the extension of the casting sprue. This example, like others recently recorded by the PAS, demonstrates the penetration of these types well beyond their south-eastern origins.

(PAS LIN-73E287) A.D./P.de J.

5. Silver unit of Eastern Gaul, DT 3195, early-mid 1st century BC

Obv. Head l.

Rev. Horse l., KA above and blundered Greek letters below.

Weight: 1.87 g.

Stopham, West Sussex. M/d find, 29 July 2007.

This type belongs with the coinage of eastern Gaul, usually associated with the Lingones or the Aedui. The reverse includes a corruption of the Greek inscription 'Kaletedou'. By the time this coin was struck, only the KA of the original legend was clearly visible. Around ten examples of this type have been recorded from Britain, mostly from the south coast area.

(PAS SUSS-65D368) I.L./P.de J.

6. Copper alloy potin of North Eastern Gaul, DT 531A, c.70–50 BC

Obv. Abstract head r.

Rev. Pellet-in-ring, boar above and torc below

Weight: 3.66 g.

Micheldever, Hampshire. M/d find, about 1 July 2007.

Cast copper alloy potin of this type were originally attributed to the Suessiones (see LT 7905). More recently their production has been re-ascribed to Belgium (see DT no. 531A, p. 107). At least ten British provenances have been recorded to date.

(PAS HAMP-6152A2) P.de J/I.L.

7. Gallo-Belgic E 'Gallic War' gold stater, VA 54–1, c. 60–50 BC

Obv. Blank.

Rev. Abstract horse with stylised charioteer r.

Weight: 5.80 g.

Eartham, West Sussex. M/d find, before January 2007.

Coins of this type continue to be recorded in significant numbers by the CCI and PAS.

(PAS SUSS-4E9F15; CCI 06.0587) I.L./L.W.

8. Armorican base silver stater, cf. DT 2284–5, c. 60–50 BC

Obv. Abstract head r., small boar above.

Rev. Human-headed horse with rider r., lyre symbol below

Weight: 7.38 g.

Gwinear/Gwithian, Cornwall. M/d find, about 15 April 2007.

Base silver Armorican coins are amongst the most common coin imports to reach Britain from the continent in the Iron Age. This type correctly belongs to a group from the Channel Islands or Cotentin region, produced in about 60–50 BC.

(PAS CORN-0FCF32) I.L./P.de J.

9. Gold quarter stater, British P 'Trophy' type, new variety, c.60–50 BC

Obv. Three enclosed pellets.

Rev. Complex pattern derived from Roman trophy.

Weight: 1.20 g.

Willingdon and Jevington, East Sussex. M/d find, 20 February 2000.

This is a new variety of the early uninscribed British P 'Trophy' type. The obverse includes a pattern comprised of three rings which sometimes appears as part of the reverse design on coins of this series (see CCI 03.0298 and 03.0724 and examples in the Stoke hoard acquired by the British Museum: 1994, 0407.11; 1994, 0407.12; 1994, 0407.13).

(PAS SUSS-23B126) I.L.

10. Gold quarter stater, British P 'Trophy' type, VA 145–1, BMCIA 437, c.60–50 BC

Obv. Blank.

Rev. Complex pattern derived from Roman trophy.

Weight: 1.19 g (pierced at 10 o'clock on the reverse).

Leatherhead, Surrey. M/d find, before 2007.

(PAS SUR-44B173) D.W./I.L.

11. Gold stater, British H 'North East Coast' type, VA 800–11 var., BMCIA 188, c.60–50 BC

Obv. Wreath pattern.

Rev. Abstract horse r., four-armed spiral in front of head.

Weight: 5.90 g (pierced).

Walesby, Lincolnshire. M/d find, before 1 August 2007.

This coin is a variant of VA 800–11, similar to BMCIA 188. The interior of the pierced hole reveals that it was produced using a drill and not a punch.

(PAS NLM-EAA246) L.S./I.L.

12. Gold 'scyphate' quarter stater, cf. *BMCIA* 3187, c.60–20 BC
Obv. Abstract pattern based on boar.
Rev. Pattern with prominent retrograde-S shape.
 Weight: 1.35 g.
 Welbourn, Lincolnshire. M/d find, 2007.
 Similar to CCI 94.0765 in that the S shape on the reverse is retrograde. Around thirty-five provenances have been recorded for scyphate quarter staters, almost all of which are from Lincolnshire
 (PAS LIN-AC3623) A.D./I.L.

13. Early uninscribed copper alloy unit, *BMCCC* III, 31, c.50–30 BC
Obv. Abstract head (?) r.
Rev. Cock.
 Weight: 2.3 g.
 Lavant, West Sussex. M/d find, before January 2007.
 D. F. Allen attributed this coin to the Ambiani in the British Museum catalogue. There are, however, six other examples in the CCI with British findspots: Marlborough (Wiltshire), Oving (West Sussex), Eastbourne (East Sussex) and Warningcamp (West Sussex), and possibly Hampshire/Sussex. The type almost certainly fits alongside the more common so called 'Chichester cock' bronzes. They were based on Belgic prototypes, but produced in southern Britain, somewhere in the Solent hinterland.
 (PAS SUSS-4ECF02; CCI 06.0588) P.de J.

14. Kentish (Cantii) silver unit, *BMCIA* 578, c.50–20 BC
Obv. Head with corded hair r.
Rev. Horse r., wheel above.
 Lussesdown, Kent. M/d find, 3 December 2007.
 This is very similar to a coin in the British Museum (*BMCIA* 578), which was found at Richborough in Kent in 1860. The attribution of this hitherto unique coin has been the subject of some debate. Whilst acknowledging the possible Gaulish origins of this type, Evans catalogued it as British (Evans G1), an attribution that was upheld by Mack (*The Coinage of Ancient Britain*, p. 40, no. 87). Van Arsdell, *Celtic Coinage of Britain*, omitted the type from his classification, while Hobbs, *BMCIA* identified it as an early *uninscribed* British issue. While the two findspots suggest that this is a Kentish type, the better preservation of this coin compared with that of *BMCIA* 578 serves to highlight the links to the coinage of Armorica. The distinctive cord-like hair with its torc-shaped terminals finds a close parallel in DT 2608.
 (PAS KENT-BACFE4) I.L.

15. Kentish (Cantii) silver unit, uncatalogued type, c.50–20 BC
Obv. Head with torc around neck r.
Rev. Winged horse r.
 Weight: 1.00 g.
 Cliffe, Medway. M/d find, before April 2007.
 A number of coins of this type are now known from sites in Kent.
 (PAS KENT-1B82D0) I.L.

16. Kentish (Cantii) copper alloy unit, VA 154–3, *BMCIA* 2484, c.50–20 BC
Obv. Wolf r.
Rev. Bull r.

Weight: 1.77 g.
 Wickham Skeith, Suffolk. M/d find, April 2007.
 Around thirty-five coins of this type are listed on the CCI, the majority of which are located in Kent and two are from Essex. This is the most northerly find to date. This particular specimen is in excellent condition and reveals clearly the OIIIO behind the wolf, which probably represents an element of the design, rather than part of an inscription.
 (PAS SF-DABE83) J.P./I.L.

17. Southern (Atrebatic) silver unit, new type, c.50–20 BC
Obv. Double-headed animal in form of a retrograde S.
Rev. Horse l. Spiral-in-ring below.
 Weight: 0.82 g.
 Lambourn, Berkshire. M/d find, February 2007.
 This interesting new type has been acquired by the British Museum.
 (CCI 07.0194; BM 2007, 4050.1) I.L.

18. Southern (Atrebatic) silver unit, uncatalogued type, c.50–20 BC
Obv. Two opposed animals (sometimes described as ducks).
Rev. Horse l.
 Weight: 1.30 g.
 Willingdon and Jevington, East Sussex. M/d find, before April 2007.
 Around ten specimens of this type have now been recorded (see for example CCI 92.0063; 93.0682; 93.0995; 95.0257; 97.0995; 98.0346 and 00.0941). SUSS-186B34 recorded by the PAS is also of the same type.
 (PAS SUSS-92DEC6) L.W./I.L.

19. South Western (Durotrigan) 'Hampshire Thin' silver unit, VA 1280, *BMCIA* 2782, c.50–20 BC
Obv. Complex pattern of pellets.
Rev. Horse l.
 Weight: 0.70 g.
 Findon, West Sussex. M/d find, about October 2007.
 These coins, which have traditionally been attributed to the Durotriges, have recently been reattributed to the Belgae by Chris Rudd.
 (PAS SUSS-301B12) I.L.

20. Armorican silver fractional unit cf. LT 5980, c.40–10 BC
Obv. Abstract head derived from head of Pallas Athena l.
Rev. Abstract horse l., carnyx (war trumpet) above and below.
 Weight: 0.94 g.
 Isle of Wight. M/d find, about May 2007.
 The closest parallel to this coin is LT 5980 (see also P. de Jersey, *Coinage in Iron Age Armorica*, Oxford University Committee for Archaeology Monograph 39 (Oxford, 1994), p. 114 for illustration). The type is also discussed in K. Gruel and A. Taccoen. 'Petit numeraire de billon émis durant et après la conquête romaine dans l'Ouest de la Gaule', in M. Mays, ed., *Celtic Coinage: Britain and Beyond*, BAR British Series 222 (1992), pp. 165–88.
 (PAS IOW-31E7D6; CCI 07.0062) F.B./P.de J.

21. Southern (Atrebatic) gold stater of Tincomarus, *BMCIA* 765, c.20 BC–AD 10

Obv. Wreath pattern.

Rev. Horse r., TINC-O-MARVS around.

Weight: 5.42 g.

Isle of Wight. M/d find, about April 2007.

A similar specimen acquired by the British Museum, from the Alton hoard (1996), was the first coin to reveal the correct form of the name **TINCOMARVS**, which had previously been read as Tincommius by nineteenth- and twentieth-century historians. This Isle of Wight find is probably the finest example of a Tincomarus coin with the full legend yet found.

(PAS IOW-D8AA20)

I.L./F.B.

22. Southern (Atrebatic) silver unit of Tincomarus, VA 473-1, c.20 BC-AD 10

Obv. Diademed head l., TINCOMARVS around.

Rev. Horse l.

Weight: 1.30 g.

Shoreham by Sea, West Sussex. M/d find, before May 2007.

This type, originally identified as an issue of Verica (see VA 473, pp. 158-9), is probably one of the earliest Iron Age coins to include a labelled portrait of a British ruler. Twenty-eight specimens are now known, sixteen of which have provenances, mainly on the South Downs and in the West Sussex area. This coin has been acquired by the British Museum.

(PAS SUSS-2BF306)

I.L.

23. Eastern (Trinovantian) gold stater of Andoco, VA 1860-1, BMCIA 2011, c.10-1 BC

Obv. Wreath pattern.

Rev. Horse r., ANDO below and in front

Weight: 5.46 g.

Newton Blossomville, Buckinghamshire. M/d find, 18 August 2007.

(PAS BUC-FDAF75)

I.L./R.T.

24. Southern silver unit inscribed CRAB, VA 1285, BMCIA 2788, c.AD 10-40

Obv. Cross of pellets, C R A B in angles.

Rev. Eagle.

Weight: 0.89 g.

Isle of Wight. M/d find, about April 2007.

(PAS IOW-DA10F4)

I.L./F.B.

Greek, Roman and Byzantine coins

Note: Nearly all of the coins and related objects listed below have been recorded with the Portable Antiquities Scheme (www.finds.org.uk). In 2007, 20,675 Roman coins were recorded on the database; the total for Roman coin records now stands at about 55,000. The database allows users to search for particular rulers, mints and denominations.

25. Carthaginian \textsterling unit, Sardinia, SNG Cop. 42, pl. 6, no. 173, 300-264 BC

Obv. Head of Tanit l., wearing wreath with corn-ears and pendant necklace.

Rev. Horse's head r.; palm tree to r.

Weight not recorded.

Nettleton, Lincolnshire. M/d find, c.2007.

Several similar coins have been recorded in Kent by David Holman (*Britannia* XXXVI, 2005, p. 5, fig. 2, no. 14, and p. 11).

(PAS LIN-C0E9D7)

A.D./S.M.

26. Roman Republic, Lepidus, *denarius*, Italian mint, RRC 495/2d, 42 BC

Obv. LEPIDVS PONT MX III [V R P C], head of Lepidus r.

Rev. C CAESAR [IMP III VIR] R P C, head of Octavian r.

Weight: 3.35 g.

Cotton, Suffolk. M/d find, May 2007.

(PAS SF-7DD9F2) F.M./S.M.

27. Augustus (27 BC-AD 14), *denarius*, Italian mint, RIC I, 255, c.32-29 BC

Obv. Head of Octavian l.

Rev. [CAESAR DIVI F], Victory stg r. on globe, holding wreath and palm.

Weight: 3.03 g.

Shalfleet, Isle of Wight. M/d find, 31 January 2007.

(PAS IOW-9CE208) F.B./S.M.

28. Augustus (27 BC-AD 14), *denarius*, RIC I, 542, after 27 BC

Obv. Laur. head of Augustus r.

Rev. [A]VGSTVS, Capricorn r., star above.

Weight: 2.79 g (fragment).

Calbourne, Isle of Wight. M/d find, 7 January 2007.

The British Museum does not have a specimen of this extremely rare issue. There is one specimen in Paris (Giard, no. 1011). The mint for this issue is unknown, but the presence of one coin in Paris and a find on the Isle of Wight might suggest Gaul as a strong contender.

(PAS IOW-0D5931) F.B./S.M.

29. Augustus or Tiberius (c.15 BC-AD 15), \textsterling as (countermarked), RIC I, 230ff and 95, BMC I, p. xxxv; Martini, pp. 266-8, nos 58a-58f

Obv. Traces of inscription and bust

Rev. Traces of altar; countermarked TI.C.A

Weight: 4.05 g.

Niton and Whitwell, Isle of Wight. M/d find, 4 November 2007.

Worn coins such as these were overstruck by the Roman army on the Rhine frontier to signify that they were still good for circulation, or to denote a devaluation. This countermark suggests the former. This countermark is recorded in BMC I (p. xxxv) and on coins of Caligula (six examples in the Pangerl Collection, all from Germania Superior). TI. C. A probably refers to Tiberius Claudius Augustus (Claudius), but it might stand for Titus Caesar Augustus (Titus).

(PAS IOW-F52A23) F.B./S.M.

30. Claudius (41-54), \textsterling quadrans, Rome, RIC II, 84, AD 41

Obv. TI CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG, three-legged modius.

Rev. PON M TR P IMP COS DES IT around S C

Weight: 2.88 g.

Dorchester, Oxfordshire. M/d find, c.2007.

When published, this was the fifth imperial period quadrans on the PAS database.

(PAS LON-EDEF06) K.S./S.M.

31. Galba (68-9), AR *denarius*, Spain, cf. RIC I, 2nd ed., p. 232, no. 6, April-June AD 68

Obv. BON EVENT, bust of Bonus Eventus r.

Rev. PACI . P R, clasped r. hands holding a caduceus.

Weight not recorded.

Great Hale, Lincolnshire. M/d find, c.2007.

(PAS LIN-898441) A.D./S.M.

32. Trajan (98–117), *Æ dupondius*, Rome, countermarked under Hadrian (117–38)
Obv. []TRAIANO OPTIMO[], rad. bust r. with unclear (possible 'head') countermark to l. and 'laureate' countermark to r.
Rev. Illegible.
Weight: 10.2 g.
Wiggington, Hertfordshire. M/d find, c. 14 November 2007.
 The laurate countermark is associated with Antioch and was apparently applied in Hadrian's reign prior to the Jewish Revolt of AD 132–5 (C.J. Howgego, *Greek Imperial Countermarks*, no. 378). The other countermark is too unclear for significant comment, but might be of the same type. This coin obviously travelled a long way after being countermarked.
 (OPAS CORN-5E39D1) A.T./S.M.

33. Anonymous *Æ quadrans*, c.81–161, Rome, *RIC II*, 32
Obv. Winged petasus of Mercury.
Rev. S C, caduceus.
Weight: 2.3 g (chipped).
Goostrey, Cheshire. M/d find, 2006.
 (PAS LVPL-05B7D1) F.M./S.M.

34. Gordian III (238–44), *AV aureus*, Rome, *RIC IV*, pt 3, 8
Obv. IMP CAES M ANT GORDIANVS AVG. laur. dr. bust r.
Rev. IOVI CONSERVATORI, Jupiter standing above emperor, holding thunderbolt and sceptre.
Weight: 4.95 g.
Lutterworth, Leicestershire. M/d find, before 5 May 2007.
 (PAS LEIC-196037) W.S./S.M.

35. Philip I (244–9), *Æ as*, Rome, *RIC IV*, pt 3, 166 var.
Obv. IMP M IVL PHILIP[P]VS AVG. laur. dr. bust r.
Rev. [A]EQVITAS AVG[], S C, Aequitas standing l., holding scales and cornucopiae.
Weight: 8.49 g (chipped).
Pavenham, Bedfordshire. M/d find, c.10 October 2007.
 This reverse type is recorded for a sestertius (*RIC 166*), but the size, weight and obverse type suggest it is an *as*.
 (PAS BH-70C7D7) J.W./S.M.

36. 'Limesfalschungen' *Æ as* in the name of Otacilia Severa and Nero, mid-3rd century
Obv. MARCIA OTACIL SEVERA AVG, diad. and dr. bust r.
Rev. Illegible inscription, laur. head of Nero l.
Weight: 4.89 g.
Crondall, Hampshire. M/d find, c.1992.
 The latest cast copy published by G. C. Boon ('Lightweights and Limesfalsa', *NC* 5 (1965), 161–74) from Caerleon was of Gordian III (238–44).
 (PAS SUR-EC7923) D.W./S.M.

37. Carausius (286–93), *Æ radiate*, 'C' Mint, *RIC* -
Obv. []IMP CARAVSIVS A[VG], rad. bust r.
Rev. CO[N]SERVAT[?] AV, Sol standing l., holding whip in l. hand; r. arm is unclear.
Weight: 2.11 g (chipped).
Shafleet, Isle of Wight. M/d find, May 2006.

The two recorded **CONSERVAT** types of the 'C' mint in *RIC* depict Hercules and Neptune (*RIC* V, pt 2, p. 482, nos. 212–4). There is, however, a Sol type on the **ORIENS AVG** issue which is similar (*RIC* p. 489, 293f). At the London mint there was a **CONSERVAT AVG** type with Sol (*RIC* p. 466, no. 29).
 (PAS IOW-171BB7) F.B./S.M.

38. Carausius (286–93), *Æ radiate*, London, *RIC* -
Obv. IMP CARAVSIVS P F AVG, rad. cuir. and dr. bust r.
Rev. P[A?]X AVG[?], Pax standing l., holding transverse sceptre and branch.
Mintmark: F O//RSR
Weight: 4.1 g.
Chedzoy, Somerset. M/d find, before 9 October 2007.
 This coin is apparently unpublished. The F O field letters confirm that the RSR coins were minted at London. There is a **PAX AVG** type (Pax holding branch and rudder) from the RSR issue in the British Museum (2000 8 33), but no example of this type with F O in the field. The British Museum has acquired this coin.
 (PAS SOM-DF0782) N.P./S.M.

39. Carausius (286–93), *Æ radiate*, Rouen, *RIC* V, pt 2, cf. 666 and 684
Obv. [IMP CARAVSIVS AVG], rad. bust r.
Rev. Blundered inscription: I I C F (C and F reversed), Salus or Tutela standing l., holding cornucopiae and patera over altar.
Mintmark: -//R
Weight: 3.54 g.
Greywell, Hampshire. M/d find, before 2006.
 (PAS SUR-372B61) D.W./S.M.

40. Carausius (286–93) for Diocletian, *Æ radiate*, London, *RIC* V, pt 2, 9 var.
Obv. IMP C DIOCLETIANVS P F AVG, rad., dr. and cuir. bust r.
Rev. PAX AVGGG, Pax standing l., holding olive branch and transverse sceptre.
Mintmark: S P//MLXXI
Weight: 4.1 g.
Hinton on the Green, Worcestershire. M/d find, February/March 2007.
 This is a variant of *RIC* 9, but there are three examples of this coin in the Elveden Hoard from Suffolk (Abdy, forthcoming, no. 32).
 (PAS WAW-747B03) A.Bolton./S.M.

41. Divus Constantius I (d. 307), *Æ nummus*, *RIC* VI Trier 789, AD 307–8
Obv. DIVO CONSTANTIO PIO, laur. and veiled bust r.
Rev. MEMORIA FELIX, eagles flanking lit altar.
Mintmark: -//PTR
Weight: 5.08 g.
Cambridge, Cambridgeshire. M/d find, about 2007.
 (PAS CAM-7A36D7) P.W./S.M.

42. Licinius I (308–24), *AV festaureus (1½ solidi)*, *RIC* VII Trier 5, AD 313–15
Obv. LICINI-VS P F AVG, laur. dr. and cuir. bust r.
Rev. VBIQVE VICTORES, Emperor standing r. in military dress, cloak spread, holding transverse spear and globe; captive seated on either side.

Mintmark: -//PTR

Weight: 5.32 g.

Salisbury, Wiltshire. M/d find, 2007.

RIC records three coins of this type (British Museum, Hunterian Museum and Ashmolean Museum). This coin is struck from unrecorded dies. (PAS WILT-D86FB6) K.H./D.A./S.M.

43. Constantine I (306–37), *Æ nummus*, *RIC VI* London 197, AD 310–12

Obv. CONSTANTINVS P F AVG, laur. helm. and cuir. bust l., holding spear backwards over right shoulder, and shield on l. shoulder.

Rev. CONCORD MILIT, Concordia standing l. holding standard in each hand.

Mintmark: -//PLN

Weight: 3.79 g.

North Thoresby, Lincolnshire. M/d. find, 2007. Found by Tom Redmayne.

No example of this scarce coin is known from a British find. The coin has been generously donated to the British Museum by the finder.

(PAS LIN-5AF4C4) A.D./S.M.

44. Crispus (317–26), *Æ nummus*, cf. *RIC VII* Trier 348, c. AD 322

Obv. IVL CRISPVS NOB C, cuir. bust l., holding spear and shield.

Rev. Altar, inscribed VO/T[IS]/X[X], surmounted by globe; above, three stars.

Mintmark: [PTR.??]

Weight: 2.00 g.

Wood Enderby, Lincolnshire. M/d find, September 2007.

The obverse legend is not recorded for this issue. (PAS NCL-9B1082) R.C./S.M.

45. Constantine I (307–37), *nummus*, cf. *RIC VII* Arles 264, AD 324–5

Obv. CONSTANTINVS AVG, laur. head r.

Rev. PROVIDENTIAE AVGG, camp-gate with four turrets; no star above.

Weight: 2.06 g

Chipping Norton, Oxfordshire. M/d find, 1978–2004.

The *PROVIDENTIAE AVGG* types (e.g. *RIC* 264) have only two turrets, and the *VIRTVS* types (e.g. *RIC* 291) have four. This coin apparently conflates the two types. Both types have a star above the gate; this coin has none. (PAS BERK-5AA8A2) P.L./K.S./S.M.

46. Jovian (363–4), *AR siliqua*, *RIC VIII* –

Obv. D N IOVIANVS P F AVG, diad., dr. and cuir. bust r.

Rev. VOT V MVLT X in wreath.

Mintmark: -//LVG

Weight: 1.13 g.

Eartham, West Sussex. M/d find, 9 April 2007.

One example of this coin was found in the Whitwell hoard (Rutland) between 1991 and 1993 and is now in the British Museum (*CHRB X*, p. 472, no. 40). The Eartham coin is significantly lighter (1.13 g) than the Whitwell piece (1.82 g). (PAS SUSS-F74487) L.A.-W./S.M.

47. Valens (364–78), *Æ nummus*, *LRBC II* Trier 106, AD 364–7

Obv. D N VALENS P F AVG, diad., dr. and cuir. bust r.

Rev. GLORIA ROMANORVM, Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm.

*Mintmark: * -/[T]R[P or S]*

Weight: 2.02 g.

Bermondsey, Rotherhithe and Southwark, Greater London. M/d find, c. April 2007.

This type was only struck at Trier, and only in small numbers. This is the first example recorded with the PAS.

(PAS LON-AD9CF4) K.S./S.M.

48a–b. Two lead tablets with impressions of a coin of Valens (364–78)

One tablet (48a) is 92 by 60 mm and weighs 56.04 g. The other (48b) is 65 by 40 mm and weighs 66.10 g. Both had been drilled and folded. In the centre of both tablets is the obverse impression of a coin of Valens: *D N VALEN – S P F AVG*, diad., draped. and cuir. bust r. (inverted).

Fulstow, Lincolnshire. M/d find, 30 January 2007. Found by Tom Redmayne.

It is suggested that these tablets were used by a forger to make silver cliché siliquae. Such a cliché coin of Valens was found in the Lakenheath (Palmer's Green, Suffolk) hoard (1983) and is the British Museum (1983.6.33.9). Another interpretation is that they were curse tablets. Both have been generously donated to the British Museum by the finder.

(PAS LIN-57F021 and LIN-57B091) A.D./S.M.

49. Procopius (365–6), *Æ nummus*, *RIC IX*, p. 240, cf. 18–19

Obv. D N PRO[], diad., dr. and cuir. bust r.

Rev. REPARATIO FEL TEMP, emperor facing, holding standard and shield.

Mintmark: ??/??

Weight: 1.75 g.

Isle of Wight. M/d find, 8 April 2007.

This coin was one of thirty-five site-finds (not a hoard) found in an area 50 m by 50 m (see PAS IOW-85AAB2 for a general report). The group had an unprecedented number of eastern mint coins of the late Roman period. Coins of Procopius are extremely rare in Britain, this being the first recorded with the PAS. This obverse type was only struck at Constantinople and Cyzicus, the former being more prolific.

(PAS IOW-E6E981) F.B./S.M.

50. Gratian (367–83), *AV solidus*, *RIC IX* Constantinople 45a, AD 378–83

Obv. D N GRATIANVS P F AVG, diad., dr. and cuir. bust r.

Rev. CONCORDIA AVGGI, Constantinopolis seated on throne, holding sceptre and globe; r. foot on prow.

Mintmark: -//CONOB

Weight: 4.48 g.

Silverstone, Northamptonshire. M/d find, 2007.

(PAS BUC-F59BB6) R.T./S.M.

51. Valentinian II (375–92), *gold solidus*, *RIC IX* Milan 5e, AD 378–83

Obv. D N VALENTINI-ANVS P F AVG, diad. dr. and cuir. bust r.

Rev. VICTOR-IA AVGG, two emperors seated facing.

Mintmark: //COM

Weight: 4.46 g.

Shudy Camps, Cambridgeshire. M/d find, by 2007. Found by Robert Spall.

A.P.

52. Theodosius I (379–95), AV *solidus*, *RIC IX* Trier 90b, AD 388–92*Obv. D N THEODOSIVS P F AVG*, diad., dr. and cuir. bust r.*Rev. VICTORIA AVGG*, two emperors seated facing.*Mintmark: T R//COM*

Weight not recorded.

Great Bromley, Essex. M/d find, 2007.

C.M./R.B./S.M.

53. Anonymous silver half-*siliqua*, *RIC IX* Trier 109, Bendall, p. 457, no. 1, late 4th century*Obv. Helm. and dr. bust l.**Rev. X in wreath.**Mintmark: //TR]*

Weight: 0.62 g (fragment).

Godmanchester, Cambridgeshire. M/d find, by 2007. Found by Simon Ashford.

(Not illustrated).

A.P.

54. Arcadius (383–408), AE *nummus*, see *RIC X* pp. 246–7, AD 395–401*Obv. [D N ARCADIVS P F AVG]*, diad., dr. and cuir. bust r.*Rev. VIRTVS EXERCITI*, emperor standing being crowned by Victory.*Mintmark: //?*

Weight not recorded.

Isle of Wight. M/d find, 8 April 2007.

This is from the same group as no. 49 (see IOW-85AAB2). It is apparently the first recorded find for this type in Britain. It is extremely common on eastern Mediterranean sites but is rarely found west of Greece. (PAS IOW-E616B4)

F.B./S.M.

55. House of Theodosius, AE *nummus*, see *RIC X* pp. 251–2, AD 406–8*Obv. Illegible inscription, diad., dr. and cuir. bust r.; star behind the bust.**Rev. GLORIA ROMANORVM*, three emperors standing.*Mintmark: //?*

Weight: 2.00 g.

Whittington, Northumberland. M/d find, 6 May 2007.

This is from a group of eight coins, with an eastern mint bias, found just north of Hadrian's Wall (see R. Collins, 'The latest coin from Hadrian's Wall: a small 5th century purse group', *Britannia* XXXIX, 2008, forthcoming). It is only the second coin of this type found in Britain (see R. Abdy and G. Williams, 'A catalogue of hoards and single finds from the British Isles c. AD 410–675', in B. Cook and G. Williams, eds, *Coinage and History in the North Sea World* (Brill, 2006), pp. 11–73, no. 51), but the type is common in the eastern Mediterranean.

(PAS NCL-EE2655)

R.C./S.M.

56. Anastasius (491–518), AV *solidus* (contemporary copy), *MIBE* Constantinople cf. 4a; *MEC* pl. 17, cf. nos 336 and 347–8*Obv. D N ANASTASIV[S] P P AVG* (slightly blundered), facing cuir. bust of Anastasius, wearing helmet and holding spear in r. hand and shield in l.*Rev. VICTORIAA [A]VGG[G?]* (blundered), Victory standing l., holding cross.*Mintmark: (?) *//CONOB*

Weight not recorded.

Shorwell, Isle of Wight. M/d find, 25 April 2007.

This coin is possibly of the Pseudo-Merovingian coinage, c. 500–80. It is not similar to any of the seven imitative *solidi* of Anastasius in the British Museum. (PAS IOW-D7CB55)

F.B./S.M.

57. Justinian I (527–65), AE *follis*, *MIBE* Constantinople 83, AD 527–37*Obv. D N IVSTINIANVS P P AVG*, diad., dr. and cuir. bust r.*Rev. Large M; above, cross; to l. and r., star.**Mintmark: A//CON*

Weight: 15.81 g.

Kings Stanley, Gloucestershire. M/d find, 2007.

Four other sixth-century *folles* (in poor condition) found in Devon have also been recorded with the PAS (PAS-DEV-464726).

(PAS GLO-709856)

K.A./S.M.

58. Justinian I (527–65), AE half *follis*, *MIBE* Constantinople 96, AD 550–64*Obv. [D N IVSTINIANVS P P AVC]* or similar, facing bust with cuirass and helmet, holding cross on globe and shield; [in field right, cross].*Rev. Large K; [above, cross?]; to r., unclear date numerals; below, A.*

Weight: 5.5 g.

Langport, Somerset. M/d find, 2004.

(PAS SOM-3B55D0)

N.P./S.M.

59. Phocas (602–10), AV *solidus*, Constantinople, *DOC II*, 12e, *MIB II*, 9, AD 607–9*Obv. 3N FOCAS PERP AVG*, dr. and cuir. facing bust wearing crown and holding globus cruciger in r. hand.*Rev. VICTORIA AVG*, robed angel standing facing, holding staff surmounted by christogram and a globus cruciger.*Mintmark: //CONOB*

Weight not recorded.

North Yorkshire. M/d find, c. September 2006.

(PAS NCL-6A6EF5)

R.C./S.M.

60. Gilded Anonymous Byzantine follis, *DOC III.2* Constantinople class C, 1042 (?)–c. 1050*Obv. [EMMA-NOVHA]*, in field l. and r. *IC-XC*, three-quarter length figure of Christ.*Rev. IC-XC/NI-KA* in angles of a cross.

Weight: 6.34 g.

Great Wrating, Suffolk. M/d find, by 2007. Found by Robert Spall.

The traces of tin solder on the reverse and the gilding evident on the obverse suggest that this coin was transformed into a brooch showing the figure of Christ.

A.P.

*Merovingian and Visigothic*61. Gold *tremissis*, Pseudo-Imperial issue in the name of Anastasius (491–518)

Obv. D[]TASIVS PP AVC (unbarred A's).
Rev. ICT[]VCOSTORVA (unbarred A), Victory with palm and wreath, CONOB in ex.
 Weight: 1.4 g (pierced twice and loop for suspension).
 Die axis 180°.
 Kingsdown, near, Kent. M/d find, 2007. Found by Andrew Sales.
 (EMC 2007.0274) M.R.A.

62. Gold *tremissis*, Bayeux, Allacius. cf. Belfort 606, Prou 282
Obv. BA.IOC M, diad, bust r.
Rev. ALLA[]S†, cross on globe and steps between two stars.
 Weight: 1.32 g. Die axis 340°.
 East Anglia. M/d find, 2007.
 (EMC 2007.0292) S.E./M.R.A.

63. Gold *tremissis*, Bordeaux, Seggelenus, cf. Belfort 1051–6, Prou 2128
Obv. Inscription, diad. bust r.
Rev. +SIGGELINO[], cross on steps, L in field 1, I in field r.
 Weight: 1.20 g. Die axis 270°.
 Kent. M/d find, by 2007.
 (EMC 2008.0033) A.A.

64. Gold *tremissis*, Bourges, Mummolos, cf. Belfort 850
Obv. BETORGAS FIT (reading outwardly), helm. bust l.
Rev. +MVMMOL[] (reading outwardly), cross chrismée dividing omega and alpha.
 Weight: 1.21 g.
 Market Harborough, near, Leicestershire. M/d find, by 2007.
 (Spink auction, 29 March 2007, lot 72; EMC 2007.0083) M.R.A.

65. Gold *tremissis*, Plailly, Deairenasea, cf. Prou 1102
Obv. PLATILIACO, diad bust r.
Rev. .DEAIRENASEA (R reversed), cross in beaded circle.
 Weight: 1.27 g.
 Great Bromley, Essex. M/d find, 13 March 2007.
 (EMC 2007.0069) C.M./M.R.A.

66. Gold *tremissis*, Quentovic, Dutta, cf. Belfort 4960
Obv. +VVICCO, bust r.
Rev. DVTTA MONE, cross on steps.
 Weight: 1.29 g.
 Cambridgeshire. M/d find, by 2007.
 (EMC 2007.0170) B.H./M.R.A.

67. Gold *tremissis*, Rodez, Rosolus, Belfort 3919–23, Prou 1887–9
Obv. Laur. bust r., branch before.
Rev. ROSOLVS-M around monogram.
 Weight: 1.28 g.
 Wiltshire. M/d find, by 2007.
 (Spink auction, 29 March 2007, lot 73; EMC 2007.0084) M.R.A.

68. Gold *tremissis*, uncertain mint
Obv. OVOMNIH, diad. bust r.
Rev. +ICAMM[][T?], cross in beaded circle.
 Weight: 1.29 g.
 Southend-on-Sea, near. M/d find, by 2007.
 (Spink auction, 29 March 2007, lot 74; EMC 2007.0085) M.R.A.

69. Gold *tremissis*, Pseudo-Imperial type, uncertain mint
Obv. Inscription, bust r.
Rev. Inscription, Victory standing.
 Weight: 1.25 g. Die axis 180°.
 Market Rasen, Lincolnshire. M/d find, 2007.
 (EMC 2007.0209) A.A.

70. Plated imitation of a gold *tremissis*, Pseudo-Imperial type in the name of Justinian I (527–65), uncertain mint
Obv. DN VSTINIANVS PF G, diad. bust r.
Rev. NIV[]NTIC[], Victory with palm and wreath, in ex. CONO
 Weight: 0.80 g (chipped).
 Yapham, East Yorkshire. M/d find, by 2006. Found by Phil Dunning.
 (PAS YORYM-761506; EMC 2007.0138) M.R.A.

71. Gold *tremissis*, Dronrijp type, uncertain mint
Obv. Diad. and dr. bust l.
Rev. Cross on step and globe between two crescents and two pellets.
 Weight: 1.26 g. Die axis 160°.
 Wetheringsett, Suffolk. M/d find, 2007. Found by Steven Eilden.
 (EMC 2007.0291) M.R.A.

72. Gold *tremissis*, uncertain mint
Obv. Inscription, bust r.
Rev. Inscription, cross pattée in circle.
 Weight: 1.28 g.
 Essex. M/d find, by 2007.
 (EMC 2008.0034) A.A.

73. Plated imitation (?) of a gold *tremissis*, Maastricht, Grimoaldus, cf. Belfort 3002, 6457
Obv. TTVE[]TOIT (retrograde), bust r.
Rev. GRIMOAVOV[] (retrograde), cross on step and row of pellets.
 Weight not recorded (chipped). Die axis 180°.
 Ormesby, near, Norfolk. M/d find, by 2005. Found by Keith Penny.
 (EMC 2007.0144) M.R.A./A.P.

74. Plated imitation of a gold *tremissis*, Dronrijp type, cf. MEC 1.518
Obv. Inscription, bust r.
Rev. Inscription, cross on step and three pellets.
 Weight: 0.92 g.
 Lincoln, near, Lincolnshire. M/d find, by 2007.
 (EMC 2007.0056) G.C./A.P.

75. Silver *denier*, uncertain mint, cf. Belfort 2759
Obv. Monogram surmounted by a cross.
Rev. Cross botonnée with annulet centre on a saltire.
 Weight: 1.06 g.
 Kent. M/d find, by 2007.
 (EMC 2008.0075) A.A.

76. Copper alloy imitation of a silver *denier*
Obv. Inscription, Latin cross pommée on orb.
Rev. Triquetra with pellets in field.
 Weight: 1.14 g.
 Caistor St Edmund, Norfolk. M/d find, 2006. Found by Mr H. Bennett.
 (Norfolk HER 9743; EMC 2007.0035) A.B.M./M.R.A.

Anglo-Saxon Gold Shillings

77. 'Constantine' type, Sutherland type 26, North 17
Ov. Diad. and dr. bust r. holding a cross.

Rev. Lyre-shaped object.

Weight not recorded.

King's Lynn, near, Norfolk. M/d find, by 2007.
 (EMC 2008.0037)

A.A.

78. Two Emperors type, Sutherland II.v, North 20
Ov. Pseudo-inscription, diad. bust r.

Rev. Stylized figure of Victory with wings enfolding two facing busts.

Weight: 0.70 g. (cut half). Die axis 230°.

Beachamwell, Norfolk. M/d find, 2007. Found by Steve Brown.

Another cut half of a shilling of this type was found at Foxley, Norfolk, in 2005 (Coin Register 2006, no. 53).

(Norfolk HER 4561; EMC 2007.0305) A.B.M./M.R.A.

79. Witmen type, Sutherland IV.iii, North 26

Ov. Bust r., trident on forked base before face.

Rev. Inscription, cross fourchée in beaded inner circle.

Weight: 1.26 g.

Great Bromley, Essex. M/d find, 18 November 2007.
 (EMC 2007.0302)

C.M./M.R.A.

80. York Group, Sutherland V, North 27, York

Ov. Facing figure (?) with cross pattée on each shoulder.

Rev. **+VOIENVLED:** (retrograde), cross pattée in beaded inner circle.

Weight: 1.29 g.

Pocklington, East Yorkshire. M/d find, March 2007.
 (EMC 2007.0088)

A.A.

81. Vanimundus, Va B I, North 12/2

Ov. **OTSAVS**, helm. bust r. with staff on shoulder.

Rev. **+TMVSNVMV**, cross pattée in double beaded inner circle.

Weight: 0.98 g.

Aldeby, Norfolk. M/d find, 2007. Found by Peter Hewett.
 (PAS SF-53F2C1; EMC 2007.0077)

F.M./M.R.A.

82. Vanimundus, Va B I or Va B II, North 12/2

Ov. Inscription, helm. bust r. with staff on shoulder.

Rev. Inscription, cross pattée in double beaded inner circle.

Weight not recorded (fragment).

Canterbury, near, Kent. M/d find, by 2007.
 (EMC 2007.0336)

C.K./M.R.A.

Pennies ('Sceattas'): Primary and Intermediate

83. Series Pa III, North 31, pale gold or silver

Ov. **NNVNVN**, diad bust r.

Rev. *Pada* (runic) **AVNAVSV** (\$ on its side).

Weight: 1.16 g. Die axis 270°.

Woodbridge, near, Suffolk. M/d find, early 2006.
 (EMC 2008.0046)

A.A./M.R.A.

84. Series A2 (Type 2a), North 40

Ov. **OTIC**, diad. and rad. bust r., **OVO** behind head.

Rev. **TOTII** in standard.

Weight: 1.17 g.

East Marden, West Sussex. M/d find, by 2007.

(EMC 2007.0331)

B.H./M.R.A.

85. Series A3 (Type 2a), North 40 (copy)

Ov. Diad. and rad. bust r., **OVO** behind head.

Rev. **TOTII** in standard.

Weight: 0.87 g.

East Marden, West Sussex. M/d find, by 2007.

(EMC 2007.0335)

B.H./M.R.A.

86. Series BX (Type 26) North 124

Ov. []**HVAHVAVM**[], diad. bust r.

Rev. []**VAVHVAVHVAO**, bird on cross with two annulets and two pellets in field.

Weight: 1.17 g.

King's Lynn, near, Norfolk. M/d find, early 2007.

(EMC 2008.0039)

A.A./M.R.A.

87. Series BX (Type 26), North 124

Ov. **OVAN[]SNVO**, diad. bust r., small cross before face.

Rev. []**VSACOHVA**[], bird on cross with two annulets and four pellets in field.

Weight: 1.20 g. Die axis 90°.

Great Dunmow, near, Essex. M/d find, by 2007.

(EMC 2008.0040)

A.A./M.R.A.

88. Series BX (Type 26), North 124

Ov. **OVA[]SHV**, diad. bust r., small cross before face.

Rev. **+CVASCOHVA+**, bird on cross with two annulets and four pellets in field.

Weight: 1.19 g. Die axis 180°.

Hatfield Broad Oak, Essex. M/d find, by 2007.

(EMC 2008.0041)

A.A./M.R.A.

89. Series BIb (Type 27b), North 126

Ov. Inscription, diad. bust r., cross before face.

Rev. []**OOVSAV**[], bird on cross with two annulets and two pellets in field.

Weight: 1.12 g.

Aldeby, Norfolk. M/d find, 2007. Found by Peter Hewett.

From the same obverse die as Metcalf, *Thrymsas and Sceattas*, no. 101.

(PAS SF-2C4201; EMC 2007.0051)

M.R.A.

90. Series BII (Type 27b), North 127

Ov. **OOOVAV**[], diad. bust r.

Rev. Inscription, bird on cross with two annulets in field.

Weight: 1.12 g.

Aldeby, Norfolk. M/d find, by 2007. Found by Terry Read.

(PAS SF-3121D6; EMC 2007.0065)

F.M./M.R.A.

91. Series BI imitation

Ov. Inscription, diad. bust r.

Rev. Inscription, bird on cross with two annulets in field.

Weight: 1.07 g.

Bromley, Essex. M/d find, 2007.

(EMC 2007.0087)

C.M./M.R.A.

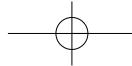
92. Series BI imitation

Ov. []**AVMVIIA**[], diad. bust r.

Rev. Inscription, bird on cross with two annulets and four pellets in field.

Weight: 1.23 g.

Linton, Cambridgeshire. M/d find, 1972–2007. Found by Robert and Barbara Spall. (EMC 2007.0182)	M.R.A.	Ware, near, Hertfordshire. M/d find, 2006. Found by Kevin Easton. (EMC 2008.0045)	M.R.A.
93. Series BIII imitation <i>Obv.</i> Diad. bust r. with two annulets before face. <i>Rev.</i> Inscription, cross potent with pellet in each angle. Weight: 1.08 g. Die axis 90°. Boston, near, Lincolnshire. M/d find, by 2007. (EMC 2008.0038)	A.A.	102. Series D (Type 2c), North 163/168 <i>Obv.</i> Rad. bust r., pseudo-runic inscription before face. <i>Rev.</i> Pseudo-inscription, cross pommée with pellets in angles Weight: 1.01 g. Little Wilbraham, Cambridgeshire. M/d find, by 2007. Found by Duncan Pangborn. (EMC 2007.0063)	F.M./M.R.A.
94. Series C1 <i>Obv.</i> Rad. bust r., <i>Tæpa</i> (runic) before face, TAT (A inverted) behind. <i>Rev.</i> TOTII in standard. Weight not recorded. Micheldever, Hampshire. M/d find, 19 February 2007. Found by Mark Duell. (EMC 2007.0093)	M.R.A.	103. Series D (Type 2c), North 163/168 <i>Obv.</i> Rad. bust r., pseudo-runic inscription before face. <i>Rev.</i> Pseudo-inscription, cross pommée with pellets in angles. Weight not recorded. Stamford Bridge, near, North Yorkshire. M/d find, 2007. Found by Paul Marshall. (EMC 2007.0178)	M.R.A.
95. Series C1 <i>Obv.</i> Rad. bust r., <i>Tæpa</i> (runic) before face, TT behind. <i>Rev.</i> TOTII in standard. Weight: 1.22 g. Die axis 270°. Wetwang, near, East Yorkshire. M/d find, 20 January 2007. (EMC 2008.0043)	N.A./M.R.A.	104. Series D (Type 2c), North 163/168 <i>Obv.</i> Rad. bust r., pseudo-runic inscription before face. <i>Rev.</i> Pseudo-inscription, cross pommée with pellets in angles Weight: 1.16 g. Dedham, Essex. M/d find, 2007. (EMC 2007.0239)	C.M./M.R.A.
96. Series C1 <i>Obv.</i> Rad. bust r., [T]æpa (runic) before face. <i>Rev.</i> TOTII in standard. Weight: 0.84 g. Die axis 180°. Hatfield Broad Oak, Essex. M/d find, by 2007. (EMC 2008.0044)	A.A.	105. Series D (Type 2c), North 163/168 <i>Obv.</i> Rad. bust r. <i>Rev.</i> Pseudo-inscription, cross pommée with pellets in angles Weight: 0.81 g. Wetwang, near, East Yorkshire. M/d find, 2007. (EMC 2008.0047)	A.A.
97. Series C1 inverted <i>Obv.</i> Rad. bust r., <i>Tæpa</i> (runic) before face. <i>Rev.</i> TOTII in standard. Weight: 1.18 g. Great Bromley, Essex. M/d find, 2007. (EMC 2007.0057)	C.M./M.R.A.	106. Series D (Type 2c), North 169 <i>Obv.</i> Rad. bust l. <i>Rev.</i> Pseudo-inscription, cross pommée with pellets in angles. Weight: 0.87 g. Ipswich, near, Suffolk. M/d find, c. 1992? (EMC 2008.0048)	A.A.
98. Series C1 inverted <i>Obv.</i> Rad. bust r., <i>Tæpa</i> (runic) before face. <i>Rev.</i> TOTII in standard. Weight not recorded. Blackmore End, Essex. M/d find, 2007. Found by Paul James. (EMC 2007.0152)	M.A.	107. Series D (Type 8) derivative, cf. North 50 <i>Obv.</i> Standard. <i>Rev.</i> Cross pommée with pellets in angles in beaded circle. Weight not recorded. Canterbury, near, Kent. M/d find, November 2007. Found by Robert Parkes. (EMC 2007.0314)	M.R.A.
99. Series C2 <i>Obv.</i> Rad. bust r., <i>Tæpa</i> (runic) before face. <i>Rev.</i> TOTII in standard. Weight: 1.13 g. Great Bromley, Essex. M/d find, 2007. (EMC 2007.0228)	C.M./M.R.A.	108. Series E, VICO var. 1b <i>Obv.</i> Porcupine. <i>Rev.</i> VICO in standard. Weight: 0.91 g. Aldeby, Norfolk. M/d find, 2007. Found by Terry Read. (EMC 2007.0060)	M.R.A.
100. Series C2 <i>Obv.</i> Rad. bust r., <i>Tæpa</i> (runic) before face. <i>Rev.</i> TOTII in standard. Weight: 0.88 g. Great Bromley, Essex. M/d find, 2007. (EMC 2007.0268)	C.M./M.R.A.	109. Series E, VICO var. 1b <i>Obv.</i> Porcupine. <i>Rev.</i> VICO in standard. Weight 1.04 g. Wetwang, near, North Yorkshire. M/d find, 2007. (EMC 2008.0052)	A.A.
101. Series CZ <i>Obv.</i> Rad. bust r., <i>Oæpa</i> (runic) before face. <i>Rev.</i> TOTII in standard. Weight: 1.13 g. Die axis 90°.			



110. Series E, VICO var. 1
Obv. Porcupine.
Rev. VICO in standard.
 Weight: 1.05 g. Die axis 270°.
 Linton, Cambridgeshire. M/d find, 1972–2007. Found by Robert and Barbara Spall.
 (EMC 2007.0183) M.R.A.

111. Series E, VICO cf. var. 2
Obv. Porcupine.
Rev. VICO in standard.
 Weight not recorded.
 Stowe, Northamptonshire. M/d find, 2007. Found by David Derby.
 A derivative of Series E VICO var. 2, with V instead of C and an extra pellet added to the row of three on the I of VICO.
 (EMC 2007.0296) M.R.A.

112. Series E, Plumed Bird var. J, North 49
Obv. 'Plumed bird' porcupine.
Rev. Standard.
 Weight: 1.15 g.
 Stradsett, Norfolk. M/d find, April 2007. Found by J. Coggles.
 (Norfolk HER 39566; EMC 2007.0150) A.B.M./M.R.A.

113. Series E, var. G4, North 45
Obv. Porcupine.
Rev. Standard.
 Weight: 1.13 g.
 Great Cornard, Suffolk. M/d find, 2007. Found by Michael Matthews.
 (EMC 2007.0303) F.M./M.R.A.

114. Series E, var. G(1?), North 45
Obv. Porcupine.
Rev. Standard.
 Weight: 1.15 g.
 Farnborough, near, Bromley. M/d find, by 2007.
 (EMC 2008.0050) A.A.

115. Series E, var. G derivative, North 45
Obv. Porcupine.
Rev. Standard.
 Weight: 1.02 g.
 Beachamwell, Norfolk. M/d find, 2007. Found by Steve Brown.
 (Norfolk HER 4561; EMC 2007.0217) A.B.M./M.R.A.

116. Series E, Secondary Variety D, North 45
Obv. Porcupine.
Rev. Standard.
 Weight: 1.08 g.
 Linton, Cambridgeshire. 1972–2007. Found by Robert and Barbara Spall.
 (EMC 2007.0184) M.R.A.

117. Series E, Secondary Variety (E or G?), North 45
Obv. Porcupine.
Rev. Standard.
 Weight: 0.73 g.
 Wetwang, near, East Yorkshire. M/d find, 2007.
 (EMC 2008.0049) A.A.

118. Series E, Secondary Variety, North 45
Obv. Porcupine.

119. Series E, Secondary Variety, North 45
Obv. Porcupine.
Rev. TOTII in standard.
 Weight: 0.98 g. Die axis 90°.
 Linton, Cambridgeshire. 1972–2007. Found by Robert and Barbara Spall.
 (EMC 2007.0185) M.R.A.

120. Series E, Secondary Variety, North 45
Obv. Porcupine.
Rev. Standard.
 Weight: 1.2 g.
 Cliffe, Medway. M/d find, January 2007.
 (EMC 2007.0264) D.H./M.R.A.

121. Series E, Secondary Variety, North 45
Obv. Porcupine.
Rev. TOTII in standard.
 Weight not recorded.
 Stoke Charity, Hampshire. M/d find, 31 October 2007.
 Found by Mark Duell.
 (EMC 2007.0275) M.R.A.

122. Series E, Secondary Variety, North 45
Obv. Porcupine.
Rev. Standard.
 Weight: 0.86 g.
 Whissonsett, Norfolk. Excavation find, 2005.
 (EMC 2007.0295) A.B./M.R.A.

123. Series E, Secondary Variety, North 45
Obv. Porcupine.
Rev. Standard.
 Weight: 0.91 g.
 Beachamwell, Norfolk. M/d find, 2007. Found by Steve Brown.
 (Norfolk HER 4561; EMC 2007.0306) A.B.M./M.R.A.

124. Series E, Secondary Variety, North 45
Obv. Porcupine.
Rev. Standard.
 Weight not recorded.
 Maidstone, near, Kent. M/d find, November 2007.
 Found by Robert Parkes.
 (EMC 2007.0313) M.R.A.

125. Series E, Secondary Variety, North 45
Obv. Porcupine.
Rev. TOTII in standard.
 Weight: 1.17 g.
 Ongar, near, Essex. M/d find, by 2007.
 (EMC 2007.0325) B.H./M.R.A.

126. Series E, Porcupine/Stepped Cross (Type 53), North 150
Obv. Porcupine.
Rev. 'Stepped' cross.
 Weight: 1.31 g.
 Humberside. M/d find, by 2007. Found by James Robinson.
 (EMC 2008.0051) M.R.A.

127. Series E, SEDE type, North 47
Obv. Porcupine.

Rev. S E C E and annulets enclosing pellets around central cross pommée.
Weight: 1.22 g.
East Marden, West Sussex. M/d find, by 2007.
(EMC 2007.0330) B.H./M.R.A.

128. Vernus Group 1
Obv. Degraded bust r., with corrupted **VERNVS** legend.
Rev. Standard.
Weight not recorded.
Canterbury, near, Kent. M/d find, 22 November 2007.
Found by Robert Parkes.
(EMC 2007.0312) M.R.A.

129. Vernus Group 2a
Obv. Degraded bust r., with corrupted **VERNVS** legend.
Rev. **TOTT** in standard.
Weight: 1.17 g.
Long Stratton, Norfolk. M/d find, 2007.
(EMC 2008.0053) A.A.

130. Series F (Metcalf b.i) (Type 24b), North 62
Obv. Pseudo-inscription, diad. bust r.
Rev. Pseudo-inscription, cross on steps with four annulets.
Weight not recorded.
Northampton, Northamptonshire. M/d find, 2007.
Found by Tim Binns.
(EMC 2007.0169) M.R.A.

131. Series F (Metcalf b.i) (Type 24b), North 62
Obv. Pseudo-inscription, diad. bust r.
Rev. Pseudo-inscription, cross on steps with four annulets.
Weight not recorded.
Stamford Bridge, near, North Yorkshire. M/d find, 2007. Found by Paul Marshall.
(EMC 2007.0234) M.R.A.

132. Series BZ (Type 29b) North 131
Obv. **VV+::+VS**, facing head with long hair, moustaches and beard.
Rev. Inscription, bird on cross with annulet in field.
Weight: 1.02 g.
Boston, near, Lincolnshire. M/d find, by 2007.
(EMC 2008.0042) A.A.

133. Series Z (Type 66), North 145
Obv. Facing head with long hair, moustaches and beard.
Rev. Quadruped r. with head down and tail curled between legs.
Weight not recorded.
Cliffe, Medway. M/d find, 5 June 2007. Found by Alec Crampton.
(EMC 2007.0161) M.R.A.

134. Series W, Metcalf var. a, North 148
Obv. Standing figure, head r., holding two crosses.
Rev. Cross-crosslet on saltire.
Weight: 1.15 g.
East Marden, West Sussex. M/d find, by 2007.
(EMC 2007.0333) B.H./M.R.A.

135. Series W, Metcalf var. c, North 148
Obv. Standing figure, head r., holding two crosses.
Rev. Cross-crosslet on saltire.
Weight: 1.05 g.

Linton, Cambridgeshire. 1972–2007. Found by Robert and Barbara Spall.
(EMC 2007.0186) M.R.A.

Pennies ('Sceattas'): Secondary

136. Series G (Type 3a), North 43
Obv. Diad. bust r., cross before face.
Rev. Standard with four crosses pommée and central annulet enclosing pellet.
Weight: 1.09 g.
Upwell, Norfolk. M/d find, September 2007. Found by M. Carlile.
Same dies as Metcalf, *Thrymsas and Sceattas*, no. 267.
(Norfolk HER 25843; EMC 2007.0278) A.B.M./M.R.A.

137. Series G (Type 3a), North 43
Obv. Diad. bust r., cross before face.
Rev. Standard with four crosses pommée and central annulet enclosing pellet.
Weight: 0.96 g.
Beachamwell, Norfolk. M/d find, 2007. Found by Steve Brown.
(Norfolk HER 4561; EMC 2007.0308) A.B.M./M.R.A.

138. Series G (Type 3a), North 43
Obv. Diad. bust r., cross before face.
Rev. Standard with four crosses pommée and central annulet enclosing pellet.
Weight: 1.12 g.
East Marden, West Sussex. M/d find, by 2007.
(EMC 2007.0332) B.H./M.R.A.

139. Series G (Type 3a), North 43
Obv. Diad. bust r., cross before face.
Rev. Standard with four crosses pommée and central annulet enclosing pellet.
Weight: 0.83 g.
Driffield, near, East Yorkshire. M/d find, by 2007.
(EMC 2008.0054) A.A.

140. Series G (Type 3a), North 43
Obv. Diad. bust r., cross before face.
Rev. Standard with three crosses pommée and central annulet enclosing pellet.
Weight: 0.83 g.
Malton, near, North Yorkshire. M/d find, by 2007.
(EMC 2008.0055) A.A.

141. Series G (Type 3a), North 43
Obv. Diad. bust r., cross before face.
Rev. Standard with three crosses pommée and central annulet enclosing pellet.
Weight: 0.63 g (chipped).
Asfordby Parish, Leicestershire. M/d find, 3 March 2007. Found by Chris Bursnell.
(EMC 2007.0074) W.S./M.R.A.

142. Series G (Type 3a), North 43
Obv. Diad. bust r., cross before face.
Rev. Standard with four crosses pommée and central annulet enclosing pellet.
Weight: 1.13 g.
East Yorkshire. M/d find, 2006.
(EMC 2008.0056) A.A.

143. Series G (Type 3a) imitation, cf. North 43
Obv. Bust r., cross before face.
Rev. Standard with four crosses and central pellet.
 Weight: 1.24 g.
 Farnborough, Bromley. M/d find, by 2007.
 (EMC 2007.0073) B.H./M.R.A.

144. Type 70
Obv. Saltire standard.
Rev. Standard.
 Weight: 0.73 g.
 Wetwang, near, East Yorkshire. M/d find, October 2007.
 (EMC 2008.0081) A.A.

145. Hexagram ('Herstal') type
Obv. 'Star of David' around central star.
Rev. Lines radiating from central pellet with pellets in field.
 Weight: 0.99 g.
 Wetwang, near, East Yorkshire. M/d find, October 2007.
 (EMC 2008.0080) A.A.

146. Series H (Type 39), North 96
Obv. Round shield with central rosette and four rosettes around rim.
Rev. Bird r. with wing raised over back.
 Weight not recorded.
 Micheldever, Hampshire. M/d find, 31 March 2007.
 Found by Mark Duell.
 (EMC 2007.0092) M.R.A.

147. Series H (Type 49), Metcalf var. 3, North 103
Obv. Facing head surrounded by seven roundels.
Rev. Bird r. with wing raised over back.
 Weight not recorded.
 Stoke Charity, Hampshire. M/d find, 3 May 2007.
 Found by Mark Duell.
 (EMC 2007.0148) M.R.A.

148. Series J (Type 85), North 128
Obv. Diad. bust r.
Rev. Bird on cross between two annulets.
 Weight: 0.79 g. Die axis 180°.
 Wetwang, near, East Yorkshire. M/d find, October 2007.
 (EMC 2008.0058) A.A.

149. Series K (Type 33), North 93
Obv. Diad. bust r., cross before face.
Rev. Wolf's head r.
 Weight: 1.01 g.
 Ashford, near, Kent. M/d find, by 2007.
 (EMC 2007.0342) B.H./M.R.A.

150. Series K (Type 33), North 94
Obv. Diad. bust r., cross before face.
Rev. Wolf's head l.
 Weight not recorded.
 Harston, Cambridgeshire. M/d find, October 2007.
 Found by Chris Gander.
 (EMC 2007.0269) M.R.A.

151. Series K (Type 32a) derivative
Obv. Cross forchée in circle with pellet in each angle and pellet at the end of each limb, within beaded border.
Rev. Wolf-whorl.
 Weight: 1.06 g.

North Cambridgeshire/Wash area. M/d find, 2007.
 (EMC 2008.0079) A.A.

152. Series L (Type 12/5)
Obv. Diad. bust r., **DE LVNDONIA**.
Rev. Porcupine l., **SCORVM** below.
 Weight not recorded.
 Oxborough, near, Norfolk. M/d find, 4 November 2007. Found by Barry Hamilton.
 (EMC 2007.0280) M.R.A.

153. Series L (Type 12/5), plated imitation
Obv. [JVNDONIA]
Rev. Porcupine l., **SCORVM** below.
 Weight not recorded.
 Firle, East Sussex. M/d find, 2007. Found by Kenneth Peate.
 (EMC 2007.0224) M.R.A.

154. Series L (Type 15b/16)
Obv. Diad. bust r., cross before face.
Rev. Standing figure holding two crosses.
 Weight: 0.91 g. Die axis 270°.
 Didcot, Oxfordshire. M/d find, by 2007.
 (EMC 2008.0059) A.A.

155. Series L (Type 23e), North 85
Obv. Standing figure with two crosses.
Rev. Whorl of three wolf-worms.
 Weight: 0.97 g.
 Norwich, Norfolk. M/d find, by 2007.
 (EMC 2008.0060) A.A.

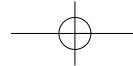
156. C ARIP Group (Type 63)
Obv. Diad bust r., inscription before face.
Rev. Standing figure holding two crosses.
 Weight: 0.85 g.
 Bedfordshire. M/d find, by 2007.
 (EMC 2007.0240) B.H./M.R.A.

157. C ARIP Group (Type 63)
Obv. Diad bust r., inscription before face.
Rev. Standing figure holding two crosses.
 Weight: 1.01 g.
 Thetford, Norfolk. M/d find, 2003.
 (EMC 2008.0078) A.A.

158. Series O (Type 38), North 95
Obv. Bust r. within pellet and cable borders.
Rev. Bird r. pecking berries in vine, within serpent-headed torque.
 Weight: 1.09 g. Die axis 90°.
 Wetwang, near, East Yorkshire. M/d find, by 2007.
 (EMC 2008.0061) A.A.

159. Series O (Type 38), North 95
Obv. Bust l. within pellet and cable borders.
Rev. Bird r. pecking berries in vine, within serpent-headed torque.
 Weight: 1.07 g.
 Gloucester, Gloucestershire. M/d find, March 2007.
 (EMC 2008.0063) A.A.

160. Series O (Type 40), North 113
Obv. Standing figure holding two crosses.
Rev. Monster l., looking back.
 Weight: 1.05 g. Die axis 180°.
 Wetwang, near, East Yorkshire. M/d find, 2007.
 (EMC 2008.0064) A.A.



161. Series QIe/QIId
Ov. Diad, bust r, cross before face.
Rev. Quadruped l., pellets in field.
 Weight: 0.86 g. Die axis 90°.
 Ware, near, Hertfordshire. M/d find, December 2006.
 Found by Kevin Easton.
 (EMC 2008.0069) M.R.A.

162. Series QIVd
Ov. Lion l., pellets in field.
Rev. Bird l., pellets in field.
 Weight: 0.68 g.
 Boston, near, Lincolnshire. M/d find, by 2007.
 (EMC 2008.0071) A.A.

163. Series Q(R) (Type 73)
Ov. Rad. bust r., pseudo-runic inscription before face.
Rev. Quadruped r., pellets in field.
 Weight: 0.81 g.
 Outwell, Norfolk. M/d find, by 2007. Found by M. Carlile.
 (EMC 2007.0038) A.B.M./M.R.A.

164. Series R1
Ov. Rad. bust r., *epa* (runic) before face.
Rev. TOTII in standard.
 Weight not recorded.
 Dorchester, near, Dorset. M/d find, 2007. Found by Martin Savage.
 An unusual variant of Series R1 with *epa* (runic) not reading outwardly, and tufa to the left and cross to the right of the standard.
 (EMC 2007.0036) M.R.A.

165. Series R, Metcalf R3.
Ov. Rad. bust r., *Tepa* (runic) before face.
Rev. Standard.
 Weight: 1.21 g.
 East Marden, West Sussex. M/d find, by 2007.
 (EMC 2007.0334) B.H./M.R.A.

166. Series R, Metcalf R3.
Ov. Rad. bust r., *Tepa* (runic) before face.
Rev. Standard.
 Weight: 1.00 g.
 Beachamwell, Norfolk. M/d find, 2007. Found by Steve Brown.
 (Norfolk HER 4561; EMC 2007.0307) A.B.M./M.R.A.

167. Series R, Metcalf R8.
Ov. Rad. bust r., *Oep* (runic) before face.
Rev. Standard.
 Weight: 0.99 g.
 Snettisham, Norfolk. M/d find, by 2007.
 (EMC 2007.0324) B.H./M.R.A.

168. Series R imitation
Ov. Rad. bust r., pseudo-runic inscription before face.
Rev. Standard.
 Weight: 1.16 g.
 Wix, Essex. M/d find, 2007.
 (EMC 2007.0081) C.M./M.R.A.

169. Series R derivative with cross-and-annulets reverse
Ov. Rad. bust r., runic inscription before face.
Rev. Cross and annulets in beaded circle.
 Weight not recorded.
 Micheldever, Hampshire. M/d find, 1 March 2007.

Found by Mark Duell.
 (EMC 2007.0091) M.R.A.

170. Series R derivative with cross-and-annulets reverse
Ov. Rad. bust l., *epa* (runic) before face.
Rev. Cross and annulets in beaded circle.
 Weight not recorded.
 Witchampton, near, Dorset. M/d find, 2007. Found by Chris Osborne.
 (EMC 2007.0279) M.R.A.

171. Series R derivative with annulet cross reverse
Ov. Rad. bust l., *epa* (runic) before face.
Rev. Four annulets around central pellet in beaded circle.
 Weight: 1.20 g.
 Winchester, Hampshire. M/d find, 2005.
 (EMC 2008.0066) A.A.

172. Series S (Type 47), North 121
Ov. Female centaur.
Rev. Whorl of four wolf-worms.
 Weight: 1.21 g.
 Hitchin, Hertfordshire. M/d find, September 2000.
 (EMC 2008.0072) A.A.

173. Series T (Type 9)
Ov. Diad. bust r., **LEL** before face.
Rev. Porcupine l.
 Weight not recorded.
 Bassingbourne, near, Cambridgeshire. M/d find, 2007.
 Found by Robert Parkes.
 (EMC 2007.0058) M.R.A.

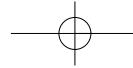
174. Series T (Type 9)
Ov. Diad. bust r., **TIV+** (T on its side) before face.
Rev. Porcupine l.
 Weight: 1.03 g.
 North Essex, Essex. M/d find, November 2007.
 Cf. Metcalf, *Thrymsas and Sceattas*, p. 547, var. 3.
 (EMC 2007.0304) B.H./M.R.A.

175. Series U (Type 23b), North 85
Ov. Standing figure in segment of a circle, head r., holding two crosses.
Rev. Bird-in-vine r.
 Weight: 1.19 g. Die axis 135°.
 Driffield, near, East Yorkshire. M/d find, summer 2007.
 (EMC 2008.0073) A.A.

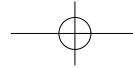
176. Series U (Type 23b/d), North 85
Ov. Standing figure in segment of a circle, head r., holding two crosses.
Rev. Bird-in-vine r.
 Weight: 1.12 g.
 Wetwang, near, East Yorkshire. M/d find, October 2007.
 (EMC 2008.0074) A.A.

177. Series X (Type 31), insular style, North 116
Ov. Facing 'Wodan' head, annulets in field.
Rev. Beast r. with head turned back, biting tail.
 Weight not recorded.
 East Hendred, Oxfordshire. M/d find, February 2007.
 Found by Jack Groves.
 (EMC 2007.0176) M.R.A.

178. Series N/X Eclectic Group (Type 81)
Ov. 'Wodan' head facing.



Rev. Cross pommée composed of four annulets. Weight: 1.10 g. Ewelme, Oxfordshire. M/d find, 2000. Found by David James. (PAS BERK-220523; EMC 2008.0067)	M.R.A.	Obv. EGBERHT AR Rev. +AVRHCV (R upside down, h and C retrograde). Weight: 0.85 g. South Newbald, East Yorkshire, East M/d find, 2007. (EMC 2008.0089)	A.A.
179. Series N/X Eclectic Group (Type 30a) <i>Obv.</i> 'Wodan' head facing. Rev. Two standing figures. Weight not recorded. Norfolk. M/d find, by 2007. (EMC 2008.0068)	A.A.	188. Alchred of Northumbria (765–74), North 179, York <i>Obv.</i> +ALUHREð (E and ð retrograde). Rev. Quadruped r., cross below. Weight: 1.02 g. Driffield, near, East Yorkshire. M/d find, by 2007. (EMC 2008.0088)	A.A.
180. Animal Mask Group <i>Obv.</i> Animal mask. Rev. Standing figure holding cross l. and bird r. Weight: 0.87 g. Die axis 180°. Didcot, Oxfordshire, M/D find, by 2007. (EMC 2008.0076)	A.A.	189. Æthelred I of Northumbria (1st reign) (774–8), North 180, York <i>Obv.</i> EDILRED (reading outwardly and retrograde). Rev. Quadruped r., triquetra below. Weight: 1.07 g. Driffield, near, East Yorkshire. M/d find, by 2007. (EMC 2008.0087)	A.A.
181. Animal Mask Group <i>Obv.</i> Animal mask. Rev. Cross potent with annulet centre on saltire in circle with outer circle of pellets. Weight: 1.04 g. Wetwang, near, East Yorkshire. M/d find, November 2007. (EMC 2008.0077)	A.A.	190. Ælfwald I of Northumbria (778–88), North 181, York <i>Obv.</i> +ALEFDLAL (partly reading outwardly). Rev. Quadruped l. Weight: 0.97 g. Driffield, near, East Yorkshire. M/d find, by 2007. (EMC 2008.0086)	A.A.
182. 'Fledgling' type, Abramson series I, style b <i>Obv.</i> Wolf's head r. Rev. Fledgling r. Weight: 1.15 g. Die axis 90°. Ewelme, Oxfordshire. M/d find, 2005. Found by David James. (PAS BERK-01EB24; EMC 2008.0057)	M.R.A.	191. Æthelred I of Northumbria (2nd reign) (790–6), North 184, York, Cuthgils <i>Obv.</i> ED.+LRED. Rev. CVD / CLS, beaded triangle ('shrine') surmounted by a cross. Weight: 0.93 g (chipped). Die axis 90°. South Newbald, East Yorkshire. M/d find, April 2007. From the same dies as no. 192. (EMC 2008.0092)	A.A.
183. Triquetras Group (Type 101) <i>Obv.</i> Interlace. Rev. Winged Victory. Ipswich, near, Suffolk. M/d find, c.1992? (EMC 2008.0082)	A.A.	192. Æthelred I of Northumbria (2nd reign) (790–6), North 184, York, Cuthgils <i>Obv.</i> ED.+LRED. Rev. CVD / CLS, beaded triangle ('shrine') surmounted by a cross. Weight: 1.07 g. Wetwang, East Yorkshire. M/d find, October 2007. From the same dies as no. 191. (EMC 2008.0093)	A.A.
184. Eadberht of Northumbria (737–58), Booth class G, North 177, York <i>Obv.</i> +EOTBEREHTVS Rev. Quadruped r. Weight: 1.01 g. East Yorkshire. M/d find, 2004. (EMC 2008.0084)	A.A.	193. Æthelred I of Northumbria (2nd reign) (790–6), North 185/1, York, Coelbald <i>Obv.</i> +AEDILRED around R Rev. +CEOLBALD (D retrograde). Weight: 1.02 g. Die axis 90°. East Yorkshire. M/d find, by 2007. (EMC 2008.0090)	A.A.
185. Eadberht of Northumbria (737–58), Booth class C, North 178, York <i>Obv.</i> EOTBEREHTVS. Rev. Quadruped l. Weight: 0.99 g. Market Weighton, near, East Yorkshire, 12 March 2007. Found by Ian Postlethwaite. (EMC 2007.0068)	M.R.A.	194. Æthelred I of Northumbria (2nd reign) (790–6), North 185/1, York, Tidwulf <i>Obv.</i> +EDILRED RE Rev. +TIDVVLF Weight: 0.96 g. Die axis 180°. Wetwang, near, East Yorkshire. M/d find, October 2007. (EMC 2008.0091)	A.A.
186. Eadberht of Northumbria (737–58), Booth class C, North 178, York <i>Obv.</i> EOTBEREHTVS. Rev. Quadruped l. Weight: 1.08 g. Wetwang, near, East Yorkshire. M/d find, by 2007. (EMC 2008.0083)	A.A.	195. Æthelred I of Northumbria (2nd reign) (790–6), North 185/9 (obverses of Ælfwald I and Æthelred I), York	
187. Ecgberht, archbishop of York (732/4–66) with Alchred of Northumbria (765–74), North 193, York			



Obv. +ELVALD REVD (reading outwardly and retrograde).
Rev. + AEDILRED
 Weight: 0.91 g.
 Kilham, East Yorkshire. M/d find, late 2005/early 2006.
 (EMC 2008.0085) A.A.

196. *Ælfwald II of Northumbria (806–8), North 183, York, Cuthheard*
Obv. +FLEVALðV2
Rev. +CVDHEVRT
 Weight: 0.83 g. Die axis 270°.
 Boynton, East Yorkshire. M/d find, by 2007.
 (EMC 2007.0322) D.A.D./M.R.A.

197. *Eanwald II, archbishop of York (796–837), North 194, York, Eadwulf*
Obv. +EANBALD AR
Rev. +EODVVLF
 Weight: 0.80 g.
 Malton, near, North Yorkshire. M/d find, by 2007.
 (EMC 2008.0097) A.A.

Stycas

198. *Eanred of Northumbria (c.810–40), North 186, York, Cynewulf*
Obv. +EANRED REX
Rev. +CYINVVLF (Vs as inverted As).
 Weight: 1.09 g. Die axis 75°.
 Pocklington, East Yorkshire. M/d find, by 2007.
 (EMC 2008.0094) A.A.

199. *Eanred of Northumbria (c.810–40), North 186, York, Wihtred*
Obv. +EANRED REX
Rev. +PIHTRED
 Weight: 0.84 g.
 Kilham, East Yorkshire. M/d find, by 2007.
 (EMC 2008.0096) A.A.

200. *Eanred of Northumbria (c.810–40), North 186, York, Wihtred*
Obv. +EANRED REX
Rev. +wightred (runic).
 Weight: 1.06 g.
 Pocklington, East Yorkshire. M/d find, by 2007.
 (EMC 2008.0098) A.A.

201. *Eanred of Northumbria (c.810–40), North 186, York, Wilheah*
Obv. +EANRED REX
Rev. +VILHEAH
 Weight: 0.93 g.
 Weaverthorpe, North Yorkshire. M/d find, 2005.
 (EMC 2008.0095) A.A.

202. *Æthelred II of Northumbria, 1st reign (c.840–44), North 188, York, Brother*
Obv. +EDELRED REX
Rev. +BRODER
 Weight: 0.92 g. Die axis 90°.
 Pocklington, East Yorkshire. M/d find, by 2007.
 (EMC 2008.0100) A.A.

203. *Æthelred II of Northumbria, 1st reign (c.840–44), North 188, York, Leofthegn*
Obv. +EDELRED REX

Rev. +LEOFDEJ[]
 Weight: 1.07 g. Die axis 60°.
 Pocklington, East Yorkshire. M/d find, by 2007.
 (EMC 2008.0099) A.A.

204. *Æthelred II of Northumbria, 1st reign (c.840–44), North 188, York, Wendelberht*
Obv. +EDILRED RE
Rev. +VEN ELBERHT (HT ligated).
 Weight: 1.10 g.
 Driffield, East Yorkshire. M/d find, by 2007.
 (EMC 2008.0103) A.A.

205. *Redwulf of Northumbria (c.844), North 189, York, Coenred*
Obv. +REDVVLF REX
Rev. +COENED
 Weight: 0.83 g.
 East Yorkshire. M/d find, April 2006.
 (EMC 2008.0101) A.A.

206. *Redwulf of Northumbria (c.844), North 189, York, Coenred*
Obv. +REDVVLF REX
Rev. +COENED
 Weight: 1.04 g.
 Weaverthorpe, North Yorkshire. M/d find, 2005.
 (EMC 2008.0102) A.A.

207. *Wigmund, archbishop of York (837–54), North 196, York, Ethelhelm*
Obv. +EIGMVND
Rev. +EDELHELM
 Weight: 0.94 g.
 East Yorkshire. M/d find, April 2006.
 (EMC 2008.0104) A.A.

208. *Wigmund, archbishop of York (837–54), North 196, York, Hunlaf*
Obv. +VIGMVND IR
Rev. +HVNLAF
 Weight: 0.81 g. Die axis 180°.
 Driffield, near, East Yorkshire. M/d find, by 2007.
 (EMC 2008.0105) A.A.

209. *Wulfsere, archbishop of York (854–900), North 197, York, Wulfred*
Obv. +VLFHERE ARP
Rev. +VVLFRED (retrograde).
 Weight: 1.20 g.
 Driffield, near, East Yorkshire. M/d find, by 2007.
 (EMC 2008.0106) A.A.

210. *Irregular issue, mid-9th century*
Obv. +ECLEVNI[E?] (retrograde).
Rev. +EADVINI (retrograde).
 Weight: 0.82 g.
 Pocklington, East Yorkshire. M/d find, by 2007.
 (EMC 2008.0107) A.A.

Later Anglo-Saxon

211. *Offa of Mercia (757–96), Light Coinage, Chick 23, Dud*
Obv. OFFA REX
Rev. + / ð / U / ð
 Weight: 1.3 g (chipped).
 Maidstone, near, Kent. M/d find, June 2006.

The second known specimen of Chick type 23, struck from a different pair of dies.
(PAS: KENT-CE7AE1; EMC 2007.0181) R.N.

212. Offa of Mercia (757–96), Light Coinage, cf. Chick 45 (rev.), Ealhmund
Ov. OFFA REX MERCIORV (bar of contraction over V).

Rev. +E / AL / MV / Nā

Weight: 1.20 g.

Kirkby Mallory, Leicestershire. M/d find, by 2007. Found by David Mann.

This is a new type, combining the same reverse design as Chick 45 with an obverse design that has the same full legend and segmented inner circle as Chick 47, but with a different variety of bust. Unlike Chick 47, this bust features banded drapery similar to Chick 18 (Ciolhard), 23, 48 (both also Ealhmund), 67–71 (Pendred) and 126–9 (Pehtwald).
(EMC 2007.0165) R.N.

213. Offa of Mercia (757–96), Light Coinage, Chick -, Ethilweald.

Ov. +AE-DELUEALD

Rev. OF / F / AR / EX

Weight: 1.24 g.

Empingham, Rutland. M/d find, 3 September 2007. Found by Bruce Graham.

This new type belongs to the small group of early portrait pennies of Offa which have the moneyer's name on the obverse alongside the portrait, with the king's name (often in abbreviated form) on the reverse. The portrait and reverse design of this specimen are very similar to those of the only other coin of this group known for Ethilweald (BM; EMC 1988.0144). However, the reverse legend of this new coin gives Offa's name in full, unlike the abbreviated title on the reverse of the BM coin, and is struck from a different obverse die.
(EMC 2007.0225) R.N.

214. Offa of Mercia (757–96), Light Coinage, Chick 55, Ibba

Ov. []FFA

Rev. []/[]/B / A

Weight: 0.81 g (fragment). Die axis 90°.

Aldeby, Norfolk. M/d find, by 2007. Found by Terry Read.

Same dies as Chick 55b and 55c.

(EMC 2007.0064) R.N.

215. Offa of Mercia (757–96), Light Coinage, Chick 75, Blunt 83, Winoth

Ov. OFFA / REX

Rev. UU / IN / O / b

Weight: 1.07 g (cracked). Die axis 90°.

Grimsby, near, North East Lincolnshire. M/d find, by 2007.

(EMC 2007.0072) B.H./M.R.A.

216. Eadwald of East Anglia (796–8), Botred

Ov. EA+D / +VVAL[] / REX (VV inverted)

Rev. BO / T[] / ED

Weight: 1.20 g (chipped and cracked). Die axis 90°.

Southwell, near, Nottinghamshire. M/d find, 23 August 2007. Found by William French.

A small fragment of a coin of this type (though from a different obverse die without the small cross)

was found at Ramsholt, Suffolk, in 1989. It and this new find are the only known coins of Botred for Eadwald of East Anglia, although this moneyer was also active under Offa and Coenwulf of Mercia. The more substantial new coin reveals the entirety of the design, and in particular its similarity to the very earliest three-line pennies of Coenwulf of Mercia struck at London in 796–7/8 (BLS Coenwulf 1–3): all share the hooked bars on the obverse, and certain specimens of this early London group also have a tribrach reverse. Thus, these East Anglian coins of Botred should probably be associated with the year or two immediately after the death of Offa of Mercia in July 796, perhaps before the development of some of the more distinctive features of Eadwald's coinage.
(EMC 2007.0223) R.N.

217. Coenwulf of Mercia (796–821), BLS Cn. 16, North 342, London, Ibba

Ov. +COENVVL: F REX around M (bar of contraction over M)

Rev. IB / B / A

Weight not recorded.

Morestead, Hampshire. M/d find, 4 February 2006. Found by Mark Duell.

(EMC 2007.0094) M.R.A.

218. Coenwulf of Mercia (796–821), North 342, Canterbury, Seberht

Ov. +COENVVL F REX

Rev. SE / BE / RHT (1st and 2nd segments reading outwardly, 3rd segment retrograde).

Weight: 1.31 g. Die axis 240°.

Horseheath, Cambridgeshire. 1972–2007. Found by Robert and Barbara Spall.

The layout of the reverse legend is unusual for the coinage of this period.

(EMC 2007.0188) M.R.A./R.N.

219. Coenwulf of Mercia (796–821), North 347, Canterbury, Diormod

Ov. +COENVVL F REX M (bar of contraction over M)

Rev. +DIORMOD MONETA

Weight: 1.36 g (cracked). Die axis 270°.

Balsham Parish, Cambridgeshire. M/d find, July 2007. Found by Robert Spall.

Same obverse die as a coin in the British Museum (BMA 60).

(EMC 2007.0194) M.R.A./R.N.

220. Coenwulf of Mercia (796–821), BLS Cn. 97, North 362, Lul

Ov. []COENV[].

Rev. []JV[].

Weight: 0.40 g (fragment). Die axis 120°.

Malton, near, North Yorkshire. M/d find, by 2007.

(EMC 2007.0262) D.A.D.

221. Coenwulf of Mercia (796–821), East Anglian mint, Wihtred

Ov. +COENVVL F EX M

Rev. WVIT ED

Weight: 1.14 g (chipped).

Bawburgh, Norfolk. M/d find, April 2007. Found by Carla Velthaus.

A new type for this moneyer, of distinctive style, although comparable to some coins of the moneyer Botred/Fotred.
(EMC 2007.0142) M.R.A./R.N.

222. Coenwulf of Mercia (796–821), North 364, East Anglian mint, Wihtred?
Obv. []VLF REX[].
Rev. []EDIRA[].
Weight: 0.62 g (fragment).
Devizes, near, Wiltshire. M/d find, by 2007.
A new variety with a reverse inscription possibly indicating the moneyer Wihtred.
(EMC 2007.0045) B.H./M.R.A.

223. Æthelheard, archbishop of Canterbury (793–805) with Coenwulf of Mercia, North 232, Canterbury
Obv. +AEDILHEARD AR around EP
Rev. +COENVVLF REX around M (bar of contraction over M).
Weight: 1.0 g (cracked and chipped). Die axis 90°.
Chichester, near, Sussex. M/d find, May 2006.
(EMC 2007.0214) D.A.D.

224. Cuthred of Kent (798–807), North 207, Canterbury, Duda
Obv. CVB / RED / REX
Rev. D / V / D / A
Weight: 1.09 g (cracked and chipped). Die axis 180°.
Snettisham, Norfolk. M/d find, by 2007.
(EMC 2007.0137) B.H./M.R.A.

225. Cuthred of Kent (798–807), North 211, or Coenwulf of Mercia (796–821), North 344, Canterbury
Obv. Inscription missing.
Rev. Inscription missing.
Weight not recorded (fragment).
Cambridgeshire. M/d find, by 2007.
(EMC 2007.0260) D.D.

226. Baldred of Kent (823–5), North 213, Canterbury, Sigestef
Obv. +BEL[]X CANT (NT ligated).
Rev. []GESTE[]
Weight not recorded (fragment). Die axis 180°.
Kislingbury, Northamptonshire. M/d find, 2007. Found by Sue Johnston.
(EMC 2007.0210) M.R.A.

227. Beornwulf of Mercia (823–5), BLS Be 4, North 397, East Anglian mint, Monne
Obv. +B[]
Rev. []O.N[]
Weight not recorded.
Great Bookham, Surrey. M/d find, 1982.
(EMC 2007.0310) D.D./M.R.A.

228. Beornwulf of Mercia (823–5), East Anglian mint, Eadgar
Obv. D.E[R?]J]REX
Rev. +EA[]GAR (2nd A inverted).
Weight: 1.04 g (fragment).
Cromer, near, Norfolk. M/d find, May 2007.
(EMC 2007.0154) P.M./M.R.A.

229. Edmund of East Anglia (855–69), North 456, East Anglian mint, Eadmund
Obv. +EADMVND REX AN
Rev. +EADMVND MONE

Weight: 1.38 g.
Worlington, Suffolk. M/d find, 2007. Found by Steve Foster.
(PAS WCNSF-07D282; EMC 2007.0145) F.M./M.R.A.

230. Edmund of East Anglia (855–69), North 456, East Anglian mint, Sigred
Obv. +JND REX
Rev. +SIGERE[]
Weight: 0.9 g (fragment).
Maldon, near, Essex. M/d find, by 2007.
(EMC 2007.0311) D.D.

231. Æthelberht of Wessex (858–65), Inscribed Cross type, North 620. Æthelred
Obv. +AEÐELBEARHT RE[] (HT ligated).
Rev. []EÐELR / ED MO / N / E / T / A
Weight: 0.78 g (chipped). Die axis 180°.
King's Lynn, near, Norfolk. M/d find, by 2007.
(EMC 2007.0167) D.D.

232. Burgred of Mercia (852–74), Lunette type d, North 426, Dudeman
Obv. +BVRGRED REX
Rev. MON / DVDEMA / ETA
Weight: 1.17 g.
Sedgeford, Norfolk. M/d find, 1 September 2007.
Found by R. Greaves.
(Norfolk HER 1079; EMC 2007.0232) A.B.M./M.R.A.

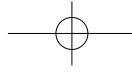
233. Plegmund, archbishop of Canterbury (899–924), Two-Line type, class I, North 253, Canterbury, uncertain moneyer
Obv. []REHII[]
Rev. []M
Weight not recorded.
Beckton, Newham. M/d find, by 2007.
(EMC 2007.0337) C.K./M.R.A.

234. St Edmund Memorial coinage, early phase (c.895–905), North 483
Obv. +SC[]AD[]D?]
Rev. []D[]RT MO
Weight not recorded (chipped). Die axis 90°.
Ipswich, near, Suffolk. M/d find, by 2007.
(EMC 2007.0259) D.D./M.R.A.

235. St Edmund Memorial coinage, later phase (c.905–18), North 483, Ansfred
Obv. +SCEAIDI (S on its side).
Rev. +ANSFRET
Weight not recorded (chipped).
Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk. M/d find, January/February 2007. Reported by Jason Baker.
(EMC 2007.0049) M.R.A.

236. St Edmund Memorial coinage, later phase (c.905–18), North 483, Cirvino
Obv. +SCADN (S on its side).
Rev. CIRVINO
Weight: 1.34 g.
Bacton, Suffolk. M/d find, 2007. Found by Chris Bayliss.
(Suffolk PAS SF-CE6094; EMC 2007.0257) F.M./M.R.A.

237. St Edmund Memorial coinage, later phase (c.905–18), North 483
Obv. +SRVFIDRIT
Rev. +ARAERITOV



Weight: 1.09 g.
Sedgeford, Norfolk. M/d find, 4 September 2007.
Found by R. Greaves.
(Norfolk HER 1079; EMC 2007.0231) A.B.M./M.R.A.

238. St Edmund Memorial coinage, later phase (c.905–18), North 483
Obv. OE CIVIS (S on its side).
Rev. +CTVFIVI (T inverted).
Weight: 1.24 g.
Whissonsett, Norfolk. Excavation find, 2005.
The obverse seems to be related to the **ERIAICE CIV** type (North 483/3).
(EMC 2007.0294) A.B./M.R.A.

239. St Edmund Memorial coinage, later phase (c.905–18), North 483
Obv. []AI[].
Rev. []OI[].
Weight: 0.26 g (fragment).
Seething, Norfolk. M/d find, by 2007. Found by Steve Dunthorne.
(Norfolk HER 40302; EMC 2007.0039) A.B.M./M.R.A.

240. St Edmund Memorial coinage, later phase (c.905–18), name of St Edmund both sides, North 483/1
Obv. +SCEAID
Rev. +SICEIVA
Weight: 1.15 g.
Thetford parish, Norfolk. M/d find, 1 October 2007.
Found by Tom Thompson.
(EMC 2007.0243) M.R.A.

241. St Edmund Memorial coinage, halfpenny, North 485
Obv. Inscription missing.
Rev. []SI[].
Weight not recorded (fragment). Die axis 180°.
Lincolnshire. M/d find, September 2007.
(EMC 2007.0238) R.P.

242. Anlaf Guthfrithsson (939–41), Raven/Small Cross type North 537/1, York
Obv. Inscription missing.
Rev. Inscription missing.
Weight not recorded.
South Yorkshire. M/d find, by 2007.
(EMC 2007.0258) D.D.

243. Edward the Elder (899–924), Two-Line type, North 649, Winele
Obv. +EADVVEARD REX
Rev. L MOI / PINE (M inverted).
Weight: 1.41 g (chipped). Die axis 90°.
Martlesham, Suffolk. M/d find, by 2007.
(EMC 2007.0326) B.H./M.R.A.

244. Edward the Elder (899–924), Two-Line type, North 649, Winele
Obv. +EADVVEARD REX
Rev. +PINEL / MON
Weight: 1.6 g.
Sudbury, near, Suffolk. M/d find, 2007. Found by Sally Atkinson.
(EMC 2007.0318) M.R.A.

245. Edmund (939–46), Two-Line type, North 688, Beorhtred
Obv. +EADMVND REX
Rev. BERHT / RED MO
Weight: 1.07 g (chipped and cracked).
King's Lynn, near, Norfolk. M/d find, by 2007.
(EMC 2007.0168) D.D.

246. Edmund (939–46), Bust Crowned type, North 698, Norwich, Hrodgar
Obv. +EADMVND REX
Rev. +HRODGAR MO NORPIC
Weight: 1.29 g (chipped). Die axis 180°.
Great Thurlow, Suffolk. 1972–2007. Found by Robert and Barbara Spall.
(EMC 2007.0191) M.R.A.

247. Edmund (939–46), Bust Crowned type, North 698, Norwich, Manen
Obv. +EADMVND REX
Rev. +MANEN MO NORPE
Weight: 1.35 g (chipped). Die axis 90°.
Hindringham, Norfolk. M/d find, by 2007. Found by Simon Gray.
(Norfolk HER 29133; EMC 2007.0040) A.B.M./M.R.A.

248. Eadred (946–55), Bust Crowned type, North 713, uncertain mint, Clac
Obv. +[]RED R[]X
Rev. +CLA[]MONETA[]ET
Weight: 0.91 g (chipped and cracked).
Manningtree, near, Essex. M/d find, by 2007.
(EMC 2007.0166) D.D.

249. Edgar (959–75), Circumscription Cross type, North 749, Winchester, Wulfhere
Obv. +EAD[]REX AGLORV
Rev. +VV[]ERE MO PINTONIA (NT ligated).
Weight: 1.05 g (chipped). Die axis 180°.
Waterlooville, Hampshire. M/d find, 2005.
(EMC 2007.0323) B.H./M.R.A.

250. Edgar (959–75), Bust Crowned type, North 750, East Anglo Saxon mint, Bruning
Obv. +EAD[]RX
Rev. +BRVNINC[]AE
Weight not recorded (chipped).
Ely, Cambridgeshire. M/d find, 2 June 2007. Found by Wayne Davies.
(EMC 2007.0158) M.R.A.

251. Edgar (959–75), Floral 'a' halfpenny, North 762
Obv. +EA[]GAR REX
Rev. []O[]
Weight not recorded (chipped and corroded). Die axis 270°.
Berkeley Castle, Gloucestershire. Excavation find, 2007.
(EMC 2007.0143) S.P./M.R.A.

252. Edward the Martyr (975–8), North 763, York, Ælfstan
Obv. +EADPEARD REX AI
Rev. +ELFSTAN M-O EFR
Weight not recorded.
Pocklington, Yorkshire. M/d find, by 2007.
(EMC 2007.0134) D.A.D.

253. Æthelred II (978–1016), First Hand type, North 766, Canterbury, uncertain moneyer
Obv. []EX ANGLORX

Rev. +[]M-O CÆNT
Weight: 0.69 g (cut halfpenny). Die axis 170°.
Little Thurlow, near, Suffolk. 1972–2007. Found by Robert and Barbara Spall.
(EMC 2007.0198) M.R.A.

254. Æthelred II (978–1016), First Hand type, North 766, London, Goda
Obv. +ÆDELRAED REX ANGLORX
Rev. +GOD M-O LVNDONI
Weight: 1.46 g.
Little Bardfield, Essex. M/d find, 2007. Found by Clive Coleman
(EMC 2007.0155) F.M./M.R.A.

255. Æthelred II (978–1016), Second Hand type, North 768, London, Eadmund
Obv. +ÆDELRAED REX ANGLORX
Rev. +ADMVND M-O LVND
Weight: 1.08 g.
Brettenham, Norfolk. M/d find, by 2007. Found by David Richardson.
(Norfolk HER 41001; EMC 2007.0216) A.B.M./M.R.A.

256. Æthelred II (978–1016), Second Hand type, North 768, London, Oscytel
Obv. +ÆDELRAED REX ANGLORX
Rev. +OSCYTEL M-O LVND
Weight: 1.38 g. Die axis 90°.
Great Wratting, near, Suffolk. 1972–2007. Found by Robert and Barbara Spall.
(EMC 2007.0190) M.R.A.

257. Æthelred II (978–1016), Long Cross type, North 774, Lydford, Goda
Obv. +ÆDELRAED REX ANGL (NG ligated).
Rev. +GODA MOO LYDA
Weight: 1.4 g.
Gisleham, Suffolk. M/d find, 2007. Found by Steven Walker.
(EMC 2007.0089) F.M./M.R.A.

258. Æthelred II (978–1016), Long Cross type, North 774, uncertain mint, Ælfric
Obv. []REX ANGLO (NG and LO ligated).
Rev. +ÆLFRIC[]
Weight: 0.65 g (cut halfpenny). Die axis 150°.
Little Cornard, Suffolk. M/d find, by 2007. Found by Michael Matthews.
(PAS SF-CB7B11; EMC 2007.0179) F.M./M.R.A.

259. Æthelred II (978–1016), Long Cross type, North 774, uncertain mint, Manna
Obv. +ÆDEL[]
Rev. +MANNA[]
Weight: 0.86 g (cut halfpenny).
Whissonsett, Norfolk. M/d find, January 2007. Found by G. Linton.
(Norfolk HER 13016; EMC 2007.0050) A.B.M./M.R.A.

260. Cnut (1016–35), Short Cross type, North 790, Lincoln, uncertain moneyer
Obv. []RE[]
Rev. []NE ON LIN[]
Weight: 0.47 g (fragment). Die axis 90°.
Long Stratton, Norfolk. M/d find, by 2007. Found by A. Hedge.
(Norfolk HER 40566; EMC 2007.0041) A.B.M./M.R.A.

261. Cnut (1016–35), Short Cross type, North 790, London, Leofwold
Obv. +CNV[]CX
Rev. +LEOFOLD ON[]
Weight: 1.07 g (bent).
Rendham, Suffolk. M/d find, 2007. Found by Ian Palmer.
(PAS SF-096757; EMC 2007.0153) F.M./M.R.A.

262. Cnut (1016–35), Short Cross type, North 790, Thetford, Brunstan
Obv. +CNVT.REC.X:
Rev. +BRVNSTAN ON Æ
Weight: 1.02 g.
Isleham, Cambridgeshire. M/d find, by 2007. Found by Shane Smalley.
(PAS SF-178BD5; EMC 2007.0075) F.M./M.R.A.

263. Cnut (1016–35), Short Cross type, North 790, Watchet, Siward
Obv. +CNVT REC:
Rev. +SIPERD ON PECD
Weight: 1.01 g. Die axis 90°.
Bassingbourne, near, Cambridgeshire. M/d find, April 2007. Found by Cordelia Joyce.
A previously unrecorded moneyer for the Watchet mint.
(EMC 2007.0151) M.R.A.

264. Cnut (1016–35), Short Cross type, North 790, Winchester, Æthelric
Obv. +CNVT REC:
Rev. [+]ÆGELRIC ON [PINC]
Weight not recorded (fragment). Die axis 270°.
Stoke Charity, Hampshire. M/d find, 11 August 2006. Found by Mark Duell.
From the same dies as Copenhagen SCBI 15, 4225.
(EMC 2007.0140) M.R.A.

265. Cnut (1016–35), Short Cross type, North 790, Winchester, Wulnoth
Obv. +CNVT RECX:
Rev. +PVLNOD ON PINC:
Weight not recorded.
Stoke Charity, Hampshire. M/d find, 27 October 2007. Found by Mark Duell.
(EMC 2007.0270) M.R.A.

266. Cnut (1016–35), Short Cross type, North 790, York, Ucede
Obv. []NVT[]
Rev. []CEDE ONN E[]
Weight: 0.64 g (fragment). Die axis 270°.
Snettisham, Norfolk. M/d find, by 2007.
(EMC 2007.0070) B.H./M.R.A.

267. Harold I (1035–40), Jewel Cross type, North 802 var., Northampton or Norwich, Ælfwine
Obv. +HAROLD REX
Rev. +ÆLFFINE ON NOR
Weight not recorded. Die axis 180°.
Horseheath, Cambridgeshire. 1972–2007. Found by Robert and Barbara Spall.
(EMC 2007.0189) M.R.A.

268. Harold I (1035–40), Jewel Cross type, North 802 var., Thetford, Ælfwine
Obv. +HAROLD RECX
Rev. +ELFPNE ON ÆDOT

Weight not recorded (bent).
Fordham, Cambridgeshire. M/d find, 16 September 2007. Found by Peter Corbett.
(EMC 2007.0233) M.R.A.

269. Harold I (1035–40), Fleur-de-Lis type, North 803, Colchester, Godric
Obv. +HARLD REX
Rev. +GORIC ON COLC
Weight: 0.88 g (chipped and cracked). Die axis 270°. Clare, Suffolk. M/d find, 2007. Found by John Allen. (PAS: SF-EB7F87; EMC 2007.0171) F.M./M.R.A.

270. Harthacnut (1035–7, 1040–42), ‘Cnut’ Arm and Sceptre type, North 799, Salisbury, Wynstan
Obv. []REX AN[]
Rev. []TAN ON SER[]
Weight: c.0.45 g (recorded as 7 gr.; cut halfpenny). Bincknoll Castle, near, Wiltshire. M/d find, 3 June 2007. Found by Mark Gillett.
From the same dies as *SCBI* 40, 1915.
(EMC 2007.0172) M.R.A.

271. Edward the Confessor (1042–66), Pacx type, North 813, Cambridge, Godsun
Obv. +EDPARD REX
Rev. +GODSVN ON GRA
Weight not recorded (chipped and cracked). Die axis 180°. Stoke Charity, Hampshire. M/d find, 3 May 2007. Found by Mark Duell.
(EMC 2007.0149) M.R.A.

272. Edward the Confessor (1042–66), Pacx type, North 813, uncertain mint and moneyer
Obv. +EDPARDI RECX AN
Rev. +CC.CLDICOENEE
Weight: 0.91 g.
Vale of Glamorgan. M/d find, by 2007. Found by E. Mirtchell.
(EMC 2007.0082) M.R.A.

273. Edward the Confessor (1042–66), Radiate Small Cross type, North 816, Stamford, Godwine
Obv. []ERDE R[]
Rev. +GODPI[]NF
Weight not recorded (cut halfpenny). Lincoln, near, Lincolnshire. M/d find, 12 February 2007. Found by Kevin Pearce.
(EMC 2007.0079) M.R.A.

274. Edward the Confessor (1042–66), Trefoil Quadrilateral type, North 817, London, Wulfric
Obv. +EDPE REX I\I
Rev. +PVLFRIC ON LVNE
Weight: 0.71 g.
Shudy Camps, Cambridgeshire. 1972–2007. Found by Robert and Barbara Spall.
(EMC 2007.0187) M.R.A.

275. Edward the Confessor (1042–66), Trefoil Quadrilateral type, North 817, Stamford, Harcinc
Obv. +EDPERD REX
Rev. +HARCIN ONN STAN (NN ligated).
Weight: 0.90 g (bent and cracked). Die axis 270°. Herringswell, Suffolk. M/d find, April 2007. Found by John Baxter.
(EMC 2007.0146) M.R.A.

276. Edward the Confessor (1042–66), Small Flan type, North 818, London, Leofred
Obv. +EDWRD RE
Rev. +LEFRED ONLV (NL ligated).
Weight: 1.09 g.
Outwell, Norfolk. M/d find, January 2007. Found by M. Brown.
(Norfolk HER 41077; EMC 2007.0062) A.B.M./M.R.A.

277. Edward the Confessor (1042–66), Small Flan type, North 818, Stamford, Wulfwine
Obv. +EDERD RE
Rev. +PVLFPINA ON S
Weight not recorded.
North Yorkshire. M/d find, 2007.
From the same dies as *SCBI* 27, 1413–14.
(EMC 2007.0315) I.P./M.R.A.

278. Edward the Confessor (1042–66), Small Flan type, North 818, Winchester, Ifing
Obv. +EDPRD RE
Rev. +IFINC ON PINC
Weight not recorded.
Stoke Charity, Hampshire. M/d find, 20 April 2007. Found by Mark Duell.
(EMC 2007.0139) M.R.A.

279. Edward the Confessor (1042–66), Small Flan type, North 818, Winchester, Wynstan?
Obv. +EDPERD[]
Rev. +[]Y?NSTAN ON PIN (NP ligated).
Weight not recorded (chipped). Micheldever, Hampshire. M/d find, 25 August 2007. Found by Mark Duell.
The moneyer’s name is uncertain, but if it is Wynstan this is a new type for a moneyer previously only recorded in the Expanding Cross type.
(EMC 2007.0222) M.R.A.

280. Edward the Confessor (1042–66), Small Flan type, North 818, York, Eola
Obv. +ED[]ERD RE
Rev. +EOLA ON EOF[]R.
Weight: 0.79 g (chipped). Flixton, North Yorkshire. M/d find, 2007. Found by Ian Postlethwaite.
(EMC 2007.0147) M.R.A.

281. Edward the Confessor (1042–66), Expanding Cross type, light issue, North 820, Nottingham, Wulnoth
Obv. +EDPA.RD RE:
Rev. +PVLNOD ON SNOTI
Weight: 1.04 g (recorded as 16 gr.). Lincoln, near, Lincolnshire. M/d find, 12 March 2007. Found by Kevin Pearce.
(EMC 2007.0078) M.R.A.

282. Edward the Confessor (1042–66), Hammer Cross type, North 828, Bedford, Leofthegn
Obv. []ERDI[]
Rev. []DEGEN ON[]
Weight not recorded (cut halfpenny). Melbourn, Cambridgeshire. M/d find, 30 January 2007. Reported by Jason Baker.
(EMC 2007.0048) M.R.A.

283. Edward the Confessor (1042–66), Hammer Cross type, North 828, Derby, Froma

Obv. +HEADPARRD RE
Rev. +FROMA ON DEORB
 Weight not recorded.
 Hampole, Doncaster. M/d find, 27 December 2005.
 (EMC 2007.0301) C.K./M.R.A.

284. Edward the Confessor (1042–66), Hammer Cross type, North 828, London, Godric
Obv. +HEADPARRD RE
Rev. +GODRIC ON LVNDE
 Weight not recorded.
 Stoke Charity, Hampshire. M/d find, 27 October 2007.
 Found by Mark Duell.
 (EMC 2007.0271) M.R.A.

285. Edward the Confessor (1042–66), Bust Facing/Small Cross type, North 830, Malmesbury, Berhtwine
Obv. EADPARD RE
Rev. +TRIHIPION MALME
 Weight not recorded.
 Dorchester, near, Dorset. M/d find, 2007. Found by Robert Lovett.
 (EMC 2007.0220) M.R.A.

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286. William I (1066–87), Bonnet type, *BMC* ii, North 842, Lincoln, Agemund
Obv. +PILLEMV REX
Rev. +AGEMVND ON LIN
 Weight: 1.39 g.
 Brompton, North Yorkshire. M/d find, 17 November 2007. Found by Jack Coulthard.
 (EMC 2007.0319) M.R.A.

287. William I (1066–87), Profile/Cross and Trefoils type, *BMC* vii, North 847, London, Eadwine
Obv. +PILLEM REX
Rev. +EDPI ON LIINDNI
 Weight: 0.91 g. Die axis 5°
 Auldhame, East Lothian. Found during an excavation by AOC Archaeology Group for Historic Scotland, 2005.
 Before the discovery of this coin and the next (288) only one other English coin of William I was recorded as a Scottish find, from an excavation on the Isle of May. N.H.

288. William I (1066–87), Profile/Cross and Trefoils type, *BMC* vii, North 847, London or Lewes, Ælfwine
Obv. +PILLEM REX
Rev. +JELFPINE ON LI[]
 Weight: 0.93 g. Die axis 45°.
 Auldhame, East Lothian. Found during excavation by AOC Archaeology Group for Historic Scotland.
 N.H.

289. William I (1066–87), Profile/Cross and Trefoils type, *BMC* vii, North 847, Thetford, Folcard
Obv. []LLEM REX A
Rev. +FOLCÆRD ON DTFR
 Weight: 1.13 g.
 Hindringham, Norfolk. M/d find, by 2007.
 (EMC 2007.0157) A.W./M.R.A.

290. William I (1066–87), Profile/Cross and Trefoils type, *BMC* vii, North 847, York, Outhbern
Obv. +PILLEMREX (MR ligated).
Rev. +VDBERN ON EFRPI
 Weight: 1.23 g (chipped). Die axis 180°.
 Lincoln, near, Lincolnshire. M/d find, c.2002.
 A previously unrecorded type for the moneyer.
 (EMC 2007.0219) R.P./M.R.A.

291. William I (1066–87) or William II (1087–1100), Paxs type, William I *BMC* viii, North 848, Lincoln, Ulf
Obv. +[]LE[]REX
Rev. +VLF O[]IN[]LN[]
 Weight not recorded (chipped). Die axis 270°.
 Lincolnshire. M/d find, August 2007. Found by Kevin Pearce.
 (EMC 2007.0227) M.R.A.

292. William I (1066–87) or William II (1087–1100), Paxs type, William I *BMC* viii, North 848, London, Ælfred
Obv. +PILLE[]
Rev. +ÆLFI[]NDN
 Weight: 0.65 g (cut halfpenny). Die axis 270°.
 Great Wratting, near, Suffolk. 1972–2007. Found by Robert and Barbara Spall.
 (EMC 2007.0202) M.R.A.

293. William II (1087–1100), Cross in Quatrefoil type, *BMC* ii, North 852, Southwark, Wulgar
Obv. +PILLEMV
Rev. +PVLGAR ON SVD
 Weight: 1.12 g.
 Clavering, Essex. M/d find, April 2007. Found by Neil Bayford.
 (EMC 2007.0329) M.R.A.

294. William II (1087–1100), Cross in Quatrefoil type, *BMC* ii, North 852, uncertain mint and moneyer
Obv. []REX
Rev. +BR[]F
 Weight: 0.41 g (cut halfpenny, fragment). Die axis 180°.
 Great Wratting, near, Suffolk. 1972–2007. Found by Robert and Barbara Spall.
 (EMC 2007.0199) M.R.A.

295. William II (1087–1100), Cross Fleury and Piles type, *BMC* v, North 856, uncertain mint and moneyer
Obv. +[]ILLE[]
Rev. Illegible.
 Weight not recorded (chipped and cracked).
 Lincoln, near, Lincolnshire. M/d find, Autumn 2004.
 (EMC 2007.0299) M.W./M.R.A.

296. Henry I (1100–35), Profile/Cross Fleury type, *BMC* ii, North 858, Lincoln, uncertain moneyer
Obv. +[]
Rev. []NICOLI[]
 Weight: 0.36 g (cut halfpenny, chipped). Die axis 90°.
 Great Wratting, near, Suffolk. 1972–2007. Found by Robert and Barbara Spall.
 (EMC 2007.0211) M.R.A.

297. Henry I (1100–35), Profile/Cross Fleury type, *BMC* ii, North 858, London, Wulfric
Obv. []HENRI REX
Rev. +PVLFC ONLVN (NL ligated).
 Weight not recorded.
 Hereford, Herefordshire. M/d find, by 2007.
 A previously unrecorded moneyer for the type.
 (EMC 2007.0173) M.S./M.R.A.

298. Henry I (1100–35), Profile/Cross Fleury type, *BMC* ii, North 858, uncertain mint, Wulfword
Ov. **†HE[]REX I**
Rev. **†PVLFORD O[]**
 Weight: 0.94 g (chipped). Die axis 270°.
 Great Wratting, near, Suffolk. M/d find, 1972–2007.
 Found by Robert and Barbara Spall.
 A previously unrecorded moneyer for the type at
 any mint.
 (EMC 2007.0206) M.R.A.

299. Henry I (1100–35), Annulets and Piles type, *BMC* iv, North 860, Hastings, Sperling
Ov. **†hENRIC RE (NR ligated).**
Rev. **†SP[]LI ONhES (Nh ligated).**
 Weight: 1.3 g.
 Hotham, East Yorkshire. M/d find, 2007. Found by
 Darren Barwise.
 (EMC 2007.0086) M.R.A.

300. Henry I (1100–35), Annulets and Piles type, *BMC* iv, North 860, Oxford, Ailnoth
Ov. **†hENRI REX (NR ligated).**
Rev. **†ALNOD ON OXINF (NF ligated).**
 Weight: 1.27 g.
 Wantage, Oxfordshire. M/d find, 2006. Found by
 Nicholas Green.
 A previously unrecorded mint and moneyer for
 the type.
 (EMC 2007.0213) M.R.A.

301. Henry I (1100–35), Annulets and Piles type, *BMC* iv, North 860, uncertain mint and moneyer
Ov. **[]NR[]**
Rev. **†[]ED?:**
 Weight not recorded (fragment).
 Malton, near, North Yorkshire. M/d find, by 2007.
 (EMC 2007.0255) D.D./M.R.A.

302. Henry I (1100–35), Cross in Quatrefoil type, *BMC* ix, North 865, London, uncertain moneyer
Ov. **[]EX**
Rev. **†[]NDE**
 Weight: 0.32 g (cut farthing). Die axis 90°.
 Great Wratting, near, Suffolk. 1972–2007. Found by
 Robert and Barbara Spall.
 (EMC 2007.0200) M.R.A.

303. Henry I (1100–35), Quatrefoil with Piles type, *BMC* vii, North 863, uncertain mint and moneyer
Ov. **†hE[]RI REX**
Rev. **†A[]EHEL:ON[]**
 Weight: 1.32 g (snicked). Die axis 270°.
 Horseheath, Cambridgeshire. 1972–2007. Found by
 Robert and Barbara Spall.
 (EMC 2007.0196) M.R.A.

304. Henry I (1100–35), Full Face/Cross Fleury type, *BMC* x, North 866, London, Alard
Ov. **†h[]ICVS REX AN**
Rev. **†ALARD:O[]VND:**
 Weight not recorded (snicked and cracked). Die axis
 300°.
 Stow, Lincolnshire. M/d find, by 2007.
 A previously unrecorded moneyer.
 (EMC 2007.0135) A.L./M.R.A.

305. Henry I (1100–35), Full Face/Cross Fleury type, *BMC* x, London, Sigar
Ov. **†[]ENRICVS REX[]**
Rev. **†SIGAR:ON:LVN:**
 Weight: 1.10 g (snicked). Die axis 90°.
 Ashill, Norfolk. M/d find, 2007. Found by K. Frost.
 (Norfolk HER 31587; EMC 2007.0316) A.B.M./M.R.A.

306. Henry I (1100–35), Full Face/Cross Fleury type, *BMC* x, uncertain mint and moneyer
Ov. **[]X AN[]**
Rev. **[]A[]S[]**
 Weight: 0.99 g.
 Oxford (Ashmolean Museum). Excavation find, 2006.
 (EMC 2007.0047) L.A./M.R.A.

307. Henry I (1100–35), Profile/Cross and Annulets
 type, *BMC* xii, North 868, Norwich, Etstan
Ov. **†hENRICVS R:**
Rev. **†ETSTAN:ON:NORPI:**
 Weight: 1.24 g (snicked). Die axis 180°.
 Fakenham, near, Norfolk. M/d find, March 2007.
 Found by Roy Davis.
 (EMC 2007.0180) M.R.A.

308. Henry I (1100–35), Profile/Cross and Annulets
 type, *BMC* xii, North 868, Stamford, uncertain moneyer
Ov. Illegible.
Rev. **†[]STANFOR: (AN ligated).**
 Weight: 0.96 g (chipped).
 Bracon Ash, Norfolk. M/d find, by 2006. Found by
 M. Donmall.
 (Norfolk HER 40911; EMC 2007.0046) A.B.M./M.R.A.

309. Henry I (1100–35), Profile/Cross and Annulets
 type, *BMC* xii, North 868, Winchester, Sawulf
Ov. **†hEN[]R**
Rev. **[]SAPVLF:ON[]**
 Weight: 1.2 g.
 Warminster, near, Wiltshire. M/d find, 2007. Found by
 Valerie Macrae.
 (EMC 2007.0242) M.R.A.

310. Henry I (1100–35), Profile/Cross and Annulets
 type, *BMC* xii, North 868, uncertain mint (Sandwich or
 Sudbury?), Osbern
Ov. **†hENR[]**
Rev. **[]BERN:ON:S[]**
 Weight not recorded.
 Quidenham, Norfolk. M/d find, by 2007. Found by
 Robert Green.
 (EMC 2007.0033) M.R.A.

311. Henry I (1100–35), Star in Lozenge Fleury type, *BMC* xiii, North 869, Thetford, Aschetil
Ov. **†hENRICVS R:**
Rev. **†ASCHETIL:ON:TETFO:**
 Weight: 1.06 g (cracked).
 Marham, Norfolk. M/d find, by 2007. Found by I.
 Goodger.
 (EMC 2007.0273) M.R.A.

312. Henry I (1100–35), Quadrilateral on Cross Fleury
 type, *BMC* xv, North 871, Canterbury, Rodbert
Ov. **†hENRIC[]**
Rev. **[]T:ON:CAN[]**

Weight not recorded.
 Ashford, near, Kent. M/d find, June 2007. Found by Steve Harmer.
 (EMC 2007.0160) M.R.A.

313. Henry I (1100–35), Quadrilateral on Cross Fleury type, *BMC* xv, North 871, Gloucester, uncertain moneyer (Rodbert or Wibert)
Obv. Illegible.
Rev. []T:ON:GLO[]
 Weight: 0.63 g (cut halfpenny).
 Great Wrating, near, Suffolk. 1972–2007. Found by Robert and Barbara Spall.
 (EMC 2007.0203) M.R.A.

314. Henry I (1100–35), Quadrilateral on Cross Fleury type, *BMC* xv, North 871, uncertain mint and moneyer
Obv. []E[]
Rev. +R[]A[]
 Weight: 1.27 g. Die axis 300°.
 Great Wrating, near, Suffolk. 1972–2007. Found by Robert and Barbara Spall.
 (EMC 2007.0195) M.R.A.

315. Stephen (1135–54), Cross Moline or Watford type, *BMC* i, North 873, Hastings, Sawine
Obv. No inscription visible.
Rev. +SA[W?][]A?S:
 Weight: 0.66 g (cut halfpenny, broken into two pieces).
 Wimbotsham, Norfolk. Excavation, 2007.
 (EMC 2007.0293) A.B./M.R.A.

316. Stephen (1135–54), Cross Moline or Watford type, *BMC* i, North 873, Norwich, Swetman
Obv. +[]NE R
Rev. +SPETMAN:ON:N[]
 Weight: 1.29 g.
 Huntingdon, Cambridgeshire. M/d find, 7 April 2007. Found by Tim Jackson.
 (EMC 2007.0129) M.R.A.

317. Stephen (1135–54), Cross Moline or Watford type, *BMC* i, North 873, Norwich, Waltier
Obv. []FNE R:
Rev. +PAL[]OR:
 Weight not recorded (cut halfpenny, chipped). Die axis 270°.
 Fordham, Cambridgeshire. M/d find, 9 September 2007. Found by Clive Gudgeon.
 (EMC 2007.0237) M.R.A.

318. Stephen (1135–54), Cross Moline or Watford type, *BMC* i, North 873, Ipswich?, Ædgar?
Obv. +STIEF[]
Rev. []GAR:ON:[]
 Weight: 0.62 g (cracked and chipped).
 Holme next the Sea, Norfolk. M/d find, 2 October 2007. Found by Roy Davis.
 Relatively light and of base appearance.
 (EMC 2007.0254) M.R.A.

319. Stephen (1135–54), Cross Moline or Watford type, *BMC* i, North 873, York, uncertain moneyer (Leising?)
Obv. +STIEF[]
Rev. +[LE?][]ON:EVE:
 Weight not recorded (chipped).

Wetwang, East Yorkshire. M/d find, 13 October 2007.
 (EMC 2007.0297) M.W./M.R.A.

320. Stephen (1135–54), Cross Moline or Watford type, *BMC* i, North 873, uncertain mint and moneyer
Obv. +STI[]NE:
Rev. +[]RD:ON:[]
 Weight: 1.19 g. Die axis 300°.
 Radwinter, Essex. M/d find, 1972–2007. Found by Robert and Barbara Spall.
 (EMC 2007.0192) M.R.A.

321. Stephen (1135–54), Cross Moline or Watford type, *BMC* i, North 874, London, Rodbert
Obv. +STI[]NE:
Rev. +R[]BERT:ON:LV:
 Weight: 1.32 g (creased and cracked). Die axis 300°.
 Steventon End, Essex. M/d, find, 1972–2007. Found by Robert and Barbara Spall.
 (EMC 2007.0193) M.R.A.

322. Stephen (1135–54), Cross Voided and Mullets type, *BMC* ii, North 878, uncertain mint and moneyer
Obv. []ST[]
Rev. []:ON[]
 Weight: 0.59 g (cut halfpenny).
 Great Wrating, near, Suffolk. 1972–2007. Found by Robert and Barbara Spall.
 (EMC 2007.0204) M.R.A.

323. Stephen (1135–54), Profile/Cross and Piles type, *BMC* vi, North 879, Dunwich, Henri
Obv. +STIEFNE:
Rev. +HINRI:ON:DVNEI
 Weight: 1.38 g.
 Kirstead Green, Norfolk. M/d find, by 2007. Found by Steve Dunthorne.
 (EMC 2007.0215) M.R.A.

324. Stephen (1135–54), Awbridge type, *BMC* vii, North 881, Bury St Edmunds, Willelm
Obv. +STIEF]NE:
Rev. +[PILLEM:]ON:SED
 Weight: 0.66 g (cut halfpenny).
 Great Wrating, near, Suffolk. M/d find, 1972–2007. Found by Robert and Barbara Spall.
 Same dies as Allen, *BNJ* 76, nos 26–7.
 (EMC 2007.0205) M.R.A.

325. Stephen (1135–54), Awbridge type, *BMC* vii, North 881, Hereford, (T?)ebalt
Obv. +STIEFNE:
Rev. +[]EBALT:ON:hER:
 Weight: 1.3 g (chipped). Die axis 90°.
 Lincolnshire. M/d find, 2005. Found by Chris Kilner.
 A previously unrecorded moneyer.
 (EMC 2007.0090) M.R.A.

326. David I of Scotland (1124–53), Scottish border issue as Stephen *BMC* type i, North 909, Edinburgh, uncertain moneyer
Obv. +DAVID R[]
Rev. +[ER?][]AO[L?]ON:EDEN:
 Weight not recorded.
 Knaresborough, near, North Yorkshire. M/d find, 2007. Found by Neil Lee.

The moneyer's name is unclear, but it does not seem to be either Erebald or Derind, the previously published moneyers for this type and mint.
(EMC 2007.0276) M.R.A.

327. David I of Scotland (1124–53), Scottish border issue as Stephen *BMC* type i, North 909, Carlisle or Edinburgh, Erebald
Ov. []ID RE[]
Rev. []ALD:[]
Weight: 0.49 g (cut halfpenny). Die axis 90°. Blackpool, Lancashire. M/d find, by 2007.
(EMC 2007.0071) B.H./M.R.A.

328. David I of Scotland, Scottish border issue Cross and Annulets type, Stewart type IVc, North 911, Carlisle, Ricard
Ov. Illegible.
Rev. []N:[]RD:
Weight: 0.60 g (cut halfpenny). Die axis 270°. Little Driffield, near, East Yorkshire. M/d find, 2007. Found by Ian Heavides.
(EMC 2007.0212) M.R.A.

329. Henry (of Anjou?), Cross Moline type with voided cross, North 938, Gloucester, Godefrai
Ov. +HE[]RICV[S?]
Rev. +GODEFRAI:ON:GL
Weight: 1.00 g. Gloucester, near, Gloucestershire. M/d find, 2007. Found by Alan Kinnear.
A moneyer previously unrecorded at the Gloucester mint.
(EMC 2007.0061) M.R.A.

330. Henry (of Anjou?), Quadrilateral on Cross Fleury type, North 940/2, uncertain mint and moneyer
Ov. []ENRIC[]
Rev. []WEL[]
Weight: 0.9 g (chipped). Buckland, Buckinghamshire. M/d find, 15 September 2005. Found by Derrick Dunks.
(PAS BUC-58EC12; EMC 2007.0034) R.T/M.R.A.

331. Henry II (1154–89), Cross-and-Crosslets (Tealby) type, class A2, North 952/2, Wallingford, Fulcke
Ov. +H[ENRI REX AN[]]
Rev. [+FVLCK]E[]ON:V[A]LI
Weight: 1.41 g. Die axis 0°. Rothersthorpe, near, Northamptonshire. M/d find, August 2005.
From the same dies as *BMC* 748.
(EMC 2007.0132) A.Dawson/M.R.A.

332. Henry II (1154–89), Cross-and-Crosslets (Tealby) type, class A2, North 952/2, York, Godwin
Ov. +H[ENRI REX AN[GL]
Rev. +GODWIN:ON:EV[ER]JW
Weight not recorded. Dorchester, near, Dorset. M/d find, 2007. Found by Robert Lovett.
From the same dies as *BMC* 785–6.
(EMC 2007.0218) M.R.A.

333. Henry II (1154–89), Cross-and-Crosslets (Tealby) type, class A or B, North 952–5, Norwich, Picot
Ov. []X ANGL
Rev. +PIC[]REP

Weight: 0.74 g (fragment). Die axis 270°. Market Weighton, near, East Yorkshire. M/d find, 12 March 2007. Found by Ian Postlethwaite.
(EMC 2007.0067) M.R.A.

334. Henry II (1154–89), Cross-and-Crosslets (Tealby) type, class C, North 956–7, London, Iohan
Ov. []NRI:R:A
Rev. +IOHAN:O[]N:
Weight: 1.38 g (cracked). Die axis 240°. Great Wratting, near, Suffolk. 1972–2007. Found by Robert and Barbara Spall.
(EMC 2007.0207) M.R.A.

335. Henry II (1154–89), Cross-and-Crosslets (Tealby) type, class C, North 956–7, uncertain mint, Herebert
Ov. []R:A
Rev. +H[ERE]BE[]
Weight: 0.58 g (cut halfpenny). Die axis 220°. Great Wratting, near, Suffolk. 1972–2007. Found by Robert and Barbara Spall.
(EMC 2007.0197) M.R.A.

336. Henry II (1154–89), Cross-and-Crosslets (Tealby) type, class E1, North 960/1, Canterbury, Ricard
Ov. +HE[]EX
Rev. +[]CARD:ON:CAN:
Weight not recorded. Upwell, Norfolk. M/d find, September 2007. Found by M. Carlile.
(Norfolk HER 41358; EMC 2007.0277) A.B.M./M.R.A.

337. Henry II (1154–89), Cross-and-Crosslets (Tealby) type, class E2, North 960/2, uncertain mint and moneyer
Ov. []E[]REX:
Rev. []N[]ON:[]
Weight: 1.46 g. Die axis 270°. Hemppnall, Norfolk. M/d find, by 2007. Found by D. Barnard.
(EMC 2007.0042) A.B.M./M.R.A.

338. Henry II (1154–89), Cross-and-Crosslets (Tealby) type, class E, North 960, uncertain mint and moneyer
Ov. []E:
Rev. []R:ON[]
Weight: 0.28 g (cut farthing). Great Wratting, near, Suffolk. M/d find, 1972–2007. Found by Robert and Barbara Spall.
(EMC 2007.0201) M.R.A.

339. Henry II (1154–89), Cross-and-Crosslets (Tealby) type, class F, North 961, London, Godefrai
Ov. +H[]RIREX:
Rev. +GO[DE][]LVN
Weight not recorded. Litlington, Cambridgeshire. M/d find, 2007. Found by Robert Parker.
From the same dies as *BMC* 491.
(EMC 2007.0236) M.R.A.

340. Henry II (1154–89), Cross-and-Crosslets (Tealby) type, class F1, North 961/1, Thetford, Willelm
Ov. []NRI[]X:
Rev. +[]L[]M:O[]EF:
Weight not recorded. Poxwell area, Dorset. M/d find, 2007. Found by Carl Walmsley.
(EMC 2007.0317) M.R.A.

341. Henry II (1154–89), Cross-and-Crosslets (Tealby) type, class F, North 961, uncertain mint and moneyer

Ov. []ENR[]REX:

Rev. +[]LO[]

Weight: 1.40 g. Die axis 300°.

East Walton, Norfolk. M/d find, 2007. Found by Steve Brown.

(Norfolk HER 29273; EMC 2007.0309) A.B.M./M.R.A.

342. Henry II (1154–89), Cross-and-Crosslets (Tealby) type, uncertain class, London, uncertain moneyer

Ov. +[]

Rev. []LVN:

Weight: c.1.23 g (recorded as 19 gr.).

Chiseldon, Swindon. M/d find, 2007.

(EMC 2007.0055) M.G./M.R.A.

343. Henry II (1154–89), Cross-and-Crosslets (Tealby) type, uncertain class, Winchester, uncertain moneyer

Ov. +HENR[]

Rev. +[]INC

Weight: 1.05 g. Die axis 270°.

Great Wrating, near, Suffolk. M/d find, 1972–2007.

Found by Robert and Barbara Spall.

(EMC 2007.0208) M.R.A.

344. Henry II (1154–89), Cross-and-Crosslets (Tealby) type, uncertain class, mint and moneyer

Ov. []ENR I R[]

Rev. []N[]

Weight: c.0.58 g (recorded as 9 gr.) (cut halfpenny).

Wootton Bassett, near, Wiltshire. M/d find, 2007.

(EMC 2007.0053) M.G./M.R.A.

345. Henry II (1154–89), Cross-and-Crosslets (Tealby) type, uncertain class, mint and moneyer

Ov. +[]

Rev. Illegible.

Weight not recorded (cut halfpenny).

Wootton Bassett, near, Wiltshire. M/d find, 2007.

(EMC 2007.0054) M.G./M.R.A.

346. Edward III (1327–77) quarter noble, London, third coinage, third period, North 1112, 1346–51

Ov. +EDWAR[R]·ANGL·Z·FRANC·D·hYB

Rev. +EXALTABITVR·IN·GLORIA·

Weight: 2.09 g.

Ashdon, Essex. M/d find, 2000–7. Found by Barbara Spall.

A.P.

347. Edward III (1327–77), noble. London, Pre-Treaty series Gb-c/Gd, North 1180/1181, c.1356–61

Ov. EDWARD[]EI·GRÆ·REX·ANGL·Z·FRANC·D·hYB

Rev. +IhC·AVT·TRANSIENS·PER·MEDIVM·ILLORVM·IBAT·

Weight: 7.68 g (chipped).

Great Wrating, Suffolk. M/d find, 2000–7. Found by Barbara Spall.

M.R.A.

348. Edward III (1327–77), half noble, London, Treaty A, North 1223, 1361

Ov. EDWARD·DEI·GRÆ·REX·ANGL·D·hIB

Rev. +DOMINE·IN·FVROR·TVO·ARGVAS·me

Weight: 3.80 g.

Great Thurlow, Essex. M/d find, 2000–7. Found by Barbara Spall.

M.R.A.

349. Edward III (1327–77), quarter noble, London, Treaty B, annulet before Edward, North 1232, 1361–9

Ov. +EDWARD·DEI·GRÆ·REX·ANGL·

Rev. +EXALTABITVR·IN·GLORIA

Weight: 1.93 g.

Great Thurlow, Essex. M/d find, 2000–7. Found by Barbara Spall.

M.R.A.

350. Henry V (1431–22), gold noble, London, class E, North 1373

Ov. HENRIC·DI·GRÆ·REX·ANGL·Z·FRANC·DNS·hYB

Rev. +IhC·AVT·TRANSIENS·PER·MEDIVM·ILLORVM·IBAT

Weight: 6.77 g.

Codnor Castle, Derbyshire. M/d find during Time Team excavation, 14 June 2007.

M.R.A.

351. Henry VI (1422–61, 1470–1), Annulet issue farthing, York, North -, 1423–4

Ov. []IC·REX·ANGL

Rev. []VI / TAS / E[] / []

Weight: 0.20 g (chipped).

Stradsett, Norfolk. M/d find, 2007. Found by J. Coggles.

The second recorded farthing from the royal mint active at York Castle in August–October 1423 and March–August 1424. The first known specimen was published by B.J. Cook, 'A farthing of Henry VI's Annulet issue from York', *NCirc* 106 (1998), 428.

M.R.A.

352. Edward IV ryal, Blunt and Whitton type VII, p.m. Crown on rev. only, North 1549, c.1466–7

Ov. EDWARD·DEI·GRÆ·REX·ANGL·FRANC·DNS·hYB

Rev. +IhC·AVT·TRANSIENS·PER·MEDIVM·ILLORVM·IBAT·

Weight not recorded.

Wrexham, near. M/d find, 2007.

J.R./M.R.A.

Continental

353. Carolingian, Charlemagne (768–814), *denier*, Karolus Monogram type, Milan, MG 212

Ov. CARLVS REX FR

Rev. MEDIO around Karolus monogram.

Weight: 1.3 g (chipped). Die axis 270°.

Woodnesborough, Kent. M/d find, August 2007.

(EMC 2007.0266) D.H./M.R.A.

354. Carolingian, Louis the Pious (814–40), *denier*, Christiana Religio type, MG 472

Ov. +[]DOVVICVS IMP

Rev. XPISTI JNA RELIGIO

Weight: 1.4 g (chipped). Die axis 180°.

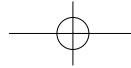
Lyminge, Kent. M/d find, 1980s.

(EMC 2007.0265) D.H./M.R.A.

355. Norway, Olaf Kyrre (1067–93), *penning*, anonymous issue (c.1065–80), cf. Skaare 35

Ov. Facing crowned head on long neck to l.

Rev. Pseudo inscription, short voided cross.



Weight: 1.13 g.

Wimbotsham, Norfolk. Excavation find, 2007.

Skaare 35 is similar, but with the long neck to r. Coins attributed to Olaf Kyrre have now been recorded from Norfolk (this coin and EMC 1980.0033 from Thetford), Lincoln (EMC 1983.9937 and Coin Register 1987, no. 168), Raunds in Northamptonshire (Coin Register 1989, no. 90), and London (EMC 1991.0336). (Norfolk HER 48964WMB; EMC 2007.0263)

A.B./M.R.A.

356. Maguelonne, anon. bishops in the name of Raimond (1129–58), billon *denier*, Poey d'Avant 3842, 12th–14th century

Obv. R̄AMVNDS around cross with mitres as two of its limbs.

Rev. N̄AIDONA around four annulets.

Weight 0.9 g.

Lincoln, Lincolnshire. M/d find, by 2007. Found by Steven Bancroft.

M.R.A.

357. Flanders, Gand (Ghent), *petit denier*, 1259–c. 1300, GhysSENS 465–85

Obv. Profile helm, head l.

Rev. Long voided cross with anchor-shaped terminals

Weight: 0.34 g.

Craill, Fife. M/d find, by 2008. Found by Kevin Brereton.

This is the first recorded find of a Flanders *petit denier* from Scotland.

N.H.

358. Aquitaine, Edward III (1327–77), *demi-sterling*, Elias 57a

Obv. EDWARD REX ANGL

Rev. DVX / AOV / [ITA] / NI

Weight: 0.51 g (cracked and chipped).

Fen Drayton/Fenstanton, Cambridgeshire. M/d find, c. 2003. Found by Tim Jackson.

M.R.A.

359. Aquitaine, Edward the Black Prince as prince of Aquitaine (1362–76), *demi gros*, Bordeaux, first issue, Elias 171

Weight not recorded.

Milton Keynes. M/d find, by 2007.

M.S.

360. Spain, Enrique II de Trastamara (1368–79), billon *cruzado*

Obv. []ASTEL[], crowned bust l.

Rev. ENRIC[]ON; cross, E / N / R / I in angles.

Weight: 0.70 g (corroded and chipped).

Marcross, Vale of Glamorgan. M/d find, by October 2007. Found by J. Sallam.

Fourteenth-century Spanish coins are most unusual in Britain. Cook (1999) recorded none from this reign. A small cluster of coins of Enrique II is emerging in south Wales: one *cruzado* is recorded from Cardiff Castle, another from Llantwit Major and a group of four (three *cruzados* and one *real de 1/2 maravedi*) in association with a penny of Edward III, at Monkash. The Cardiff find apart, all come from a very limited area of the Vale of Glamorgan.

E.M.B.

361. Spain, Ferdinand I as pretender to the kingdom of Castile (1367–83), *barbuda*, Coruna, F.A. Burgos, *Catálogo de la moneda medieval castellano-leonesa siglos XI al XV* (Madrid, 1998), no. 503

Weight: 4.05 g.

Mattishall, Norfolk. M/d find, 2007. Found by Roy Davis.

M.R.A.

362. France, Charles VI (1380–1422), billon *double tournois* or *niquet*, Lafaurie, no. 417, 1421–2

Weight: 1.99 g. Die axis 180°.

Oxford (Ashmolean Museum). Excavation find, 2006.

M.R.A.

363. Spain, Juana and Carlos (1506–16), gold *escudo*, Seville, F. Calicó, X. Calicó and J. Trigo, *Numismática Española, 1474 a 1998* (Madrid, 1998), p. 102, no. 51

Obv. IOANA ET KAROLVS DE, royal arms.

Rev. HISPANIA RVM [REGES] SICILI, cross potent.

Mint mark: D / S

Weight: 3.33 g.

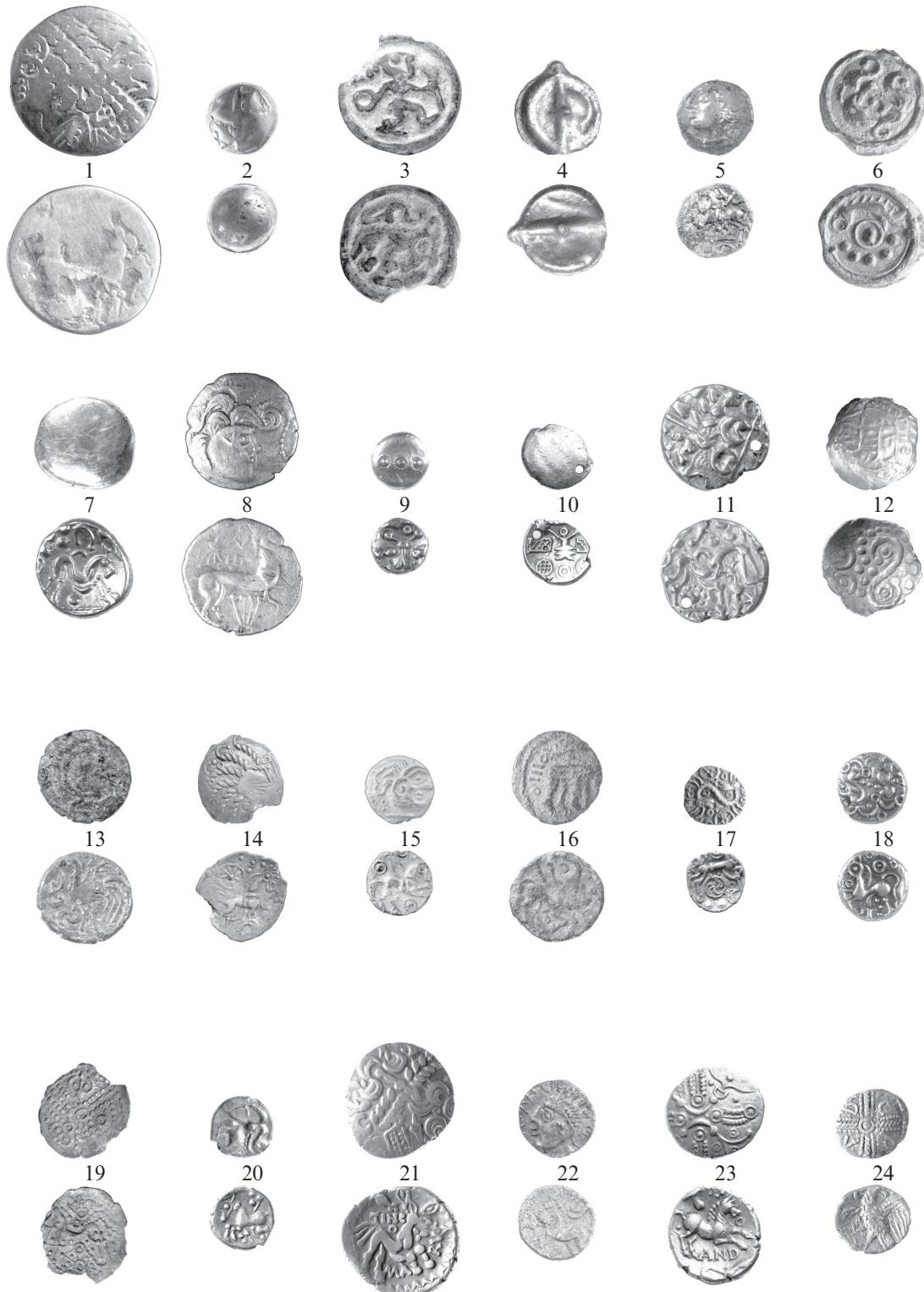
Little Thurlow, Suffolk. M/d find, 2000–7. Found by Robert Spall. Not illustrated.

M.R.A.

Correction

The editors would like to thank Tony Abramson for pointing out that a Series F (Metcalf b.i) 'sceat' published as Coin Register 2007, no. 135, is the same coin as Coin Register 2005, no. 92.

PLATE 10



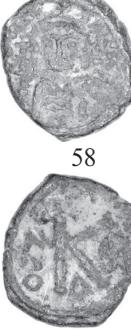
COIN REGISTER 2008: CONTRIBUTION FROM THE CCI

PLATE 11



COIN REGISTER 2008: ROMAN

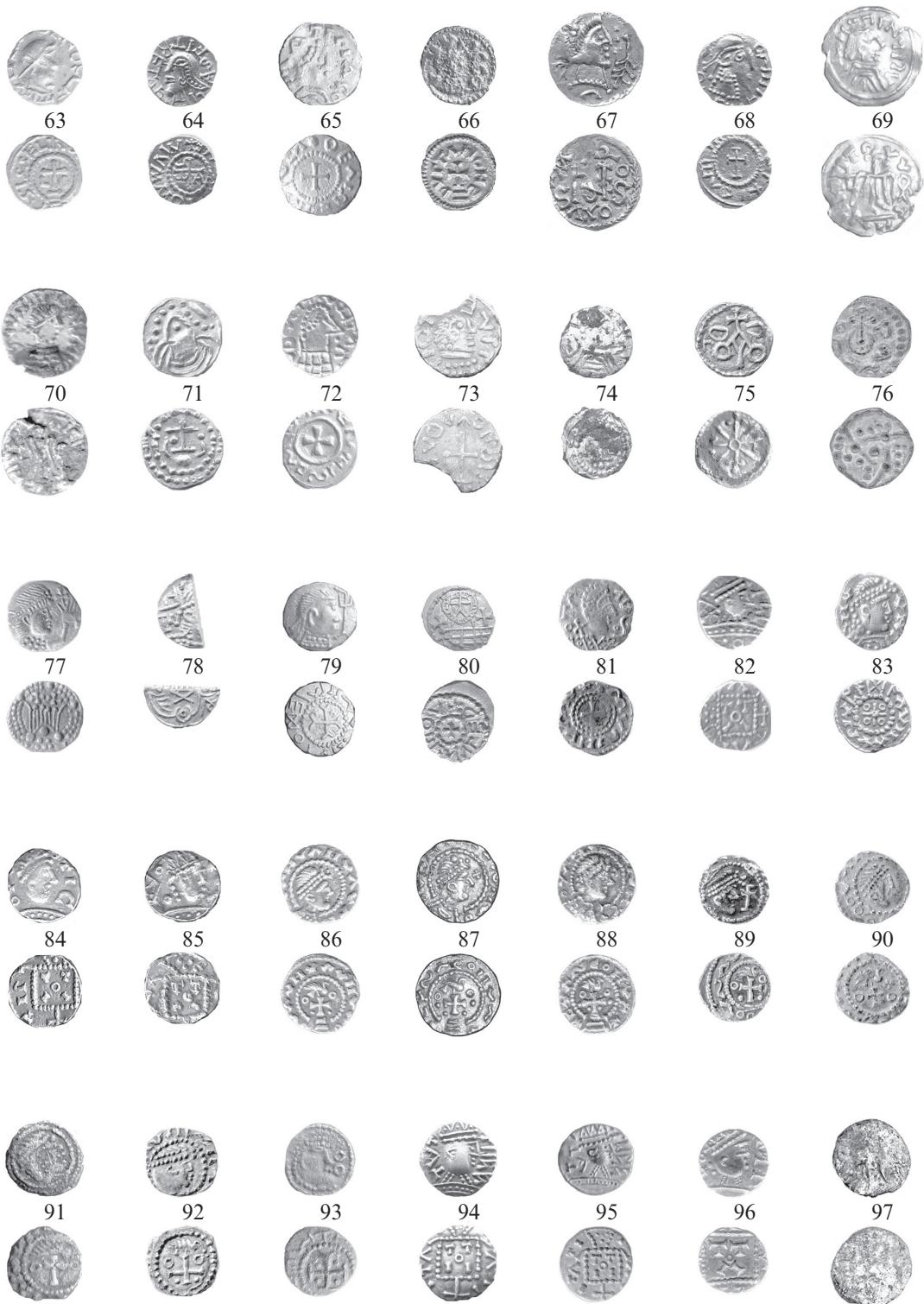
PLATE 12



COIN REGISTER 2008: ROMAN, MEROVINGIAN AND BYZANTINE



PLATE 13

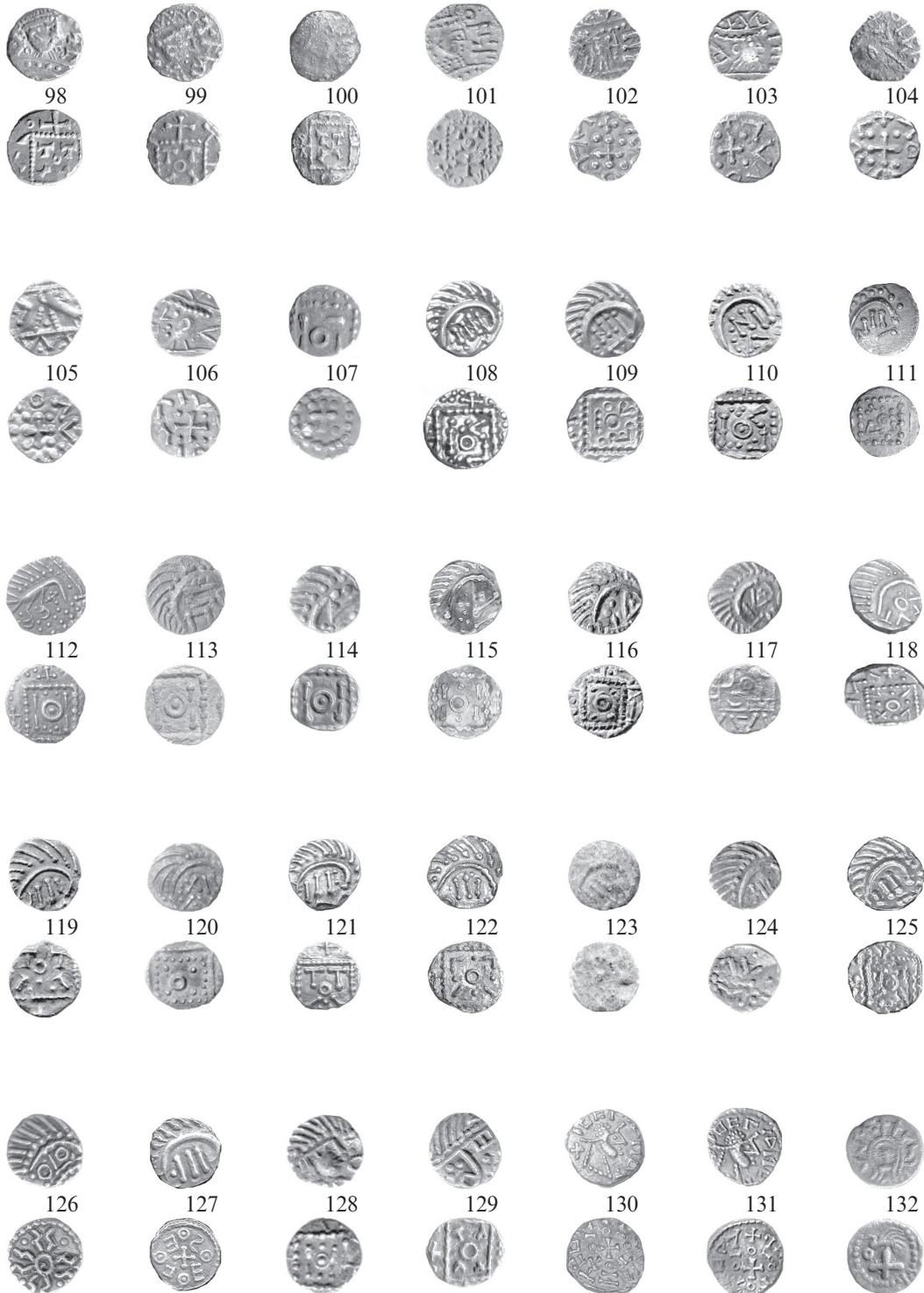


COIN REGISTER 2008: MEROVINGIAN AND ANGLO-SAXON





PLATE 14



COIN REGISTER 2008: ANGLO-SAXON SCEATTAS





PLATE 15



133



134



135



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138



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140



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165



166

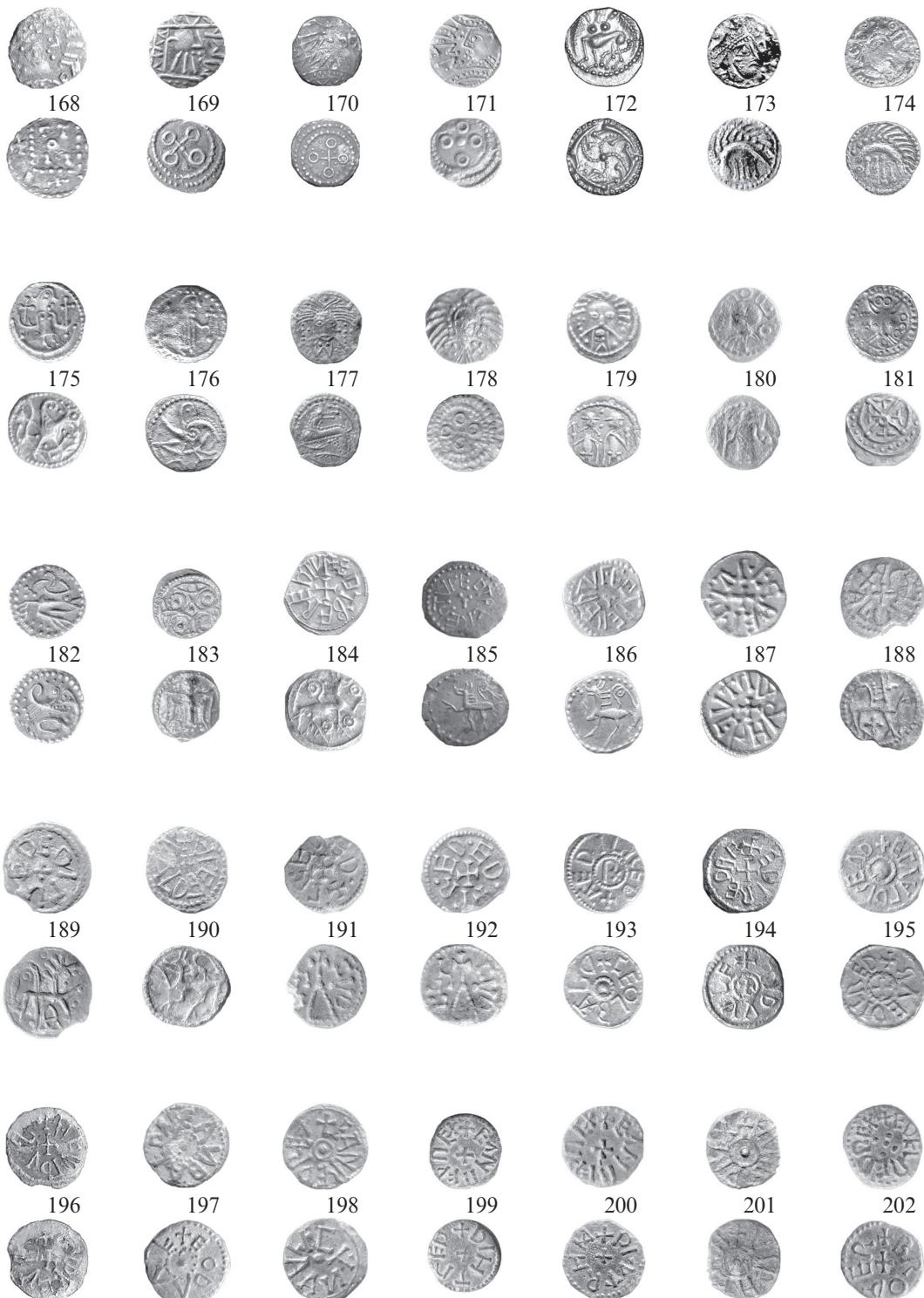


167

COIN REGISTER 2008: ANGLO-SAXON SCEATTAS



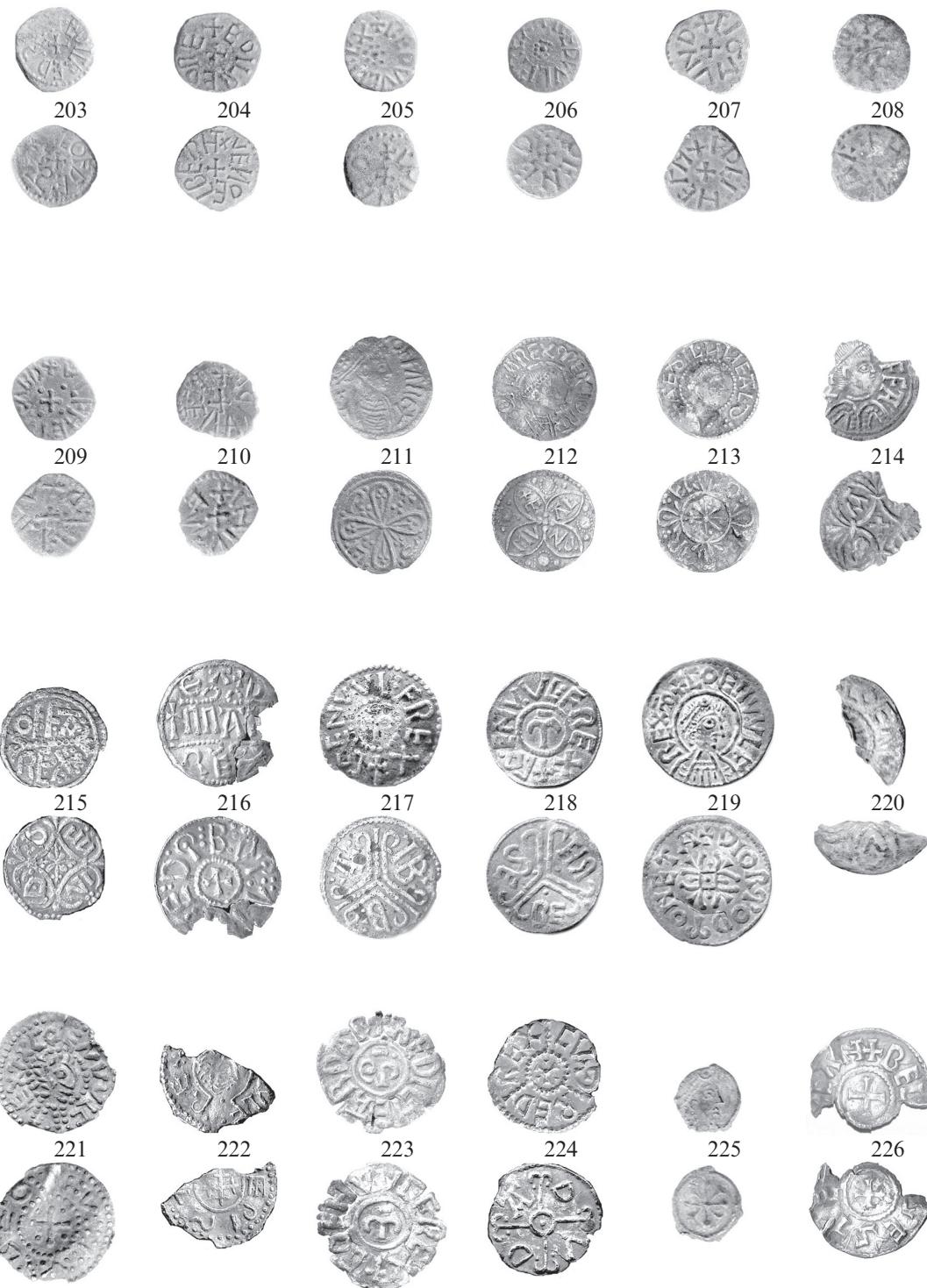
PLATE 16



COIN REGISTER 2008: ANGLO-SAXON SCEATTAS AND STYCAS

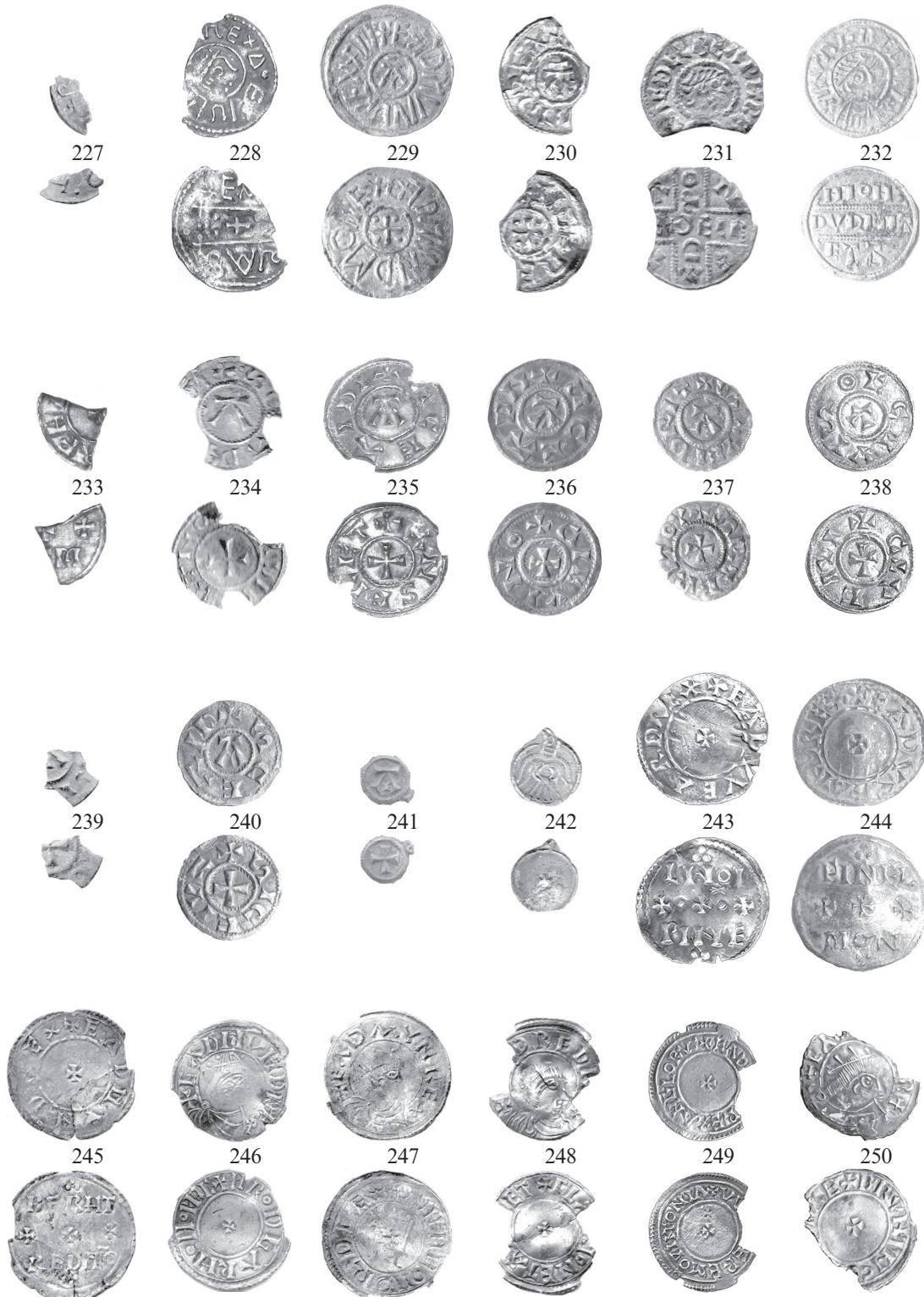


PLATE 17



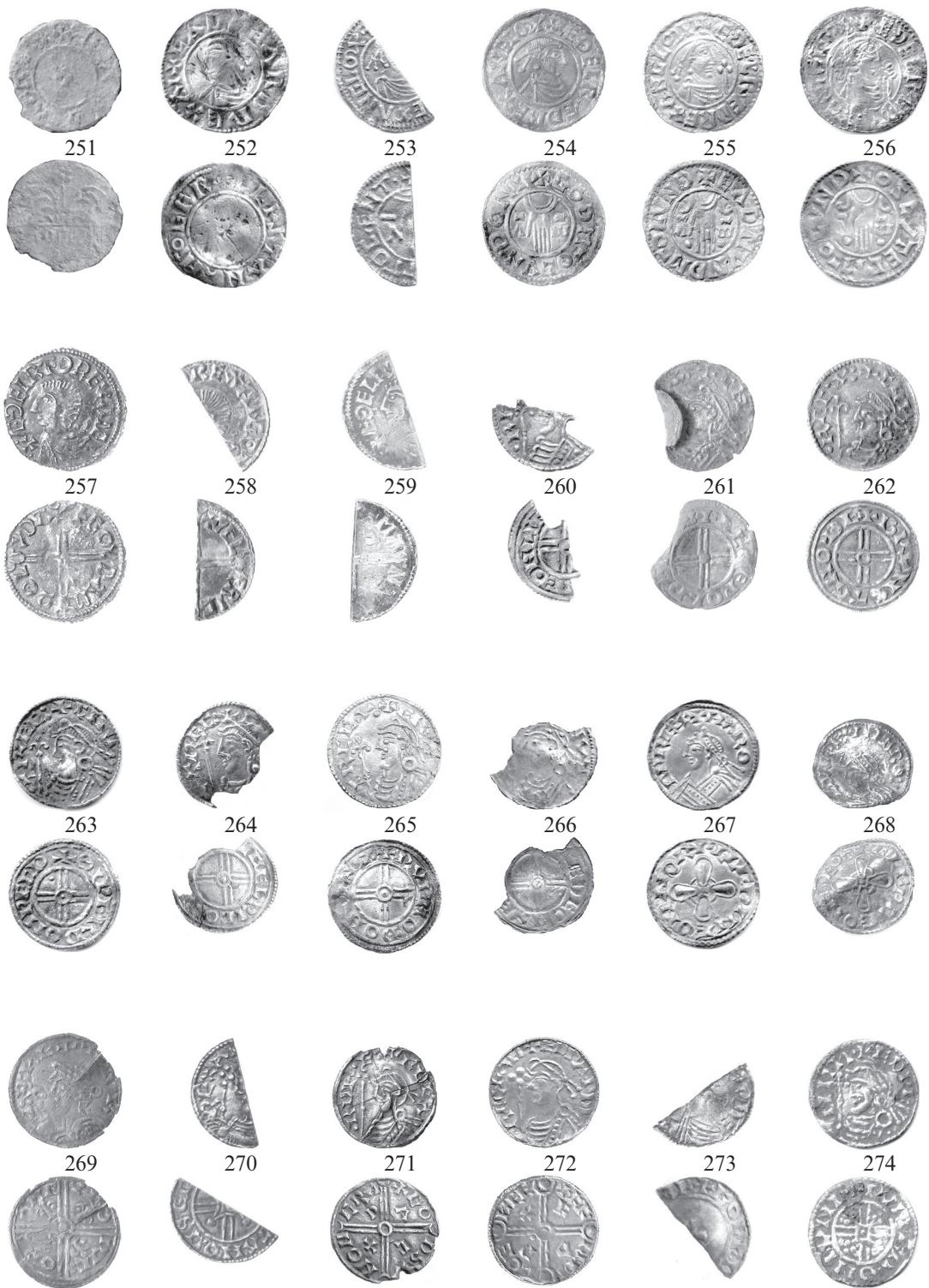
COIN REGISTER 2008: ANGLO-SAXON

PLATE 18



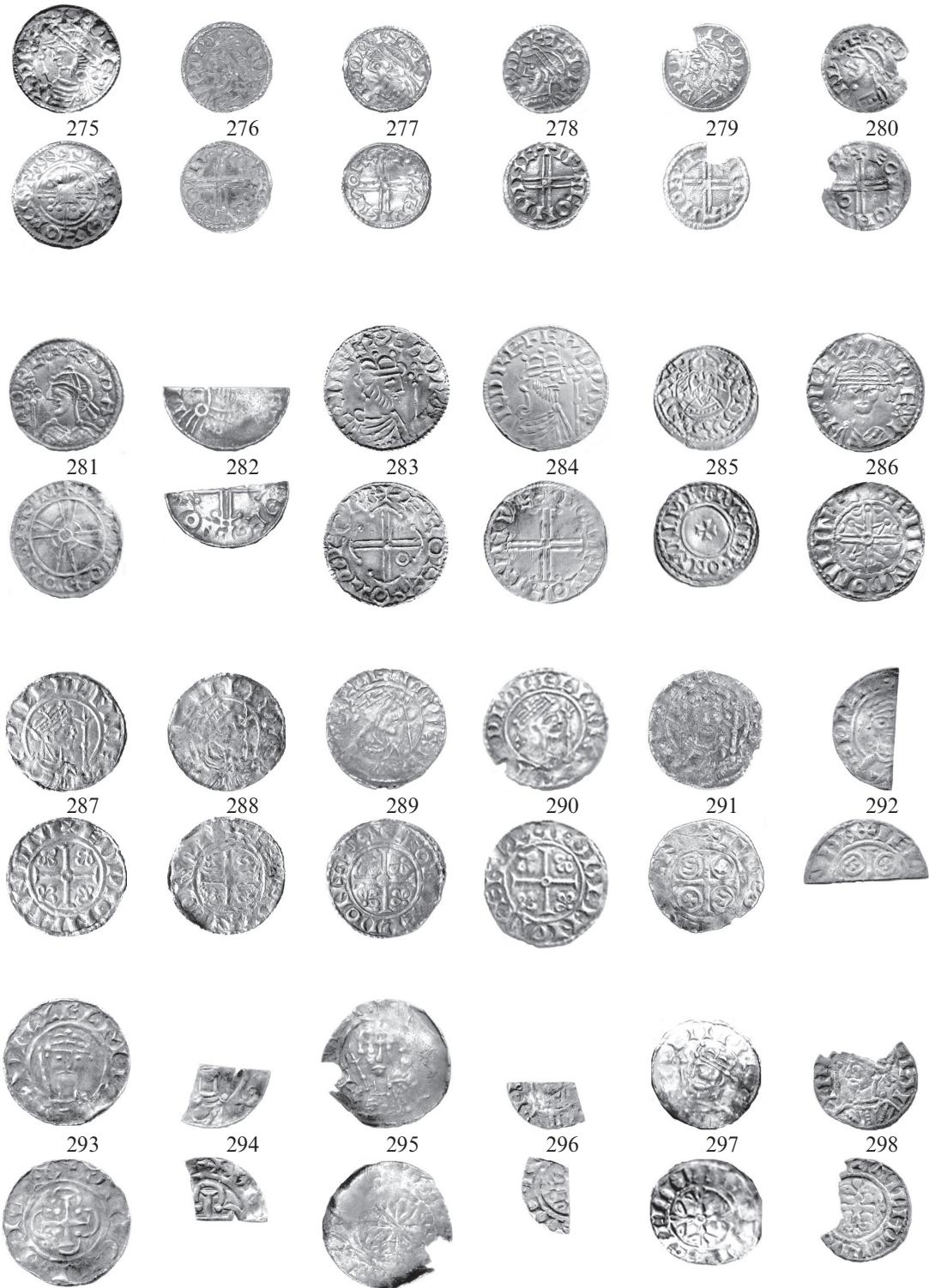
COIN REGISTER 2008: ANGLO-SAXON

PLATE 19



COIN REGISTER 2008: ANGLO-SAXON

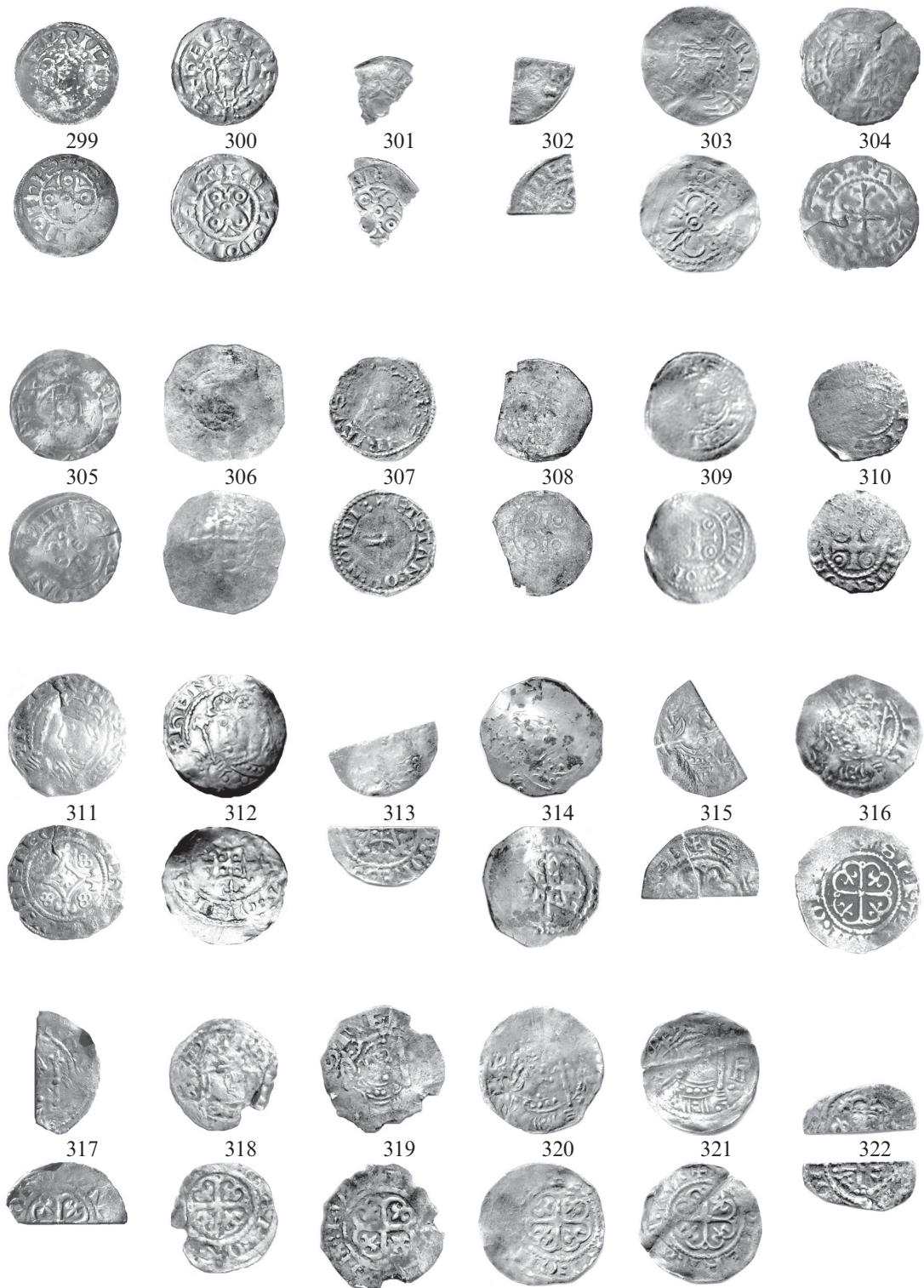
PLATE 20



COIN REGISTER 2008: ANGLO-SAXON AND POST-CONQUEST ENGLISH



PLATE 21

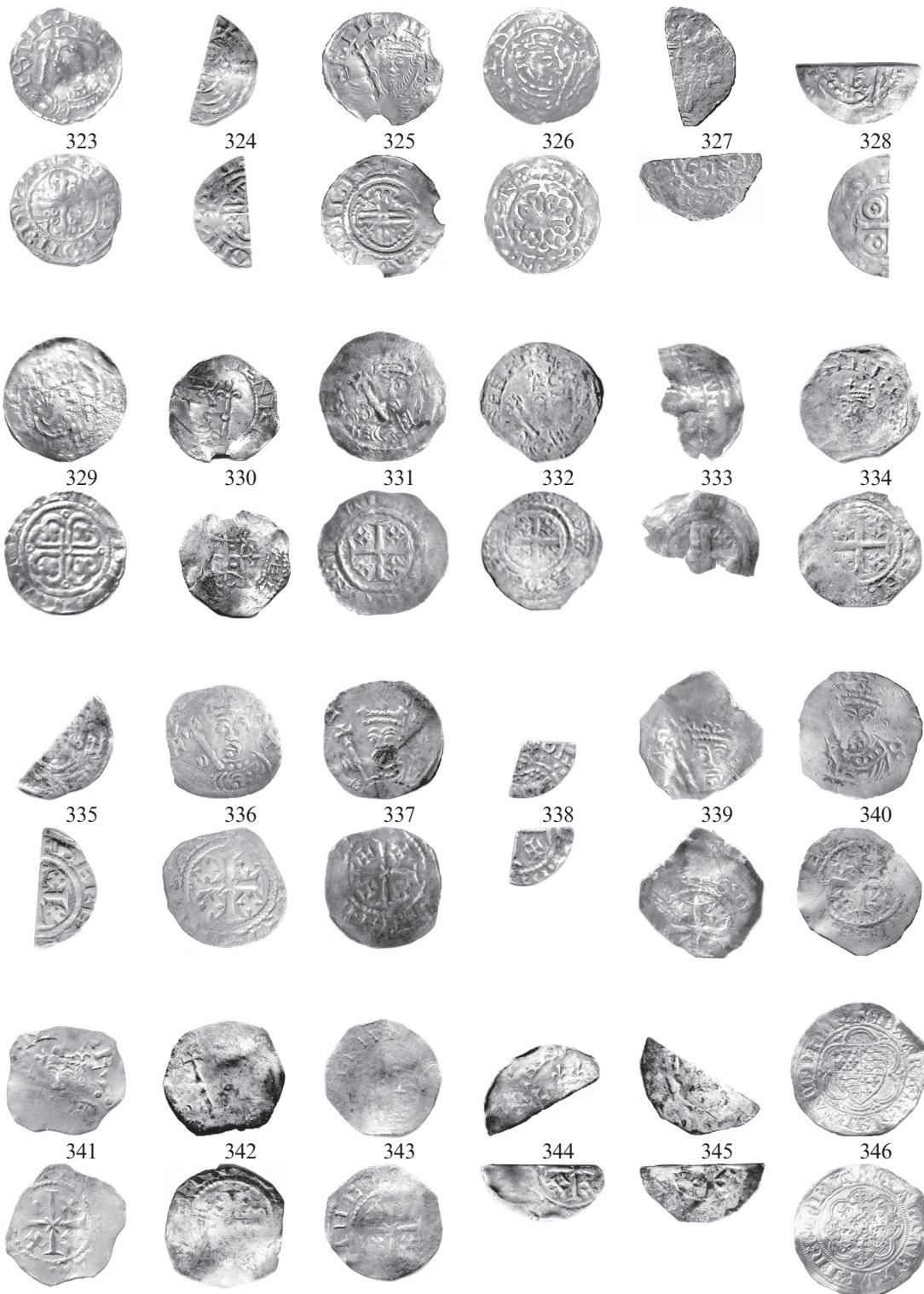


COIN REGISTER 2008: POST-CONQUEST ENGLISH





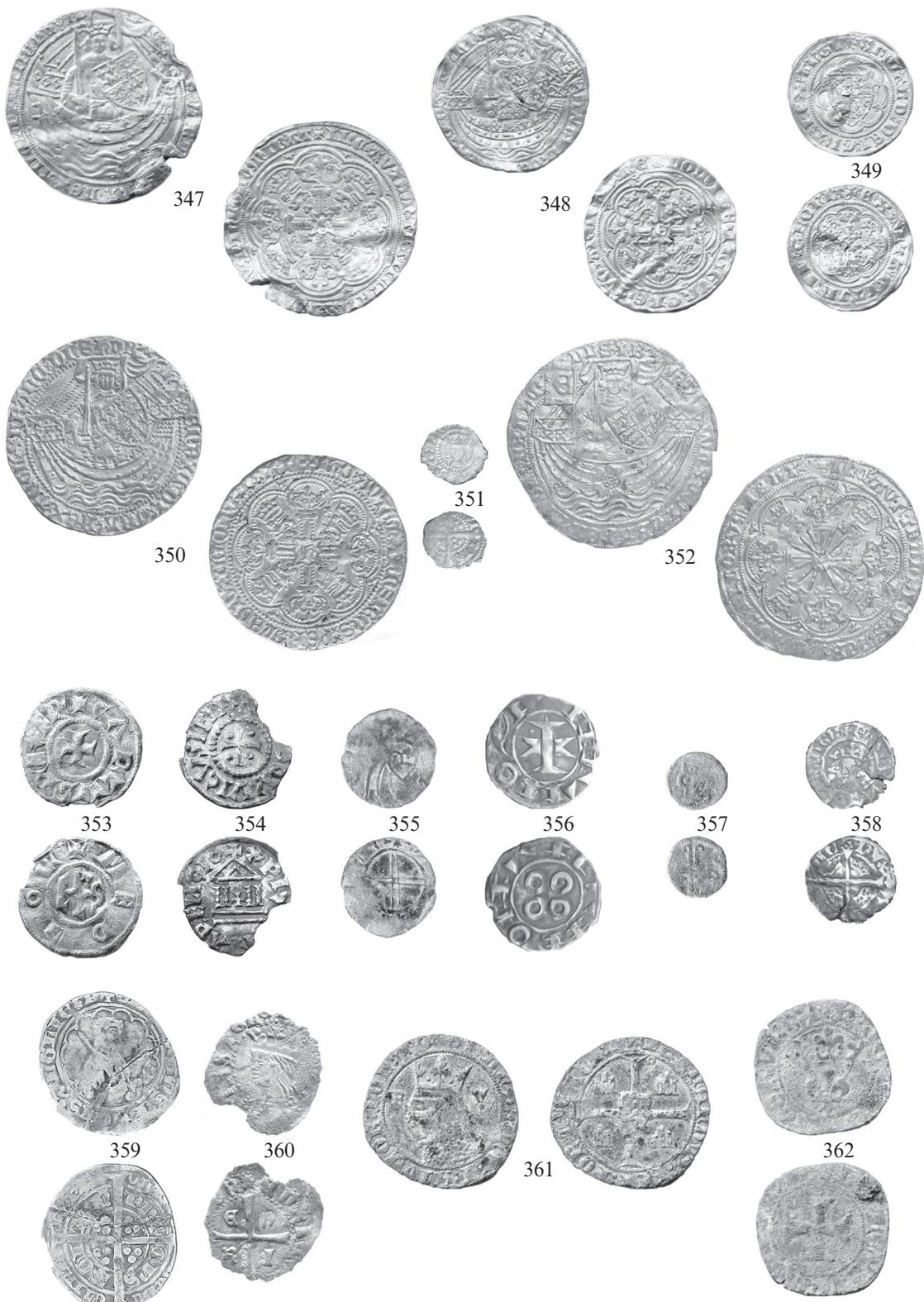
PLATE 22



COIN REGISTER 2008: POST-CONQUEST ENGLISH AND SCOTTISH



PLATE 23



COIN REGISTER 2008: POST-CONQUEST ENGLISH AND CONTINENTAL

REVIEWS

The Galata guide to the farthing tokens of James I & Charles I: a history and reclassification, by Tim Everson (Llanfyllin: Galata Print, 2007), [1] + 78 pp.: illus.

THIS work has the misleading appearance of a 'magazine', with floppy covers, and text lines too wide for the size of typeface. Yet its solid contribution would have justified appearance in a series of hardcover monographs. Its main contents are a history of the patent, catalogues of the types, and documentary appendices.

The patent holders are clearly set out, correcting Peck's confusion over the two lords Harrington. It is strange to see references to 'Maltravers junior' when the title was not hereditary, and Thomas Howard, who held the title 1646–52, is better known as the 'lunatic' Duke of Norfolk. He does not have an entry in the *ODNB*, although he is mentioned in the entry for his father, Henry Frederick Howard, who was Lord Maltravers 1624–40 (G.E.C., ix. 625–6). It would have been nice to see more on where the tokens were made and exchanged, for the Token House in Lothbury was an influential design by Inigo Jones (Harris, pp. 256–7), and the thirteen-bay building survived the Great Fire (Keene, p. 262).

The catalogues are distilled from a detailed examination of the dies within each type, of altered privy marks, and the identification of counterfeits. The conventional arrangement alphabetically by name of privy mark is unavoidable. A concordance to Peck avoids any problems when marks have been re-named (page 8, all convincing), though others could be re-named ('Fleece' has the distinct shape of a Golden Fleece, 'Nautilus' could be a coiled serpent or snake as in the arms of Whitby Abbey). The unnamed 'rather strange privy mark' on Everson's Harrington Type 1c (Peck 37 & 38) is, to the eye of this reviewer, a Grasshopper, as flaunted near Lothbury on Gresham's Royal Exchange.

The appendices supplement the documents printed by Peck, and even discover additions to those abstracted in the *Calendar of State Papers*. For the proclamations of the royal farthing tokens Peck refers to Ruding, and an omission from Everson's printed sources is the standard edition of these Stuart royal proclamations, necessary for those who do not have easy access to the National Archives. Although Ruding comments on all of them, they fill out the picture with the following for James I: Larkin & Hughes 128, 137, 155, 164, and for Charles I: Larkin 15 and 213.

Everson's classification seems convincing, his interpretations of the documents persuasive, and altogether, despite its too modest format, this is an excellent work.

R.H. THOMPSON

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 Harris, J. and Higgott, G., 1989. *Inigo Jones: complete architectural drawings* (London).
 Keene, D., 1997. 'The setting of the Royal Exchange' in *The Royal Exchange*, ed. Ann Saunders (London), 253–71.
 Larkin, J. F. and Hughes, P. L. (eds.), 1973. *Stuart Royal Proclamations, Vol. I: Royal Proclamations of King James I, 1603–1625* (Oxford).
 Larkin, J. F. (ed.), 1983. *Stuart Royal Proclamations, Vol. II: Royal Proclamations of King Charles I, 1625–1646* (Oxford).

Money of the Caribbean, edited by R.G. Doty and J.M. Kleeberg (American Numismatic Society, 2006), 318pp with illustrations in text.

At a conference in New York in December 1999 leading numismatists in the field of Caribbean coinage presented papers discussing various aspects of Caribbean money. Through the kind auspices of the American Numismatic Society, these papers have now been gathered together and presented in book form, and the Society deserves acknowledgement for giving a much wider public the opportunity to appreciate the fruits of what is often fresh and impressive research.

As well as four chapters which either impinge upon or deal solely with British colonial numismatics (about which more below), the book also includes papers on 'The 10 Reales of Santo Domingo' (J.M. Kleeberg), 'The Cuban Key Counterstamps revisited' (J.P. Lorenzo) and 'Cuba's 1897 souvenir [peso]: missing link debunks conventional wisdom' (E.M. Ortiz).

'Tokens of the Jewish merchants of the Caribbean before 1920', by Robert D. Leonard Jnr, includes several issues relating to the British colonies. In general, however, the information supplied adds little to our knowledge previously gleaned from Bob Lyall's excellent publication *The Tokens, Checks, Metallic Tickets, Passes, and Tallies of the British Caribbean and Bermuda* (1988). 'Holey Dollars and Other Bits and Pieces of Prince Edward Island', by Chris Faulkner, offers a general survey of the cut money circulating on the Island during the second and third decades of the nineteenth century. The celebrated Prince Edward Island holey dollar apparently opened the floodgates for a much wider circulation of cut money, including some migrating from the considerably warmer climes of the West Indies.

The seventy-two page offering by F. Carl Braun, 'A Triple Numismatic Enigma of the Nineteenth Century Caribbean: Haiti, Barbados, St Kitts, or Vieque?' is a work of considerable importance. It provides overwhelming evidence for the reattribution to Haiti of three categories of cut money which have long puzzled West Indian enthusiasts. In the past various authorities have mistakenly assigned them to Barbados, St Kitts and Vieque. Proof is given that even such an eminent expert as Major Pridmore was not beyond reproach. In his West Indies book he catalogues under Barbados a dollar and two reales (Pridmore 8 and 9) with a countermark which he took to be a pineapple. We are now indisputably informed that the countermark represents not a Barbados pineapple but a Haitian palm tree!

The final article, 'The Myths and Mysteries of the Somers' Islands [sic] Hogge Money', by Mark A. Sportack, occupies ninety-four pages and forms by far the largest section of the book. From this it is evident that the subject has been meticulously researched and equally minutely chronicled. In fact in this reader's view the article would have benefited from judicious editing. What started off as a fascinating read was eventually spoilt by the author's habit of repeating ground previously covered. We are for instance reminded no less than eight times that for almost two centuries after its issue, hogge money was lost to posterity. Equally irritating, at least to native Bermudians or people living this side of the Atlantic, is to be told that we have all been living under a misapprehension in regarding the Somers Islands coinage as forming an integral part of early British colonial numismatic heritage. The author poses the question whether hogge money should be considered a United States or a British colonial coin? The answer apparently is neither, since 'Hogge money is little more than a non-legal-tender private token issued by the Somers' Islands Company for use within its domain.' It is 'most properly categorized as failed company scrip from England's bullionist era.'

These statements seem to ignore all the pertinent facts. British settlers inhabited land owned by the Crown but granted under Royal Charter to the Company of the City of London for the Plantation of the Somer Islands. In addition, the Letters Patent of King James I issued on 29 June 1615 specifically made provision for the Company to 'cause to bee made a Coyne to pass Currant in their said Somer Islands, between the Inhabitants there for the more easie of commerce and bargaining between them.' In such circumstances surely hogge money should be considered as much a part of British colonial numismatics as the coinages of the East India Company, the Sierra Leone Company, the African Company of Merchants and the Imperial British East Africa Company.

I would also question the alacrity with which the author seems prepared to condemn the Somers Islands coinage as a failure. He seems to become unduly obsessed by the coinage being made of base metal, its short lifespan and the dislike it engendered amongst the colonists. Yet none of these factors are relevant in judging the economic success or failure of the coinage. I believe an excellent case could be made for suggesting

the coinage was part of a successful and relatively sophisticated currency experiment.

The colonists inhabited what was in effect a desert island, with no indigenous population. Starting from scratch, essential public works had to be undertaken with no locally acceptable form of currency available to pay for them. Initially the Company issued credit notes for work performed, balanced by debit notes for purchases made from their store. Any metallic coinage they subsequently issued would surely be a vast improvement on this system. By making them out of base metal (i.e. copper), the Company produced them at very little cost. Having very little intrinsic value they also ensured that the coins would not leave the Islands, thus leaving them free to fulfil their prime purpose of oiling the wheels of local commerce. That the coins would be disliked by the colonists was inevitable. Naturally they resented their lack of intrinsic value just as they abhorred the fact that they would not be accepted for external trade. Equally predictably, if the Company was misguided enough to feature a wild pig on the obverse of their coins they would attract the derogatory appellation of 'hogge money'. Yet despite these circumstances, all the evidence I have seen presented by Mark Sportack suggests the coins enjoyed full legal tender status within the confines of the Islands. All the early Company accounts were kept in terms of the currency. The Company paid the coins out and appear to have accepted them back with equal facility, whether in payment for goods, provisions or fines imposed by their judiciary system. Verification that the coinage circulated is provided by the wear displayed on surviving specimens. Also of some relevance is that current thinking believes that the Company sent out coins to its plantations on at least three separate occasions. If true, this provides a further hint that the coinage enjoyed a measure of success during its few years of use.

In concluding it could be said that hogge money played an essential part in the fledgling colony's development. In the early years when the colony was isolated and virtually a closed society it fulfilled a basic requirement for currency when little else was available. This role would have been all the more significant if the coins had arrived two or three years earlier as originally promised. One suspects that hogge money was always going to be a temporary expediency which would become obsolete as soon as the colony matured and a viable alternative became available. Once sufficient land had been cleared and cultivated, this viable alternative became apparent to all: it was tobacco. Here was a commodity that had value to the Company, the colonist and the rest of the world alike. Henceforth all goods and services on Somers Islands would be reckoned in terms of their value in weight of tobacco.

I hope my finding fault with certain of Mark Sportack's comments and conclusions will not deflect others from reading his article. In so many ways it is excellent and should undoubtedly be considered an essential read for anyone interested in hogge money or the history of the Somers Islands. Many years have passed since Major Pridmore's pioneering work on the subject, and much has been discovered in the intervening

period. All this has rendered Pridmore's original classification inadequate, and one suspects that Sportack's new system of attribution may well become the standard work by which the coins are referenced.

DAVID VICE

Matthew Boulton's Trafalgar Medal, by Nicholas Goodison (Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery, 2007), 13 pp.

FOR close on forty years the standard account of the circumstances surrounding Matthew Boulton's Trafalgar Medal has been that given by the late Graham Pollard in his study of the medallic work of Conrad Heinrich Kückler for Boulton in the *Numismatic Chronicle*.¹ Now that seminal study has been joined by the booklet under review which, equally, draws on the mammoth cache of documentary material contained in the Matthew Boulton Papers held by Birmingham City Archives.² Sir Nicholas Goodison, who has straddled the business world and that of applied art with equal distinction, is well known for his authoritative – and elegant – studies of English barometers and, particularly, of Matthew Boulton's ormolu, and his latest offering, though but a minnow in comparison with the latter leviathan, has all the hall marks of Goodison's good taste, scholarship and knowledge of the man described by one contemporary as a 'Maecenas' of artistic design.

The booklet has its origins in the Annual Lecture to the Friends of Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery given by Goodison in 2005 on a theme which served to mark the Trafalgar bicentenary and to link it with Birmingham and the town's most innovative industrialist of the eighteenth century. With the bicentenary of Matthew Boulton's death (17 August 1809) also looming it was a happy idea to make the lecture available to a wider audience. The resulting publication is divided into four sections over twelve A4 pages of text and one of notes: an introduction providing a brief overview of Boulton and his manufactory, and chapters on Boulton's reaction to the news of Trafalgar and his decision to strike a medal for 'every officer and man engaged in that great victory who had the good fortune to survive it'; the frustrations over the design of the medal's obverse portrait and the capricious influence of Lady Hamilton approached for her opinion as to Nelson's likeness since 'no one [was] so likely to remember it distinctly'; and the medal's minting, distribution and enthusiastic reception. A year and more were to elapse after the defeat of the French and Spanish fleets before the medal was issued; a delay occasioned largely by the difficulties in achieving an acceptable profile of Nelson – eventually based by Kückler on a wax portrait by Catherine Andras who also modelled the effigy of

Nelson in Westminster Abbey – and Boulton's anxiety to achieve a representation as accurate as possible, but one compounded too by Soho's preparations for the copper coinage of 1806.

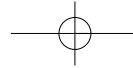
Goodison is particularly good on the tribulations of the medal's design – one is left with heartfelt sympathy for Boulton's banking friend J. Furnell Tuffin who acted as Soho's intermediary in its commissioning – although he perhaps adds little to what one already knows from Pollard and to learn more about the actual detail of Kückler's trial pieces one has to return to Pollard or go to Milford Haven or Laurence Brown.³ In his final chapter Goodison does not bring out sufficiently clearly that, while the medal was very much Boulton's idea, its manufacture and distribution became the concern of his son, Matthew Robinson Boulton, who had by now taken over the management of the Soho mint from his ageing and sick father. The son proved to be far less open-handed than the father and in the event the production (tin) version of the medal went only to the ordinary seamen and marines who had actually served in the line of battle. No officer was normally included in its issue and even many crewmen missed out. But this booklet is not directed at a specialist audience and as a piece of *haute vulgarisation* it serves Goodison's purpose admirably. It is a pleasure to read, felicitously written, rendering its subject readily accessible without any sacrifice of scholarship, and is handsomely produced in colour with a wealth of quality illustrations. Even if to some it may, in its presentation, have the tinge of a company brochure, Sir Nicholas Goodison and his publishers, Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery, are to be warmly congratulated on the production of a booklet which will bring before the interested layman – and the scholar not over-familiar with the subject – at least one facet of the achievement of an industrial pioneer of great discernment who while renowned in his own time has been all too much neglected by succeeding generations.

The encomia that followed the publication of the medals were fulsome. Lord Barham, the First Lord of the Admiralty who had orchestrated the Trafalgar campaign, in congratulating Boulton described them as 'Exquisite in their workmanship & truly expressive of the character and likeness of that great man Lord Nelson and the glorious action in which he fell'. He added, 'Your patriotism in perpetuating this glorious and decided victory must be felt by every person interested therein'. But it was not for nothing that in striking the medals at great personal cost even if in tin – some 17,000 in all were projected and 14,000 odd known to have been struck – for 'the Heroes of Trafalgar' Boulton made sure that the Royal Family and many of the great and the good received silver gilt and bronze versions as well. As Goodison concludes, while 'Boulton gave the medal because of his heartfelt

¹ Pollard 1970.

² Now subsumed in the 'Archives of Soho' housed in the Archives and Local Heritage department of Birmingham City Library.

³ Milford Haven 1919, nos 493–5; Brown 1980, nos 584–584B.



admiration for the achievement of Nelson and for the men of his fleet... I am sure that he was also driven by his perennial wish, undimmed by age or illness, for recognition in high places'. Yet this striving for acknowledgement was not for social reasons alone; Boulton was ever the businessman and his pursuit of high connections was also a means of promoting his fashionable ornamental wares and reaping a financial reward which sadly in so many of Boulton's aesthetic ventures too often eluded him. This said the story of the Trafalgar Medal typifies Boulton's concern and meticulous care to produce an object of the highest standards of taste and accuracy, an outlook encapsu-

lated in the remark he once made to the auctioneer, James Christie, 'Nor would anything induce me to make a shabby appearance'.

D.W. DYKES

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PRESIDENT'S REVIEW OF THE YEAR 2007

MARK BLACKBURN

DURING 2007 the Council has looked at some of the Society's constitutional procedures and practices, particularly those concerned with the election of Officers and Council, with the intention of bringing these into line with twenty-first-century concepts of transparency and democracy, appropriate to a society of our size and composition. As a result we have introduced two changes, and proposed a third involving amendments to the By-Laws which will be considered at an Extraordinary General Meeting in January.¹

First, we have provided for a degree of rotation among the six Vice-Presidents. In recommending nominations, Council will see that at least one of the nominees for Vice-President has not served in that capacity during the previous year. This will allow more of our senior members to be involved in governing the Society, while enabling those who remain active to return after a year or two's break. Implementing this policy now for the first time, Peter Woodhead offered to step down and Graham Dyer has been nominated in his place.

The second reform that Council agreed upon involves the procedure for nominating a new President, which normally occurs every five years. Hitherto, the President in consultation with the Past Presidents has proposed a name to Council. Now the procedure will be formalised, and an advisory committee consisting of the President, two Vice-Presidents (preferably ones who have themselves been President), another Officer and two Ordinary Members of Council, and chaired by a Vice-President, will make a recommendation to Council. The Council will remain responsible for the final selection of the nominee whose name will appear on the ballot paper. This new procedure will be tried out next year when a search will be undertaken for my successor.

Finally, an Extraordinary General Meeting in January will consider a proposal to amend the By-Laws giving Members of the Society an opportunity to nominate candidates as Officers or Members of Council. Under the current By-Laws the Council draws up a list of nominations to be circulated in October for a ballot of members in November, but there is no mechanism for alternative nominations to be proposed and circulated, except that a member may delete a name on their ballot paper and write in another. We think that the proposed new scheme would provide a fairer and more democratic mechanism should circumstances ever arise in which an element of the membership wished to challenge the Council's nomination for an Officer or Council Member. Any names put forward in this way would then appear on the ballot paper along with Council's list of nominees. We have also proposed an amendment that would allow the Council at some stage to provide an alternative optional means of electronic voting, particularly for our overseas members, although this will not necessarily be implemented immediately.

I should say that these proposals have not arisen from any pressure from our membership. Talking to and corresponding with members, I sense that there is a general contentment with the way the Society is being run, and I hope that these modest reforms providing a little more openness and accountability in our affairs will strengthen the Society as it looks forward to the future.

In the Summer *Newsletter* I reported that the Council wished to introduce a new award to recognise those people, up and down the country, who give selflessly of their time and energy in supporting and promoting British numismatics. Mr Jeffrey North has very generously offered to fund such a medal, which we would like to call the Jeffrey North Medal. Designs

¹ These were duly passed and the resulting amendments are incorporated into the By-Laws published below, pp. 307–13.

are being commissioned and I hope that we will be able to award the first medals later next year.

We have heard from the Treasurer that the Society's finances continue to be very healthy. Despite producing a bumper volume of the *Journal* and publishing Robin Eaglen's volume on the *Abbey and Mint of Bury St Edmunds* last year, the Society's net worth by the end of 2006 had grown by 10 per cent to £149,000. This means that we are well on our way to restoring our funds in real terms to their position in 2000, when we had assets of £137,000; the subsequent depletion occurred in part because the General Account was running at a deficit for two years prior to a subscription increase in 2003, and in part because of the costs of special publications, the centenary celebrations and the production of the special additional volume of *BNJ*. Having secured our capital base, the Society will have the flexibility and confidence to consider embarking on new projects or activities.

Our membership has increased again this year, and it now stands at a record 649, compared with 636 last November. During the year, there have been 27 elections (four of which were institutions), two deaths, seven resignations and six amovals (including one institution).

	Anniversary Meeting 2006	Anniversary Meeting 2007
Honorary	7	7
Ordinary	507	516
Ordinary (students/under 21)	9	11
Institutions	113	115
 Total	 636	 649

Of the three deaths I have to report, two in fact occurred during 2006 and only one this year:-

Mr Sidney W. HARL (elected 1967), died 15 September 2006 at the age of 82 (b. 1924). One of our long-standing members in the USA, Mr Harl was a financial advisor, a Director of the William S. Paley Foundation and a generous supporter of the American Numismatic Society.

Mr Patrick Irvine KING (elected 1938), died 8 July 2007, at the age of 84 (b. 1922). The County Archivist for Northamptonshire, Mr King was our member of longest standing, a remarkable 69 years.

Mr Jeffrey MAY (elected 1994), died 15 July 2006 at the age of 69 (b. 9 November 1936). A former Head of Archaeology at Nottingham University and excavator of various sites in Lincolnshire, he published a number of papers on Celtic coinage, especially that of the Corieltauvi.

One of our members, Mr Charles MacKchnie-Jarvis of Salisbury, celebrated his hundredth birthday in August 2007, and to mark the occasion the Society presented him with one of our Silver Membership Medals, specially inscribed on the edge. His daughter sent a letter saying how much he had appreciated this and that her father maintained his interest in coins.

Some of our members have received distinctions: Michael Anderson has been elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries; Tuukka Talvio has been appointed an honorary docent in numismatics at Helsinki University, largely for his work on Viking-Age coinage; and Martin Allen received our own North Book Prize at the April meeting for his work on *The Durham Mint*.² In September Jeffrey North clocked up fifty years' membership of the Society. I should say that the drinks party tonight is being sponsored by Michael Anderson in celebration of his

² The presentation address to Dr Allen is printed below, pp. 299–300.

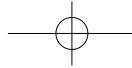
fifty years of membership, which in fact fell in October last year, so please come and join us after the meeting to drink a toast to his fifty-first year!

We have had another year of varied and interesting lectures ranging from a detailed analysis of the coinage of the Iceni to a fascinating biographical account of Martin Folkes. The Linecar Lecture was delivered by Prof. Simon Keynes, who demonstrated admirably how numismatic evidence can contribute to an historical understanding of the reign of King Æthelred II. Our Summer Meeting was held in Chichester, in the handsome new wing of the Pallant House Gallery. Six papers addressed the theme *Currencies in Crisis*, and for the second year the event was jointly hosted with the Royal Numismatic Society.

As already intimated, Peter Woodhead is stepping down as a Vice-President, a position he has held since 1981; indeed he has been a member of Council in various capacities for 40 years, and continuously since 1974. His contribution has been enormous, but I won't say more as I hope that he will be willing to return to Council for a further stint before too long. Angela Bolton, Joe Cribb and Adrian Lyons retire from Council having served three years. Angie has given us a useful link with those recording finds for the Portable Antiquaries Service, while Joe, as the current president of the Royal Numismatic Society, has fostered relations between our societies, one tangible result being the joint Summer meetings that we now hold, and Adrian's experience and sound judgement has been a great benefit to our deliberations in Council and on the Finance Committee. Elina Screen is giving up as Secretary, having fulfilled that role with charm and efficiency for three years, but we will not be losing her services, as she has taken on responsibility as one of the two Editors of *BNJ* in the place of David Symons. David is stepping down after six years as an Editor, working first with Nicholas Holmes and then with Philip de Jersey. During that time they have produced some excellent volumes, the last two being perhaps the largest we have ever published. The work of an editor is more onerous than most people who have never done it realise, and often the greatest reward is the satisfaction of knowing privately that one has done a good job. David, you have done that! Thank you!

Finally, I thank my other co-Officers and Council Members for their support over the past year, and all those other people who help the Society in different ways, whether examining our accounts, manning the library, representing us at Coinex, or serving wine at our parties. It is only by working as a team that the Society can move ahead and flourish.

The President then delivered the second part of his address, 'Currency Under the Vikings. Part 4. The Dublin Coinage c.995–c.1050', printed on pp. 111–37 above.



PROCEEDINGS OF THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY, 2007

All meetings during the year were held at the Warburg Institute and the President, Dr M.A.S. Blackburn, was in the chair throughout.

(*For Officers and Council for 2007, see Volume 77*)

23 JANUARY 2007. Messrs Paul Sorowka and James Allen Wagner were elected by Council to Ordinary Membership. John Dekin Parry and Timothy D Cook (USA) had been re-elected by Council to Ordinary Membership and the University of Sheffield and the Vatican Library had been re-elected to Institutional Membership. Gareth Williams then read a paper entitled *Early Anglo-Saxon gold coinage*.

27 FEBRUARY 2007. Prof. Kenneth Wayne Harl (USA) and Messrs Joseph Connolly and Simon Nicholas Hawkes were elected by Council to Ordinary Membership and the University Library, Trondheim to Institutional Membership. The President announced the death of Mr James North Allen, a member since October 1973, on 31 December 2006, at the age of 86. John Talbot then read a paper entitled *The coinage of the Iceni: new information from a die study of the complete coinage*.

27 MARCH 2007. Prof. Paul Andrew Christensen and Messrs Martin Griffiths, Robert John Pearce and Huseyin Arif Sulo were elected by Council to Ordinary Membership and the Paley Library, Temple University, Philadelphia (USA) to Institutional Membership. David Dykes read a paper entitled *Peter Skidmore: the man who never was*.

24 APRIL 2007. Messrs Tim Banks, Bradley Nelson (USA), Brett Telford (USA) were elected by Council to Ordinary Membership and Trevor Frank Morse to Student Membership. The President presented the inaugural North Book Prize for the work which has made the greatest contribution to British numismatics to Dr Martin Allen, for *The Durham Mint* (2003). The President expressed his pleasure in awarding the prize of £500 to Dr Allen for his original and important work. In reply, Dr Allen thanked the Society and particularly Jeffrey North, whose generous donation to the Society had made it possible to establish the prize. Richard Kelleher then read a paper entitled *Currency in Medieval England and the single find evidence from Kent*.

22 MAY 2007. Dr Donal Bateson read a paper entitled *William Hunter and eighteenth-century coin collecting*.

26 JUNE 2007. Mr Peter Mitchell announced the death of the former member, Mr Swan, the well-known cabinet maker, at the age of 83. Stewart Lyon and Bill Lean read a paper entitled *Was an Anglo-Saxon coin invari-*

ably minted in the town named on it? Some contrary evidence from style and die-linking.

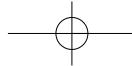
25 SEPTEMBER 2007. Andrew Christopher Barnett and James Kenneth Goode (USA) were elected by Council to Ordinary Membership. Professor Simon Keynes delivered the 10th Howard Linecar Memorial Lecture entitled *History and coinage in the reign of King Æthelred II*.

23 OCTOBER 2007. Philip David Cudmore, Clive Paul Knipe, John James Robinson (USA) and Anthony Travis were elected by Council to Ordinary Membership and Sarah Power to Student Membership. The President announced that an Extraordinary General Meeting would be held on 23 January 2008, to vote on Council's proposed amendments to the By-Laws for the election of Council members and Officers. The Meeting agreed to deem the text of the proposed amendments as having been read out. The notice would be suspended in the library, and copies of the notice would be sent to members with their ballot papers. Mr Christian Dekesel then read a paper entitled *Martin Folkes (1690–1754) and his numismatic contemporaries*.

27 NOVEMBER 2007. Alan Barry Blake, Roderick Richardson and Richard James Shelton were elected by Council to Ordinary Membership. The following Officers and Council were elected for 2008:

<i>President:</i>	M.A.S. Blackburn
<i>Vice-Presidents:</i>	C.E. Challis, G.P. Dyer C.S.S. Lyon, P.D. Mitchell, H.E. Pagan, and Lord Stewartby
<i>Director:</i>	K. Clancy
<i>Treasurer:</i>	P.H. Mernick
<i>Librarian:</i>	J.E. Roberts-Lewis
<i>Secretary:</i>	R. Kelleher
<i>Membership Secretary:</i>	R.L.N. Hewson
<i>Council:</i>	R.F. Bland, P. de Jersey, R.J. Eaglen, N.M. McQ. Holmes, W.A. MacKay (<i>Publicity Officer</i>), R.G.R. Naismith, P.J. Preston-Morley, J.G. Scott, Elina M. Screen, Frances Simmons, P. Skingley and R.H. Thompson

Council's proposal that the subscription should remain unchanged at £32 for Ordinary Members and £15 for members under age 21 or in full-time education was approved. The President, Dr M.A.S. Blackburn, then delivered his fourth Presidential Address, *Currency under the Vikings: 4. The Dublin Coinage c.995–1050*



and was thanked, on behalf of the membership, by Mr H.E. Pagan. Members present then attended a wine party sponsored by Mr M. Anderson in celebration of his 51 years of membership.

EXHIBITIONS

January:

By H.E. Pagan.

William Boys's copy of Withy and Ryall's *Twelve Plates of English Silver Coins* (1756), with manuscript additions including drawings of finds. Subsequently owned and used by Christopher Blunt in his publication of the Hougham Hoard (see *NC* 1979).

May:

By H.E. Pagan.

Siciliae veterum populorum & urbium regum quoque et tyrannorum numismata quae Panormi exstant in quodam privato Cimelio (Palermo, 1767)

Rare printed catalogue of the collection of 1071 Greek coins of Sicily put together by Gaspare Lancellotto Castelli, Principe di Torremuzza (1727–92); he sold the collection to Matthew Duane, a London attorney, and later it passed to William Hunter as part of Duane's collection. This copy of the catalogue probably derives from the library of Robert Mylne (1733–1811), the Scottish-born architect who in 1767 designed William Hunter's London house at 16 Great Windmill Street.

June:

By A. Lyons.

Two coins of Cnut's Quatrefoil type, struck by the moneyer Ælfseige at 'Serb' (Salisbury?).

Both coins are of a London style unique (?) to Salisbury, and were struck from the same reverse die; one obverse is die-linked to a coin of Cambridge.

October:

By P.H. Mernick

Medal of Martin Folkes by Jacques-Antoine Dassier, an exceptional specimen in Damascened bronze.

November:

By H.E. Pagan.

A bound volume of British coin sale catalogues of the 1840s and 1850s, probably from the library of the Irish numismatist John Lindsay, and including an apparently entirely unrecorded catalogue of an auction held at Newcastle-upon-Tyne on 16 January 1849.

SUMMER MEETING

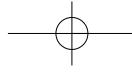
The Summer Meeting of the Society, *Currencies in Crisis*, was held jointly with the Royal Numismatic Society at Pallant House Gallery in Chichester on Saturday 7 July 2007. The meeting was opened by Mr Joe Cribb, President of the Royal Numismatic Society, and closed by the President. During the morning session, papers were read by Dr Sam Moorhead, *Ever decreasing circles: the world of the nummus in Late Antiquity*; Professor Edmund King, *The English coinage during the Civil War of 1638–1653* and Dr Kevin Clancy, *Locked into change: coinage reform in the 1690s and 1790s*. In the afternoon, papers were read by Barbara Mears, *Coinage in southern India in the early colonial period*; Graham Dyer, *Repent at leisure: the abandonment of sterling silver in 1920*; and Dr Paul Cavill, *The first Tudor coinage crisis?*

PRESENTATION OF THE NORTH BOOK PRIZE FOR 2006 TO MARTIN ALLEN

In presenting the North Book Prize for 2006 to Dr Martin Allen on 24 April 2007, the President, Dr Mark Blackburn, said:

Just a year ago Jeffrey North approached me and said that he wanted to make a donation to the Society in gratitude for the friendship and support that he had received from members of the Society and for the honour he felt in being awarded the Sanford Saltus Medal in 1995. In September of this year he will have been a member for fifty years. Council, with Mr North's support, decided that it would use the capital to endow a biennial prize for the book published in the last three years that has made the best contribution to British Numismatics. In most academic disciplines there are established book prizes, and although there are some general numismatic awards, such as the International Association of Professional Numismatists' Book Prize or the Royal Numismatic Society's Lhotka Prize for a beginner's book, there has been no prize specifically for a book on British numismatics. Now the North Book Prize happily fills that gap.

In deciding the first award of this Prize, forty eligible books were considered, and it was no easy task reducing these to a short list of four from which Council eventually chose the winner. The successful book was one that is the product of many years of research by an author who is an authority in his field, and crucially it makes an original contribution that extends



our knowledge of the subject. The book is Dr Martin Allen's *The Durham Mint*. This is the first full-scale study of the Durham mint since Mark Noble's treatise of 1780. Its strength lies in the combination of a detailed numismatic study of the coins together with research into the rich documentary evidence for Durham. Dr Allen looks at the administration of the mint and the personnel running it. Where his work breaks new ground is particularly in the estimation of mint output at various periods, marshalling a range of evidence and techniques of analysis. In economic terms Durham was but a minor mint, but the significance of this work is much greater than might be supposed from this, for it sheds new light on the operation of other ecclesiastical mints in England, and develops methodologies that will, I am sure, be applied elsewhere.

It is with great pleasure, then, that I ask Martin Allen to come forward and receive this cheque for £500 as the award for the first North Book Prize.

THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY REPORT OF THE TRUSTEES FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 DECEMBER 2006

The British Numismatic Society was founded in 1903, and is a registered charity (No. 275906). The Society is established for the benefit of the public through the encouragement and promotion of numismatic science, and particularly through the study of the coins, medals and tokens of the peoples of the British Isles and Commonwealth and the United States of America, and of such territories as may at any time be, or have been, subject to their jurisdiction.

The Society's activities are governed by its rules, amended in November 2002 and reprinted in April 2003, by order of Council.

The trustees of the Society for the year ended 31 December 2006 were the officers and members of Council comprising:

M.A.S. Blackburn (President); C.E. Challis, C.S.S. Lyon, P.D. Mitchell, H.E. Pagan, Lord Stewartby, P. Woodhead (Vice-Presidents); K. Clancy (Director); P.H. Mernick (Treasurer); A.J. Holmes (Librarian to November 2006), J.E. Roberts-Lewis (Librarian from November 2006); C.R.S. Farthing (Council and Membership Secretary to November 2006), R.L.N. Hewson (Council and Membership Secretary from November 2006); E.M. Screen (Secretary); P. de Jersey, D.J. Symons (Editors); W.A. MacKay (Council, also Publicity Officer from November 2006); R.M. Kelleher (Council, also Website Officer from November 2006); R.F. Bland (from November 2006), A.M. Bolton, T.C.R. Crafter (to November 2006), J.E. Cribb, G.P. Dyer (to November 2006), D.W. Dykes (to November 2006), R.J. Eaglen, A.W. Lyons, R.G.R. Naismith (from November 2006), J.G. Scott, F. Simmons, P. Skingley, R.H. Thompson (from November 2006) (Council).

The registered address of the charity is that of the current Treasurer, P.H. Mernick, 42 Campbell Road, London E3 4DT and the Society's bankers are the National Westminster Bank PLC, PO Box 10720, 217 Strand, London, WC2R 1AL; CAF Bank Ltd, 25 Kings Hill, West Malling, Kent ME19 4JQ and Birmingham Midshires, PO Box 81, Pendeford Business Park, Wobaston Road, Wolverhampton WV9 5HZ. The Independent Examiner is R.A. Merson, FCA, Tanyard House, 13A Bridge Square, Farnham, Surrey, GU9 7QR.

Society meetings were held on the fourth Tuesday each month from January to June and September to November inclusive at the Warburg Institute, University of London, at which a substantive paper was read. On 8 July, a special one-day meeting on *Politics, Power and the Coinage* was held at York. This was a joint meeting with the Royal Numismatic Society.

In February 2007 the Society published Volume 76 of *The British Numismatic Journal*. This was a hardbound volume of 420 pages and 60 plates, and contained 11 principal articles and 16 short articles and reviews. It also incorporated the 2006 Coin Register, which listed in detail 310 single coin finds in Great Britain and Ireland, the 2005 Presidential Address and Proceedings, and the Society's financial accounts for the year ended 31 December 2004. The Society received a contribution of £2,467 from National Museum Wales towards printing the E.M. Besly article *The Rogiet hoard and the coinage of Allectus*.

In December 2006, the Society published number five in its Special Publications series: *The Abbey and Mint of Bury St Edmunds to 1279* by Robin J. Eaglen. The Society received a donation towards the costs of publication from the author.

Spink & Son Limited acts as distributor of the Society's publications.

During the year, the Society's web-site (www.britnumsoc.org) hosted by the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, gave a mix of permanent factual information about the Society and details of its current programme of meetings and activities. In addition, UK members received three issues of the CCNB (Coordinating Committee for Numismatics in Britain) Newsletter containing short and topical articles, reviews and details of meetings and exhibitions.

The Society holds a substantial library, jointly with the Royal Numismatic Society, which is located at the Warburg Institute, and actively maintains a programme of acquiring new books and rebinding existing books, as necessary. Books are available for loan to members, both in person and by post.

Annual subscriptions were paid to the International Numismatic Commission and the British Association of Numismatic Societies (BANS).

The Society is financed by an annual subscription of £32, paid by both ordinary and institutional members, or £15, paid by members under 21 or in full-time education, together with interest on cash held on deposit and donations from members over and above their subscription.

The Trustees believe that the present level of uncommitted reserves set against current and planned expenditure is both prudent and proportionate. A Finance Committee was formed during the year, whose responsibilities include an ongoing review of the Society's investment policy.

All officers of the Society offer their services on a voluntary basis, and administrative costs were kept to a minimum consisting largely of stationery and postage.

The Society is actively seeking to increase its membership, both in Britain and overseas, the total of which has steadily risen to more than 600.

THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
STATEMENT OF FINANCIAL ACTIVITIES
FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 DECEMBER 2006

	<i>General Fund</i>	<i>Designated Funds</i>	<i>Restricted Fund</i>	<i>Total 2006</i>	<i>Total 2005</i>
	£	£	£	£	£
INCOME AND EXPENDITURE					
INCOMING RESOURCES					
Subscriptions and Entrance Fees					
received for 2006 and earlier years	18,987	—	—	18,987	17,748
Gift Aid	4,861			4,861	1,144
Interest received	2,684	3,619	275	6,578	5,722
Donations	44	11,500	800	12,344	6,671
Society Medals	—	—	—	—	179
Centenary Medals and Magpie Dishes	—	—	—	—	804
Sale of Publications :-					
Backnumbers	594	—	—	594	374
Special Publications	—	2,814	—	2,814	621
BNJ Index	13	—	—	13	39
TOTAL INCOMING RESOURCES	27,183	17,933	1,075	46,191	32,498
RESOURCES EXPENDED					
British Numismatic Journal	17,085	—	—	17,085	11,920
Special Publications	—	8,429	—	8,429	—
CCNB Newsletter	275	—	—	275	—
Sanford Saltus Medal	1,251	—	—	1,251	200
Provincial Meetings	228	—	—	228	647
Linear Lecture	—	—	—	—	500
Society Medals	—	—	—	—	284
London Meetings	652	—	—	652	562
North Prize	—	500	—	500	—
Blunt Prize	—	—	—	—	300
Library	749	—	—	749	747
Subscriptions	142	—	—	142	136
Bank Charges	168	—	—	168	238
Other printing, postage, stationery and secretarial	1,631	—	—	1,631	968
TOTAL RESOURCES EXPENDED	22,181	8,929	—	31,110	16,502
NET INCOMING RESOURCES					
BEING NET MOVEMENT IN FUNDS					
	5,002	9,004	1,075	15,081	15,996
FUND BALANCES					
Brought forward 1 January 2006	48,218	79,334	6,350	133,902	117,906
FUND BALANCES					
Carried forward 31 December 2006	<u>53,220</u>	<u>88,338</u>	<u>7,425</u>	<u>148,983</u>	<u>133,902</u>

THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31 DECEMBER 2006

	<i>2006</i>	<i>2005</i>
	£	£
GENERAL FUND	53,220	48,218
DESIGNATED FUNDS	88,338	79,334
RESTRICTED FUND	7,425	6,350
	<hr/> <u>148,983</u>	<hr/> <u>133,902</u>
ASSETS:		
Library and Furniture at cost less amounts written off	160	160
Stock of Medals	124	124
Sundry Debtors	8,022	1,642
Cash at Bankers and in Hand		
Bank – Deposit Account	166,451	155,000
Current Account	8,494	4,932
	<hr/> <u>183,251</u>	<hr/> <u>161,858</u>
LIABILITIES:		
J. Sanford Saltus Medal Fund	–	506
Subscriptions received in advance	3,954	3,463
Sundry Creditors and Outstanding Charges	3,033	2,808
Creditors and Provision for Journals	27,281	21,179
	<hr/> <u>34,268</u>	<hr/> <u>27,956</u>
	<hr/> <u>148,893</u>	<hr/> <u>133,902</u>

Registered Charity No. 275906
The accounts were approved by Council on 23 October 2007

THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY NOTES TO THE ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 DECEMBER 2006

1. Accounting Policies

Basis of Accounting

These accounts have been prepared under the historical cost convention, and in accordance with applicable accounting standards and the Statement of Recommended Practice on Accounting by Charities.

Fixed Assets

No value has been attributed in the balance sheet to the Society's library. The joint library of the Society and The Royal Numismatic Society was insured during the year ended 31 December 2006 at a value of £185,000. The books are individually labelled as to which Society owns them, but for the purposes of practical day-to-day administration and the sharing of costs, one-third of the library is taken as belonging to The British Numismatic Society.

Stock

No value is attributed to the Society's stocks of Special Publications and *The British Numismatic Journal*.

Subscriptions

No credit is taken either for subscriptions received in advance or for subscriptions in arrears at the balance sheet date.

2. Designated Funds

	<i>North Fund</i>	<i>Linecar Fund</i>	<i>Osborne Fund</i>	<i>Benefactors' Fund</i>	<i>Total</i>
	£	£	£	£	£
INCOMING RESOURCES					
Donations	10,000	—	1,500	—	11,500
Interest received	318	463	2,720	118	3,619
Sales of Special Publications	—	—	2,814	—	2,814
TOTAL INCOMING RESOURCES	10,318	463	7,034	118	17,933
RESOURCES EXPENDED					
North Prize	500	—	—	—	500
Special publication	—	—	8,429	—	8,429
TOTAL RESOURCES EXPENDED	500	—	8,429	—	8,929
NET INCOMING/(OUTGOING) RESOURCES BEING NET MOVEMENT IN FUNDS					
	9,818	463	(1,395)	118	9,004
FUND BALANCES					
brought forward 1 January 2006		11,069	65,411	2,854	79,334
FUND BALANCES					
carried forward 31 December 2006	9,818	11,532	64,016	2,972	88,338

The General and Designated Funds are all unrestricted.

The Linecar Fund was started in 1986 with the bequest of £5,000 and Council has designated this Fund to provide for a biennial lecture in Mr Linecar's memory.

The Osborne Fund was started in 1991 with the bequest of £50,000 and Council has designated this Fund to finance the series of Special Publications.

The Benefactors' Fund consists of other bequests to the Society.

The North Fund was set up during the year with a generous donation from member Mr J.J. North and Council has decided that this should partly be used to fund a biennial prize for the best book on British Numismatics published in the last three years. The donation was made under Gift Aid and income tax will be reclaimed and added to the Fund. Council are currently considering various possible ideas for the use of the balance of the Fund.

3. Restricted Fund: The Prize Fund

Following an appeal for donations in 2005, the Society created a new Prize Fund with the purpose of supporting the John Sanford Saltus Medal, the Blunt Prize (formerly called the Council Prize) and any other award the Society might introduce in the future. Some of the donations were made under Gift Aid and the income tax reclaimed on these will be credited to the Prize Fund on receipt.

PRIZE FUND	£
INCOMING RESOURCES	
Donations	800
Interest received	275
	<hr/>
TOTAL INCOMING RESOURCES	1,075
RESOURCES EXPENDED	
None	—
	<hr/>
TOTAL RESOURCES EXPENDED	—
NET INCOMING RESOURCES BEING NET MOVEMENT IN FUNDS	1,075
FUND BALANCE	
brought forward 1 January 2006	6,350
	<hr/>
FUND BALANCE	
carried forward 31 December 2006	7,425

4. Creditors and Provision for Journals

	£
British Numismatic Journal 76 (2006), published February 2007	13,281
British Numismatic Journal 77 (2007), to be published January 2008	14,000
	<hr/>
	27,281

INDEPENDENT EXAMINER'S REPORT TO THE MEMBERS OF THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

I report on the accounts of the Society for the year ended 31 December 2006, which are set out on pages 302 to 305.

Respective responsibilities of trustees and examiner

Council as the Society's trustees are responsible for the preparation of the accounts; and consider that the audit requirement of Section 43(2) of the Charities Act 1993 does not apply. It is my responsibility to state, on the basis of procedures specified in the General Directions given by the Charity Commissioners under Section 43(7) (b) of that Act, whether particular matters have come to my attention.

Basis of independent examiner's report

My examination was carried out in accordance with the General Directions given by the Charity Commissioners. An examination includes a review of the accounting records kept by the Society and a comparison of the accounts presented with those records. It also includes consideration of any unusual items or disclosures in the accounts, and seeking explanations from Council concerning any such matters. The procedures undertaken do not provide all the evidence that would be required in an audit, and consequently I do not express an audit opinion on the view given by the accounts.

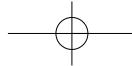
Independent examiner's statement

In connection with my examination, no matter has come to my attention:

- (a) which gives me reasonable cause to believe that in any material respect the requirements to keep accounting records in accordance with section 41 of the Charities Act 1993; and to prepare accounts which accord with the accounting records and to comply with the accounting requirements of that Act have not been met; or
- (b) to which, in my opinion, attention should be drawn in order to enable a proper understanding of the accounts to be reached.

R.A. Merson, F.C.A.
Tanyard House,
13A Bridge Square,
Farnham,
Surrey,
GU9 7QR.

23 October 2007



THE BY-LAWS OF THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

(AMENDED 2008)

I. NAME, OBJECTS AND CONSTITUTION

1. The name of the Society shall be "THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY".
2. The Society is established for the benefit of the public through the encouragement and promotion of numismatic science, and particularly through the study of the coins, medals and tokens of the peoples of the British Isles and Commonwealth and the United States of America, and all territories as may at any time be or have been subject to their jurisdiction.
3. The property and management of the affairs of the Society shall vest in a Council consisting of a President, not more than six Vice-Presidents, a Director, Secretary, Treasurer, Librarian, and, according to the resolution of Council from time to time, of not fewer than nine nor more than fifteen Members of the Society.
4. The Society may not make any dividend, gift, division or bonus in money to or between any of its Members, other than prizes and awards for numismatic excellence and grants for numismatic research.
5. The Society's chief publication shall be called "THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC JOURNAL".

II. MEMBERSHIP

1. Members of the Society shall be comprised of three classes: Ordinary Members and (if any) Royal Members and Honorary Members.
2. Ordinary Membership of the Society shall be open to individuals of either sex and to appropriate institutions. Each institutional member may nominate an individual as its representative in dealings with the Society.
3. Each candidate for election as an Ordinary Member shall be proposed by a Member from personal knowledge or by a Member of Council from general knowledge and seconded by another Member from personal or general knowledge. The Proposer and Seconder shall sign a certificate specifying the full name, profession or occupation, permanent address and preferably the date of birth of the candidate. The Secretary shall cause the candidature to be presented to the next meeting of Council. Election to Ordinary Membership shall then be decided by at least a four-fifths majority vote in favour at the following meeting of Council.
4. The President shall announce the name(s) of any newly elected Ordinary Member(s) at the next Ordinary Meeting of the Society.
5. The Secretary shall notify each candidate of the result of the election and provide successful candidates with a copy of these By-Laws.
6. The election, withdrawal or death of every Ordinary Member, with date thereof, shall be entered by the Secretary in a Register of Members. This provision shall also be made in respect of the other classes of Membership.
7. Members of the royal families of the United Kingdom and of other countries may, on the proposal of Council, be elected to Membership by ballot at any Ordinary Meeting as provided in By-Law VII.1, and shall be called Royal Members.
8. Any persons of distinguished reputation or learning may be proposed by Council for election as Honorary Members. The written proposal shall be read at an Ordinary Meeting and at the second such Meeting shall be read again and put to the ballot as provided in By-Law VII.1. The number of such Honorary Members shall not exceed twenty.
9. Royal and Honorary Members shall not be liable for any entrance fee or subscription, but shall be entitled to receive the Society's publications, and to all other privileges of membership.

III. CONDITIONS OF MEMBERSHIP

1. Every individual or institution elected a Member of the Society shall as a condition of Membership be deemed to accept the following obligation:

"I do hereby promise that I will to the utmost of my power promote the honour and interest of The British Numismatic Society, and observe the By-Laws thereof so long as I shall continue to be a Member thereof."

2. The election of any Member refusing to accept or failing to maintain this obligation shall thereby be deemed null and void.

IV. MEMBERSHIP DUES

1. Council shall, not later than the Ordinary Meeting preceding the Anniversary Meeting, propose for approval at the Anniversary Meeting the amount of:

- (a) entrance fee (if any)
- (b) annual subscription rate(s) for Ordinary Members, and
- (c) any reduced rate of annual subscription for Ordinary Members in full-time education and/or under the age of twenty-one.

to apply for the year from 1st January next following.

2. Upon election, every Ordinary Member shall pay to the Treasurer the entrance fee (if any) and subscription for the current year. If these dues are not paid within six months from the date of election, such election shall be deemed null and void unless Council at its discretion extends the period of grace.

3. Every Ordinary Member shall pay the appropriate annual subscription due on the 1st January of that year.

4. In derogation from By-Laws IV. 2 and 3, Members elected in the last four months of any year may exercise an option to pay one annual subscription in respect of the period from election until 31 December of the ensuing year, but in this event shall not be eligible to receive the Society's publications in respect of the current year's subscription.

5. The Society's publications shall not be delivered to those Members whose subscriptions are in arrears.

6. Any members failing to pay their dues before the date of the Anniversary Meeting following the year to which such dues relate shall be automatically removed from Membership and the President shall announce their names at that Anniversary Meeting. The Secretary shall record such removal in the Register of Members.

7. Any individual or institution removed under By-Law IV.6 shall be eligible for reinstatement if the arrears giving rise to removal shall have been paid within one year of removal.

8. Any Member not in arrears of subscription wishing to resign shall so notify the Secretary and shall thereupon cease to be a Member, and shall be free from any future obligation to the Society. At its discretion, Council may accept the resignation of a Member whose subscription is in arrears and waive payment of the same.

9. In the case of former Members seeking re-election to the Society, Council shall have the power to waive payment of any entrance fee otherwise due.

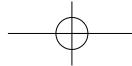
V. ORDINARY AND EXTRAORDINARY MEETINGS

1. Ordinary Meetings of the Society shall be held on such dates and at such times as Council shall decide. The Secretary shall ensure that these dates and times and any changes thereto are notified to Members.

2. Any Member may introduce two visitors at an Ordinary Meeting, and upon such other occasions as Council may resolve. Council may invite further guests in the name of the Society. The names of all such visitors and guests shall be entered in a book provided for the purpose.

3. Council may or, upon the written requisition of fifteen Members, Council shall summon an Extraordinary Meeting of the Society. Notice of such a Meeting shall be sent by the Secretary to each Member at least two weeks before the day appointed for the Meeting. This notice shall specify the business to be transacted at such Meeting, and no other matter may be discussed.

4. The Chair shall be taken by the President at Ordinary, Extraordinary and Anniversary Meetings, or in the absence of the President in order of precedence by one of the Vice-Presidents, the Director, the Treasurer, the Librarian, or a Member of Council. Failing these, a Member chosen by those present shall preside, but no meeting shall be held unless five Members at least be present. The person standing in for the President shall be vested with those powers enjoyed by the President in the Chair.

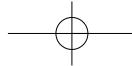


VI. ANNIVERSARY MEETING

1. The Anniversary Meeting of the Society shall be held on 30 November (St Andrew's Day), or on such day during the preceding week as Council may appoint.
2. The election of the President, Officers and Council shall take place annually at the Anniversary Meeting.
3. Council shall each year, not later than fifteen days before the Ordinary Meeting preceding the Anniversary Meeting, nominate those Members whom they recommend to the Society for election to the Offices of President, Vice-President, Director, Secretary, Treasurer and Librarian for the ensuing year. At the same time they shall also nominate not fewer than nine nor more than fifteen Members whom they recommend to the Society for election to Council.
4. Any five or more Members may nominate other Members besides those nominated by Council under By-Law VI.3 as candidates for election as Officers or Council members, except that for the office of President at least twelve nominators shall be required. Any such nominations must be received by the Secretary before the Ordinary Meeting preceding the Anniversary Meeting and must be in writing, signed by the nominators and confirming that such nominees have given their consent to serve if elected.
5. A notice setting out the nominations of Council under By-Law VI.3 and informing Members of their right to nominate other Members under By-Law VI.4 shall be sent by the Secretary to each Member at least fourteen days before the date of the Ordinary Meeting preceding the Anniversary Meeting.
6. Notice of the Anniversary Meeting together with a ballot form setting out the membership dues proposed under By-Law IV.1 and the candidates for election as Officers or Council members nominated under By-Law VI.3 and 4 shall be sent to every Member by the Secretary at least fourteen days before the date of the Anniversary Meeting. At the Ordinary Meeting preceding the Anniversary Meeting these nominations shall be read from the Chair.
7. Two Scrutators shall be proposed by the Chair, and appointed with the approbation of the majority of Members present. The ballot shall then proceed on the membership dues and nominations in accordance with By-Law VII.2.
8. At the close of the ballot the Scrutators shall report to the Chair the results of the ballot. The membership dues and the names of the President, Vice-President, Director, Treasurer, Secretary, Librarian and Members of Council elected for the ensuing year shall thereupon be announced from the Chair.
9. In the event of a vacancy in the office of President, Vice-President, Director, Secretary, Treasurer or Librarian occurring between annual elections, the President or Secretary shall cause Council to be summoned to elect a Member to fill such vacancy, and the Officers and Council, or any five or more of them, meeting thereupon, shall proceed to such election. In the event of a vacancy occurring on Council other than of an Officer, Council may if the remaining Members of Council exceed and shall if they fall below nine similarly proceed to fill such vacancies.

VII. VOTING

1. In those matters which fall to be decided at an Ordinary Meeting, the vote shall be taken by ballot of those Members present. Except as otherwise provided in these By-Laws all questions shall be decided by a simple majority of the votes cast, the Chair having a second or casting vote when necessary.
2. In determining the membership dues and election of Officers and Council for the following year, the method of voting shall be by ballot of all Members. Members wishing to exercise their vote shall do so by completing, signing and returning the ballot form referred to in By-Law VI.6 to the Secretary in a sealed envelope marked 'Vote' to arrive in time for the Anniversary Meeting, or by handing it to the Scrutators during the time prescribed for the ballot at such meeting. The Secretary shall deliver all papers so received to the Scrutators, and the latter shall at the close of the Meeting be responsible for the destruction of all papers submitted to them, and shall preserve secrecy on their contents. The election shall be decided by a simple majority of the votes received by the Scrutators, the President having a second or casting vote when necessary. In any question of alleged irregularity the President's decision shall be absolute.
3. If for a particular Office or for Council membership no nominations shall have been received under By-Law VI.4, the nominees of Council in the notice under By-Law VI.6 may at the Anniversary Meeting be declared duly elected by the President.
4. Council may from time to time approve alternative means, including the use of electronic technology, for notification and voting purposes under By-Laws VI and VII.1 to 4, provided that the rights of Members under the By-Laws are not in the bona fide opinion of Council thereby materially prejudiced.
5. For any variation to these By-Laws, a majority of four-fifths of the votes received shall be necessary. In any other matter requiring the decision of an Extraordinary Meeting, matters shall be decided by a simple majority. In all other respects the procedure shall be analogous to that set out in By-Law VII.2.



VIII. AMOVAL OF MEMBERS

1. If there be any alleged cause for the amoval of a Member, other than for non-payment of membership dues, it shall be submitted to Council for decision.
2. The President shall announce the name of any Member so amooved at the next Ordinary Meeting.
3. A record of such amoval shall be entered by the Secretary in the Register of Members.
4. Amoval for non-payment of membership dues shall be in accordance with By-Law IV.6.

IX. OFFICERS

1. In addition to the President, the Officers of the Society shall consist of the Vice-Presidents, Director, Secretary, Treasurer and Librarian.
2. Officers shall be *ex-officio* members of Council.
3. The President and other Officers shall at all times use their best endeavours to promote the objects, reputation, interests and prosperity of the Society.

X. THE PRESIDENT

1. As the head of the Society, the President shall have the general supervision of its affairs.
2. The President shall, as often as may be consistent with other duties, attend the Meetings of the Society and of Council.
3. The President shall be, *ex officio*, a Member of Council and all Committees of Council. The President may delegate the *ex officio* role on Committees of Council to a Vice-President or the Director.
4. The President may at any time summon an Extraordinary Meeting of Council.
5. The President shall liaise closely with Officers of the Society and the Editors to ensure the smooth running of the Society.
6. A President may not remain in office for more than five consecutive years.

XI. VICE-PRESIDENTS

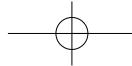
1. Vice-Presidents shall be limited to six in number.
2. One of the Vice-Presidents shall take the place of the President in the event of the President's temporary absence or incapacity.
3. Each Vice-President shall as often as may be consistent with other commitments attend the Meetings of the Society and of Council.

XII. THE DIRECTOR

1. The Director shall be responsible to the President and Council for organising the Society's programme of activities.
2. The Director, with the President and Treasurer, shall be the chief superintendents of the publications of the Society.

XIII. THE SECRETARY

1. In addition to carrying out the duties specified in these By-Laws, the Secretary shall have primary responsibility to the President and Council for the administration of the Society and for maintaining a formal record of its activities and decisions.
2. The Secretary shall:
 - (a) maintain an up-to-date list of Members' postal addresses
 - (b) prepare and maintain minutes of all Council, Ordinary, Extraordinary and Anniversary Meetings of the Society, and
 - (c) ensure that the Society's records are kept in a safe place with minimal risk of loss or damage.
3. Council may appoint a member of Council (not being an Officer) to share or assist in the duties of the Secretary.



XIV. THE TREASURER

1. The Treasurer shall be responsible to the President and Council for the accounting and financial affairs of the Society.
2. The Treasurer shall:
 - (a) keep the accounts of the Society in proper books, to be provided for that purpose
 - (b) not make any payment other than for current expenses and such other expenditure as Council may from time to time direct
 - (c) from time to time pay to the bankers of the Society all monies received on its account, and invest surplus monies as directed or approved by Council
 - (d) keep the property of the Society insured for such sums as Council shall from time to time approve or direct
 - (e) with the aid of a finance committee of Council (if any), exercise a vigilant superintendence over the expenditure and investments of the Society, and
 - (f) produce the accounts at or before the September meeting of Council in respect of the previous complete accounting year, and at the Anniversary Meeting in accordance with By-Law XIX.2.

XV. THE LIBRARIAN

1. The Librarian shall be the chief custodian of the Library and all other acquisitions of the Society, and shall:
 - (a) ensure the same are preserved and kept in proper order and condition
 - (b) maintain proper catalogues or indexes of the same
 - (c) advise Council on acquisitions, but not incur expense without the prior approval of Council, and
 - (d) regulate the lending of books to Members, and cause a record to be kept thereof.

XVI. COUNCIL

1. The management of the property and revenue of the Society, and the conduct of its business, shall be entrusted to Council.
2. The tenure of a Member of Council, not being an Officer, shall not normally exceed three years without a break of at least one year. When, however, a Member of Council is acting as an Editor under By-Law XVII.1 or is otherwise fulfilling a valuable specialist role under By-Law XVI.9, Council may extend such tenure beyond three consecutive years.
3. Council shall meet once a month, or oftener, during eight months at least of each year. Five Council Members shall form a quorum.
4. Unless otherwise provided in these By-Laws, Council shall take formal decisions by majority vote of those present, the President having a second or casting vote when necessary.
5. No debts shall be incurred without Council's approval, nor any payment, except petty cash and ordinary current expenses, made without its order. Any proposal for expenditure, other than the publication of *The British Numismatic Journal* and any volume in the *Special Publications* series, exceeding one thousand pounds shall be laid before the Society at a meeting, not being an Extraordinary Meeting, for approval at the next such Meeting prior to incurring the same.
6. Council may appoint Committees, shall regulate the proceedings of the same, and may require that the Minutes thereof be laid before the next following Council Meeting. Members of such Committees shall be drawn from Members of Council.
7. Council may from time to time appoint Working Groups for special purposes, specifying their terms of reference. Membership of such Working Groups may be drawn from Members as well as Members of Council.
8. Council shall appoint the Editors of *The British Numismatic Journal* in accordance with By-Law XVII, and shall exercise general supervision over the publications of the Society.
9. Council may appoint Members of Council (normally not being Officers) to specialist roles for the advancement or improvement of the Society, specifying the applicable terms of reference. If no available Member of Council has suitable qualifications or experience for such role Council may appoint a new Member of Council from the membership to fulfil the role, provided that the maximum number of Members of Council (excluding Officers) does not thereby exceed fifteen.
10. Council shall report to the Society matters of general interest and importance, and shall endeavour in all its proceedings to advance the prosperity of the Society.

XVII. PUBLICATIONS

1. Each new Council shall nominate from among its Members not more than three persons to be responsible for the editing and production of *The British Numismatic Journal* and such other publications as shall be determined by Council.
2. The names of the Editors shall appear on the title page of each volume of *The British Numismatic Journal* which they shall have edited.
3. Responsibility for the acceptance or rejection of manuscripts for the Society's publications shall vest in an Editorial Committee of Council, which shall normally consist of the President, Director, Treasurer and Editors.
4. The Editors shall see that proper estimates are procured for all work proposed to be executed in connection with the publication of *The British Numismatic Journal* and any other publications for which they shall be responsible by any artist, engraver, printer or other person, and they shall not direct or allow such work to be entered on until such estimates have been approved by Council.
5. In the exercise of their office the Editors shall, to the best of their ability, endeavour to ensure *The British Numismatic Journal* and other publications for which they are responsible uphold the standing of the Society.
6. For publications for which the Editors are not responsible, the President, Director and Treasurer shall ensure that proper estimates of cost are placed before Council prior to commitment and that such publications uphold the standing of the Society.

XVIII. CORRESPONDING MEMBERS

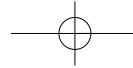
1. Council may from time to time appoint Corresponding Members of Council in any country whose duty it shall be to communicate regularly with Council, and to give the earliest intimation of any discovery or development relating to numismatic science, or other matters or events coming within the objects of the Society, in their respective localities.
2. Such Corresponding Members shall not be entitled to attend Council Meetings except by invitation of the President, in which case they will not have any vote.
3. Every such appointment shall continue during the pleasure of Council.

XIX. INDEPENDENT EXAMINATION

1. The Society shall at each Anniversary Meeting appoint an Independent Examiner to examine the accounts of the Society during the ensuing year in accordance with Section 43(3)(a) of the Charities Act 1993 and any directions of the Charity Commissioners and any regulations made by the Secretary of State in connection with that examination.
2. The report of the Independent Examiner shall be incorporated in the accounts presented by the Treasurer at the Anniversary Meeting.

XX. VARIATION OF BY-LAWS

1. The draft of any By-Law proposed to be made in addition to or for the revocation or alteration of any existing By-Law of the Society shall be submitted by Council, or by at least fifteen Members to an Ordinary Meeting of the Society, and at that and at the following Ordinary Meeting it shall be read from the Chair, or prominently displayed by way of a notice, but shall not be discussed. A copy of such draft shall be made available at the Society's Library on the day of such Meeting, and shall remain so until the appointed time of the Meeting at which the draft is to be discussed.
2. The draft shall be discussed at an Extraordinary Meeting summoned for that purpose, which shall be convened on a date not earlier than six weeks after the date of the Meeting at which the draft was originally submitted; provided that if the Anniversary Meeting falls at least six weeks after the date of such Meeting the draft may, at the option of Council, be discussed at the Anniversary Meeting.
3. A copy of the draft shall be sent to all Members by the Secretary within ten days from the Ordinary Meeting at which it is first read or displayed, and the question whether the draft shall pass or not, in whole or in part, shall be determined in accordance with By-Law VII.5.
4. No proposed amendment to such draft or to any part of it shall be discussed or put to the vote at an Extraordinary or Anniversary Meeting unless such amendment shall have been submitted by Council or by at least fifteen Members in print or in writing to the second of the Ordinary Meetings referred to in By-Law VII.1. Such proposed amendment shall be read from the Chair or prominently displayed by way of a notice at that Ordinary



Meeting and shall be made available in the Society's library with the original draft. A copy of the proposed amendment shall be sent to all Members by the Secretary within ten days from the Ordinary Meeting to which it shall have been submitted. The original draft (unless withdrawn) and any proposed amendment shall be discussed together at the same Extraordinary or Anniversary Meeting.

5. No amendment shall be made to the objects (By-Law I.2), this By-Law XX.5, or the dissolution provisions (By-Law XXI.1) save with the approval of the Charity Commissioners, and no amendment shall be made which would cause the Society to cease to be a charity in law.

XXI. DISSOLUTION

The dissolution of the Society may be effected only by a resolution passed by a three-fourths majority of the Members of the Society balloting on that occasion in person or by proxy at a Special General Meeting convened for that purpose and of which notice has been served to all Members of the Society at their last known address. If a motion to dissolve the Society is carried by the said majority, the Society's surplus funds, property, and assets (if any) shall not be distributed among the membership but shall be given or transferred to such other charitable institutions having similar objects to the objects of the Society as the Society with the approval of the Charity Commissioners shall determine, and if and so far as effect cannot be given to such provision, then to some charitable object.

Printed by Order of Council 2008, incorporating amendments to 22 January 2008.

THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

The Society was founded in 1903, and is a registered charity (No. 275906). The object of the Society is:

the encouragement and promotion of numismatic science, particularly through the study of the coins, medals and tokens of the peoples of the British Isles and Commonwealth and the United States of America, and of such territories as may at any time be or have been subject to their jurisdiction.

Membership is open to all persons and to appropriate institutions. Details of membership and an application form can be found on the Society's website: www.britnumsoc.org. Further enquiries about membership should be made to the Membership Secretary:

Roland Hewson, Esq.
c/o The Warburg Institute
Woburn Square
London WC1H 0AB

Meetings are held at 6 p.m. on the fourth Tuesday of each month from January to June and September to November at the Warburg Institute. Other meetings may be arranged from time to time. Offers of papers to be read at meetings should be sent to the Director:

Dr K. Clancy
The Royal Mint
Llantrisant, Pontyclun
Mid Glamorgan CF72 8YT

The *British Numismatic Journal* is published annually, and distributed without charge to all members. Persons, whether members or not, wishing to submit an article or short note for publication should write to the Editors:

c/o Dr P. de Jersey
Guernsey Museum and Art Gallery
Candie Gardens
St Peter Port
Guernsey GY1 1UG

To assist contributors in the preparation of typescripts for submission to the *Journal*, and also with the marking up of proofs, a set of Notes for the Guidance of Contributors may be downloaded from the Society's website (www.britnumsoc.org) or obtained from the Editors.

The Society's library is housed at the Warburg Institute. Members may use the library on presentation of their signed membership card. Books can be sent to members by post on request to the Librarian. Gifts for the library, and books for review, should be sent to the Librarian:

J. Roberts-Lewis, Esq.
The British Numismatic Society
c/o The Warburg Institute
Woburn Square
London WC1H 0AB

Annual subscriptions, currently £32 (reduced subscription for those under 21 or in full time education £15), are due on 1 January each year, and should be sent without request to the Treasurer:

P.H. Mernick, Esq.
42 Campbell Road
London E3 4DT

ABBREVIATIONS

ANS	American Numismatic Society	CTCE	C.E. Blunt, B.H.I.H. Stewart and C.S.S. Lyon, <i>Coinage in Tenth-Century England</i> (Oxford, 1989)
<i>AntJ</i>	<i>The Antiquaries Journal</i>	<i>DNB</i>	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i>
BAR	British Archaeological Reports	<i>EcHR</i>	<i>Economic History Review</i>
BL	British Library	<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
BM	British Museum	EMC	Early Medieval Corpus of Coin Finds
<i>BMC</i>	<i>British Museum Catalogue</i>	<i>FPL</i>	Fixed Price List
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris	<i>GM</i>	<i>Gentleman's Magazine</i>
<i>BNJ</i>	<i>British Numismatic Journal</i>	<i>JBAA</i>	<i>Journal of the British Archaeological Association</i>
BNS	British Numismatic Society	MBS	Mail Bid Sale
<i>BSFN</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Société Française de Numismatique</i>	MEC	P. Grierson and M.A.S. Blackburn, <i>Medieval European Coinage</i> (Cambridge, 1986 –)
CBA	Council for British Archaeology	MIN	<i>Metallurgy in Numismatics</i>
CCI	Celtic Coin Index	NC	<i>Numismatic Chronicle</i>
<i>CH</i>	<i>Coin Hoards</i>		
<i>CHRB</i>	<i>Coin Hoards from Roman Britain</i>		
CNS	<i>Corpus nummorum saeculorum IX-XI qui in Suecia reperti sunt</i>		

<i>NCirc</i>	<i>Spink's Numismatic Circular</i>	<i>RBN</i>	<i>Revue Belge de Numismatique</i>
<i>NNÅ</i>	<i>Nordisk Numismatisk Årsskrift</i>	<i>RIC</i>	<i>Roman Imperial Coinage</i>
<i>NNM</i>	<i>Numismatic Notes and Monographs</i>	<i>RN</i>	<i>Revue Numismatique</i>
<i>NNUM</i>	<i>Nordisk Numismatik Unions</i>	<i>RNS</i>	<i>Royal Numismatic Society</i>
	<i>Medlemsblad</i>	<i>SCBI</i>	<i>Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles</i>
<i>OJA</i>	<i>Oxford Journal of Archaeology</i>	<i>SCMB</i>	<i>Seaby's Coin and Medal Bulletin</i>
<i>PAS</i>	<i>Portable Antiquities Scheme</i>	<i>TAR</i>	<i>Treasure Annual Report</i>
<i>PRO</i>	<i>Public Record Office</i>	<i>TNA: PRO</i>	<i>The National Archives: Public Record Office</i>
<i>ProcINC</i>	<i>Proceedings of the International Numismatic Congress</i>	<i>TTRC</i>	<i>Treasure Trove Review Committee</i>
<i>PSAS</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland</i>	<i>VCH</i>	<i>Victoria County History</i>